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SPANISH REFORMERS
OF TWO CENTURIES

FROM 1520.

THEIR LIVES AND
ACCORDING TO THE LATE BY
AND WITH THE USE OF
OFFEN'S PLAN
AND MATERIALS

EDITED BY

EDWARD BOEHMER

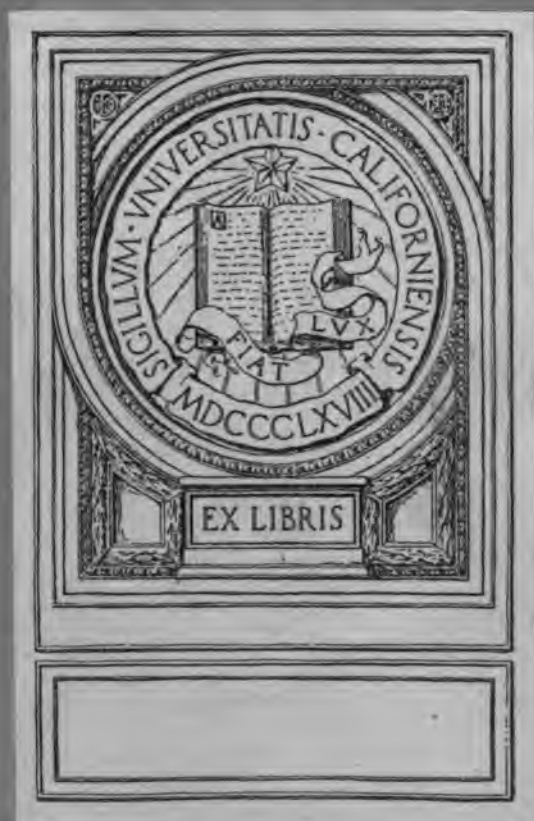
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SECOND VOLUME

STRASSBURG. LONDON.
KARL TRÜBNER TRÜBNER & CO.

1883.







BIBLIOTHECA WIFFENIANA.

UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

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OF TWO CENTURIES

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ACCORDING TO THE LATE BENJAMIN B. WIFFEN'S PLAN
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DESCRIBED BY

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PREFACE.

IN the preface to the first volume of the „Bibliotheca Wiffeniana“ published in January 1874, I expressed the hope, that the whole manuscript, which already in 1872 was almost ready for the press, would be published within a couple of years, and now I can only present the second volume to the Public, and it is not the last. Had I been able to devote these nine years wholly to the Spanish Reformers, I should have brought forth something better. But for a long period I only found time occasionally to collect notices and books for this work; and a winter, which I spent in Italy to improve my health, but served to extend my list of materials; in Strassburg my powers were well nigh exhausted in the duties of my professorship, and in concurrently sustaining my periodical, entitled „Romanische Studien.“ But then, whilst I worked cheerfully amidst surrounding students, in the studies connected with my chair, which I had myself organised in the recently founded University, and which flourished to my heart's content, I found my health had become so enfeebled that it was impossible for me to encounter the difficulties incident to my position, and I sought, of the Emperor's grace and favour, my release, which was vouchsafed me in the year 1879.

To promote the Evangelical movement in Spain, it was now less urgent that I should at once prosecute my biographies with their associated bibliography, than that I should publish some Spanish works of the sixteenth century which had never been printed, and that I should bring out again to public notice others, which, formerly much read, had disappeared, but have in the meanwhile been discovered in the recesses of libraries.

The most pressing thing to do amongst works of this class, because the most important, was to print the unpublished works of Juan de Valdés, recently found in the Court-library at Vienna, where they had been kept since the time of the Emperor Maximilian II, and which

assuredly had belonged to the choice private library of that benign and enlightened Monarch.

The copy of Valdés' Commentary upon the Gospel of Matthew, which I had made during vacation, whilst still discharging my professorial duties, I handed over to my friends, the brothers Fliedner, in Madrid, for them to print, and the work appeared there in the year 1880. I avail myself of this the first opportunity that presents itself to state that of which I was unaware when I wrote the preface to the Commentary upon Matthew, to wit, that my old friend Doctor Wilkens of Vienna was the person, who, by a letter of a young friend to a colleague of mine, drew my attention to the fact, that this commentary of Valdés was indicated in a recent volume of the catalogue of manuscripts in the Court-library at Vienna, which appeared in the year 1875; see a letter from Wilkens to Betts, bearing date July 1882, which Betts has published in German and English, because it embodied Dr. Wilkens' appreciation of Juan de Valdés as an admirable expositor of Scripture. Betts published his English translation of this commentary in 1882.

In the same year 1880 I finished the first edition of Juan de Valdés' translations of the Psalms from the Hebrew, and a volume of divers papers by the same author which I entitled „Trataditos;“ none of them had ever previously been printed in Spanish; some of them were published by Betts in 1882 in English, in his „XVII Opuscles by Juan de Valdés.“ These two Spanish volumes were printed at the expense of a Spanish friend, who then wished that his name should be suppressed. Now, however, that he has left this world, — for he died a few days after that he had received perfect copies of both the works, — I hold it to be a pious obligation to state, that he is the person mentioned in the LXXVIIth report of the British and Foreign Bible Society 1881, at page 64, characterised thus: „The Society has had no more generous supporter in Spain than Don Fernando de Brunet of St. Sebastian, who has recently died, a devout man and a sincere friend.“ He was the faithful friend, correspondent and coadjutor of Don Luis Usóz i Rio and of Benjamin B. Wiffen for a quarter of a century, and having myself enjoyed Don Fernando's aid and friendship, I lovingly cherish his memory.

From Valdés' introduction to his translation of the Psalms I only extracted certain passages to elucidate the volume just mentioned, reserving the whole to be edited in its entirety with the author's commentary upon the first forty one Psalms, contained in another manuscript, sent to me at Strassburg, which I engaged Don Manuel Carrasco to copy there. The Revd. Fritz Fliedner has begun in 1882 the publication of this work in his „Revista Cristiana“ of Madrid, where it will be completed in the course of 1883.

In the year 1881, another friend paying the copyist and the printer, I issued a new edition of Dr. Constantino Ponce de la Fuente's Sermons commenting upon the first Psalm. The old editions of these sermons had long eluded discovery, having in vain been sought for in many directions.

In my „Romanische Studien“ I had already, in the year 1878, declared my intention of printing Juan de Valdés' first dialogue between Mercury and Charon from a manuscript in the Escorial which had never been utilised; this M. S. presents a form of the work earlier than that which was printed in 1529 and in subsequent editions. It has been published in 1881 in my periodical; with a reprint of the second dialogue between Mercury and Charon added to it.

I then prepared for the press the Italian translation (printed in the XVI. century, and at last discovered) of Valdés' so called Spiritual Milk, as also of my translation of it back into the Spanish, the original being lost; they were printed in 1882, the Spanish twice in Spain, once in America, a German translation in America, and an English version of it by Betts, all in the same year.

There has to be added the separate edition of the Lives of Juan and Alfonso de Valdés, made for Betts in 1882, extracted from my first volume of the Spanish Reformers, with my own emendations. Betts appends this revised biographical sketch to his translations of Valdés' works. In his introduction to the new edition of the Lives is found an English translation of a letter of Juan de Valdés, together with a reprint of the original, the only autograph of his hitherto known, kept in the Episcopal Archives of Frauenburg (from which I had got some letters of Juan's brother Alfonso, see vol. 1. p. 99); its existence was intimated to me by Professor Waltz of Dorpat, who placed his

copy at my disposition, whereupon it was printed in Comba's „Rivista Cristiana“ in Florence, 1882.

This done, I was at liberty to devote myself to the continuation of the Bibliotheca Wiffeniana.

Wiffen had title-copies or notices, more or less defined, which corresponded with the following of my present numbers: 178—181. 186. 187. 190. 191. 193. 201. 205—210. 212. 213. 218—220. 237. 246. 249—252. 262. 263. 268—270. 274. 276—281. 283—291^b. 292. 293^b. 321. 327—329. 333^{a. h. k.} 334. 335. 355. 356. 358. 359. 362. 423. 443—445^a. 460. 475. 479. 488. 493—495. 498. 500. 505. 508. 510—516. 540. The great intervals 336^f. 362^f. are to be accounted for from the fact that I had to register editions of Bibles and of Bible-portions which have appeared since dear Wiffen's death. In other places I had likewise to add that which has appeared since 1867, together with some articles of earlier date. Where I do not specially state the contrary, or that from the context it manifestly is so, I have personally seen the copies in the libraries which I specify, and have made the title-copies and descriptions from them. As affecting the biographies, Wiffen's manuscript notes furnished me with some details concerning Reina, especially those extracted from the Records of the French Church in London and from the National Archives of Brussels (all cited in my Life of Reina, p. 167. 170. 172. 178. 309). These notes by Wiffen on Reina were only lately brought to my knowledge, so that they could not be mentioned in the preface to my first volume.

In the meanwhile an important work upon the Spanish Protestants had appeared, Menendez Pelayo's second volume of the „Heterodoxos Españoles,“ 1880; the supplements contained in his third volume, issued in summer 1882, refer already to this my second volume, of which the sheets, as soon as finished, were by me communicated to him. For highly interesting additions to my sketches of Constantino Ponce de la Fuente herein published I am indebted to his second volume. Doubtless Menendez Pelayo is the best read and best informed man in Spain as to the literature of the Evangelical movement amongst his countrymen, neither is there amongst them an Evangelical who could claim to rank with him in this respect.

He, moreover, wields varied learning, he vindicates morality, and is a man stamped with firm religious principles. He, a master in his own language, frequently avows his admiration at the purity and energy of expression in the Spanish works of men, to whom he is antagonistic. I almost could apply to him the exclamation of an old French poet, who, speaking of a noble warrior opposed to Charlemagne in Spain, exclaimed: God! what a champion, had he but Christianity! „Deus! quel barun, s'otist Chrestientet!“ It stands to reason that Menendez on his part holds it to be unchristian for any one, who writes upon ecclesiastical subjects, not to do that which he expressly does, viz. submit from first to last in every thing to the judgment of the Roman Church and of its rulers. I take leave, however, to point to the impossibility of getting rid of that „private judgment,“ which horrifies him: for every one severally selects his own authority, and remains ultimately responsible for his selection. Menendez Pelayo's mind is too clear to misapprehend this, even though it fail to work out an altered bearing. Through inadvertence, we all fall into error, and my „Reformers“ are as little without such faults as are his „Heterodoxos,“ whence we grant and ask pardon reciprocally — „veniam damus petimusque vicissim.“ There is a union of all mankind, preestablished in that moral autonomy, of which St. Paul speaks Rom. 2. It will always be grateful to me, when the results of my investigations in the history of Spanish literature shall meet with the approval of my learned friend Menendez Pelayo.

It would have been very useful for this Bibliotheca if I could have consulted the work upon which my friend and colleague in the line of Romance languages, Professor Dr. W. I. Knapp of Yale College, New Haven, is engaged, his Bibliographical Thesaurus of Prohibited Literature. May this important work soon appear.

I thankfully acknowledge the kindness of many librarians who promoted my labours. The Imperial Court-library at Vienna has been of incalculable service to me in working up the materials of this volume (and to avail myself of it was my motive for migrating to Vienna in the autumn of 1881). Many, many passages witness to the fact. Whilst I thank all the officials of this library who have assisted me, my thanks are especially due to Dr. Göldlin, who greatly facilitated and

furthered my bibliographical researches. Many others, who aided me in my work, will be found named in their respective places.

With relation to the emendations and additions for volume 1 and 2, the introduction of which I partly contemplate in the third and last volume and partly elsewhere, I solicit that printed and manuscript communications may be by scholars kindly furnished me. My Bible-catalogue is defective, but, this notwithstanding, the catalogue with the Specimens may prove useful to Bible-societies in their future undertakings. I do not know of even one of these societies as having in its library a complete series of its own publications. My own collection of Spanish Bibles, without which I should have been unable to find out the genealogy of the different editions and revisions of Reina's Bible, will be increased and finally incorporated into some public library. (B—r after the title of a book means that a copy is in my collection).

In order to prevent loss of time and to ensure the delivery of letters and parcels addressed to me, I beg to notify, that I return to Lichtenthal near Baden-Baden next April, where I shall permanently reside.

I must needs repeat that I should have written this work in German, had I had some one near me, who would have translated it into English, in which language it had been decided that the Bibliotheca Wiffeniana should be published. As for this volume, my wife had translated the lives of Constantino and of Perez into German from my English originals of them (without annotations and bibliography); then Mr. Betts translated this German translation back again into English; translating also the life of Nuñez from my German original into English (which Life was added to the plan of this work after the publication of the first volume); and I had these manuscripts of Mr. Betts before me, when I finished my manuscript of this volume for the press. But I had much to add to what I had previously written, and many things likewise to remould, so that to complete the work I found myself constrained to resume English composition, better or worse, though in point of fact I have had no leisure to exercise it. The proofs (except what I inserted in the last moment) have had the joint revision of the author and of my dear

old friend Betts, who has attentively controlled all that presented itself in the different languages, whether English or German, Spanish or Italian or French, Latin or Greek, contributing occasionally his own observations upon the subjects treated (compare on pages 110. 171. 371). Had I but had the pleasure and the honour to address his English speaking Christendom through his eloquent lips! The circumstance, however, of my not being able to hand him, who indeed translates in a masterly manner, a finished and neat manuscript in German, would only then have been no obstacle, had we both lived on the same spot in continuous intercourse. So I can only ask of my benevolent English readers, that, exercising self-denial on their part, they may let my English, which is not insular, nevertheless pass as cosmopolitan, and, resting absorbed in the matter, „frui paratis.“

It has been my good fortune that the management of the press of this volume too should have been in the experienced hands of Herr Carl Bobardt, Administrator of the Press of Francke's Orphan Asylum and Canstein's Bible Institute at Halle, to whose careful cooperation I am indebted; for, thanks to it, my wearied eyes have been greatly relieved in the revision.

VIENNA, February 1883.

EDUARD BEHMER.

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Addition for page 33.

184. 1554.

CONFISSION | devn pecador delã- | te de Iesu christo, re | dēptor
y juez delos | hōbres, compuesta | por el Doctor Con | stantino. |

¶ Añadierō se aqui | dos meditaciōes pa | ātes y despues dela |
sagrada cōmuniō: cō | puestas por el padre | frey luys de granada.

*This title in a border with the arms of Portugal in each upper corner;
and beneath the encadrement the figures 1554.*

Lisboa (or possibly Evora), printed by Andres de Burgos.

16° muy pequeñito, ff. 64, sign A-E of 8 and 16s.

Notice by W. I. Knapp.

CONSTANTINO PONCE DE LA FUENTE.

CONSTANTINO, Juan Gil and Vargas, who had been fellow students in the university of Alcalá, laboured at Seville, in the fifth decade of the sixteenth century, for the spread of the gospel.¹

Constantino Ponce de la Fuente, born at San Clemente in the diocese of Cuenca,² was therefore a countryman of Juan Diaz and of Alfonso and Juan de Valdés. His genius was sprightly and very humorous. He passed the bright days of youth in dissipation, then he resolved in the full energy of his gifted spirit, to devote himself to usefulness as an author and preacher, a calling for which he was extraordinarily endowed by his experience in life and by his clear and ready mode of expression. In 1553 a celebrated humanist, Alfonso Garcia Matamoros, professor of rhetoric in Alcalá, author of a treatise on pulpit-eloquence, says of Constantino:³ „He enjoyed in Seville that admiration which, according to Cicero, is so important for the perfect orator. He attains so much by common sense, his movements are so far from being constrained by school and doctrine, that the

1) *Martyrum elogia Reg. Gonsalvio Montano autore* appended to *Inquisitionis Hispanicae artes*. Heidelberg 1567. P. 281. This work is one of our primary sources for information on Constantino. I do not expressly quote it in my sketch but for some particulars.

2) *Doctor Constantino de la Fuente, de la diocesis de Cuenca* — says a testimonial on his ordination written in 1556 and incorporated in the Acts of the Chapter of Seville. Those Acts as far as they concern the doctors Constantino and Gil from 1533 to 1561 have been published by Menendez Pelayo in his *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles*, Madrid 1880, vol. 2. — Gons. 281: *canonicatum Guenguensis Ecclesiae . . in propria patria . . contempserat*. Nic. Antonio, *Bibliotheca nova* t. 1. 1672, p. 196 (and the same 1783, p. 256): *patriâ ex oppido S. Clemente diocesis Conchensis*. Zuñiga, *Annales de Sevilla*, 1677, p. 522: *de San Clemente en la Mancha*.

3) Matamori op. Alcala 1553, according to Menendez 423. The passage is suppressed in the later editions.

highly delighted hearers would think, he took at once from the popular feeling those things which, however, have deep roots in the soul of divine philosophy. He owes much to art, but more to nature and to the rich vein which every day produces more than art could reach by hard and persevering study.⁴ Luis de Usóz i Rio says, speaking of ascetics: ⁴ „To my mind, Dr. Constantino is, amongst them, one of the best Spanish writers; for if language be most praised when it presents with greatest vividness to the hearer a very clear idea of that which lies hidden in the mind, the doctor's mode of expression, which so well succeeded in setting forth his most latent thoughts without borrowing obscure terms, may truthfully be called a pattern and a model in our tongue.“ And this characteristic he appears to have in common with three other Spanish reformers, with Valdés, Perez and Valera, who, according to Usóz, as for *naturalidad*, for unaffected simplicity of expression, are all four unequalled in the Castilian language, and bear the palm even when compared with such most celebrated writers as Luis de Granada and Luis de Leon. Menendez Pelayo, at present professor of Spanish literature at the university of Madrid, and member of the *Academia Española*, judges of Constantino's Summary of Christian doctrine: „The style is pithy, simple and of remarkable neatness and clearness, without great transports or movements, but with a modest and well sustained elegance: a complete model of the didactic style. It is the best written of the Castilian catechisms, although unfortunately not the purest. Nevertheless, if only some phrases which the Inquisition did not notice were expurgated, it might, but for the name of the author, pass as *texto de lengua*.“ The same is, according to Menendez to be said of Constantino's *Catecismo*. His translation of the Sermon on the mount is found admirable by the same critic, who calls the Confession of a sinner a beautiful piece of ascetic eloquence.⁵

This Confession of a sinner is a prayer from the inmost soul to the Son of God, who had been given to man by the eternal Father to be his saviour and judge. Going orderly through the ten com-

4) *Rf. Esp.* XIX, 454 f. The passage is translated in Wiffen's *Notice* prefixed to the translation of Constantino's *Confession de un pecador* by Betts p. 43 f.

5) p. 427 and 428.

mandments and the creed, the suppliant sees every form of self-righteousness desert him, and finds his sole consolation through faith in the forgiveness of sins through the merits of Jesus Christ. To Him the sinner says: „Man is indeed God, since Thou art indeed man; and all men have now faculty and liberty to be like God, for they are Thy brethren by lineal descent, and Thy Father calls upon them and Thou callest upon them, to walk in Thy steps, that they may be like Thee, that they may imitate Thy obedience and Thy righteousness and Thy goodness, so that it may be truly said: they are sons of God and born of God.⁶

All externals in the Established Church he interpreted in his Summary as pointing to inward things, and to him there was nothing however unimportant that he did not recognise as significant and useful in spirituals.⁷

Gonzalez in his portraits of the evangelical martyrs of Seville does not know how to eulogize sufficiently Constantino whom he personally knew. He was, according to Gonzalez, the first at Seville who preached the true religion.⁸ But in teaching truth, he proceeded with such circumspection that no enemy could prevent his work of a sower.

On 13 June 1533 *Doctor Constantino* was by the Chapter of Seville received as preacher of the cathedral.⁹ He was graduated as licentiate of theology in the Sevillian university on 30 August 1534.¹⁰ In the next year on 22 May he was in the same town ordained as a priest.¹¹

About 1537, when the magistral canonry of Seville was vacant, viz. the place of a canon who had to preach, a friend of Constantino was elected, Dr. Gil, an Aragonese,¹² who was teaching scholastic theology in Sigüenza. He had never previously been a preacher, and

6) *Rf. Esp.* XIX, 378.

7) *Rf. Esp.* XIX, 3.

8) Gons. 281.

9) Acts of the Chapter, Menend. 746.

10) *ib.* 747.

11) *ib.* 748.

12) Zuñiga p. 522. Llorente *cap.* 18, t. 4, p. 80; he gives the date: *acia* 1537; the French 2, 139 has: *en* 1537.

he had spent but little time in the study of the bible, for he was still subject to the mental tone which prevailed at the university of Alcalá, where such persons as were not accomplished scholars in the systems of Lombardus, Aquinas, Scotus and other scholastic theologians, were only spoken of with a shrug of the shoulders as good biblists.¹³ So little had old prejudices been changed by the publication in that very university of the first polyglot bible. Now to every one's astonishment, as well as his own, the doctor of Alcalá proved himself so little able to preach, that not only did the Chapter several times deliberate as to whether it must needs seek another, but even he himself repeatedly thought of resigning his new office. But God sent him a monitor who, in a few hours, so fully enlightened him as to the real duty of a preacher and as to the way in which he should do it, that he thenceforth spoke from his heart and with effective results. This monitor was Rodrigo de Valer, of Lebrixa, a man of honest family and not without fortune, who, when immersed in levity, was struck by a ray of light flashed from a higher world, so that he was at once changed; he studied the Holy Scriptures, and never wearied in speaking to the priests of the actual corruptions of the clergy and of the whole church. From him Dr. Gil learnt to understand the gospel, and so he was converted to a more genial Christianity. For some time Valer was left unmolested, for it was thought that his brain was affected; however after a while the Inquisition interfered, but as one deranged he was set at liberty, whilst his property was confiscated. This last proceeding was not calculated to strengthen his thinking faculty, and hence no wonder that the Inquisition occupied itself again with him some years afterwards. He was condemned to be imprisoned for life.¹⁴ When he

13) *bonus biblista*. Gons. 257. Compare Cipriano de Valera's remarks in the *Exhortacion al lector* prefixed to his bible of 1602, fol. *3 recto.

14) Gons. in the *Artes* which appeared in 1567, p. 259: *ante viginti sex annos publico judicio damnatus*. Llorente 4, 92 (cf. 81), French 2, 148 (cf. 140), gives the date 1540, but it does not seem he had any documents besides the work of Gons. It would therefore perhaps be more accurate to say 1541. — Gons. says 258 that Dr. Gil met with Valer after having been *annos aliquot* in Seville, were he went about 1537. Valer was at that time thought an idiot *neque de mentis sanitate omnino bene audiens*, ib.; one should think that this was before the Inquisitors had examined him and had dismissed him on account of *insania*, confiscating,

was brought on sundays with other prisoners into the church of San Salvador at Seville, he would rise there in his *sanbenito* and contradict the preacher in the midst of his congregation. At last they shut him up in a convent of San Lucar, and kept him there until his death. His frock of infamy was hung up in the cathedral of Seville, and for many years one read the inscription written upon it in large letters: Rodrigo Valer, inhabitant of Nebrixa and Seville, apostate and pseudo-apostle, who declared, that he had been sent by God.

Dr. Gil had done for him what he could; to his influence it was ascribed that the Inquisitors had been moved to what they called clemency. He continued to preach zealously and by the friendship he made with Constantino he progressed in theology.

Constantino preached less frequently than Gil, but not less successfully. On 18 May 1539 he preached the funeral sermon for the Empress.¹⁵ In 1541 — the year probably of Valer's final condemnation — we meet with the first trace of opposition to Constantino. On 29 March some members of the Chapter officially

however, his property, *ib.* 263. After this judgment he was at liberty *aliquot annos*, until they began a new examination, *ib.* Therefore from Gil's coming to Seville about 1537 to Valer's second summons there elapsed some years and again some years, so that indeed the year 1540 seems to be the earliest possible of his condemnation to perpetual prison. Cipriano de Valera, *Tratado del papa*, *Rf. Esp.* VI, 246, places this condemnation *zerea del año 1545*.

Gons. 263 sq.: *ut . . . ab insania resipisceret, dimiserunt. Resipuit vero nunquam, adeo ut post aliquot annos iterum ob easdem causas accerseretur: atque ad palinodiam adactus, parvum est vitæ ipsius quod adhuc insanire æstimaretur.* The French translation, reprinted in the *Hist. des mart.* (1582, f. 505) has: *il fut rappelé pour la mesme cause, et contraint de se desdire*, the German translation Heidelberg 1569, reprinted (1606, p. 1118) in the great *Martyrbuch*: *darumb sie ihn wider fürforderten, vnnd zum widerruff nötigten.* And no doubt *palinodia* is recantation. It may, however, also mean the repetition of the old song, and in this sense Gons. would say that the second trial was only the old thing over again: the Inquisitors repeated their questions, and Valer repeated his answers. But Cipriano de Valera says likewise, *l. c.*: *hiziéronlo recantar ó desdezir*, and his words are not simply a combination of the *palinodia* of Gons. and the *desdire* of the Geneva martyrology; he had got information from elsewhere, for he adds the circumstance not found in Gons.: *no en público auto, sino á él solo, en la Iglesia mayor entre los dos coros*, and soon afterwards: *Valiöle tambien mui mucho á Valer ser Christiano viejo, i no de raza de Judíos, ni de Moros.* The Spanish translation of Gons. in the *Rf. Esp.* has: *obligándole a cantar la palinódia, le perdonaron la vida.*

15) Zuñiga, *Annales de Sevilla* p. 496.

intimated that he should only preach when called upon to do so,¹⁶ but as no such restriction is found in the protocols, it is to be concluded that the Chapter did not adopt it.¹⁷

All the writings of Constantino which have been printed, viz. the confession of a sinner, a doctrinal summary with an exposition of Christ's sermon on the mount, six sermons on the first psalm, a catechism, and the first part of his larger dogmatics, appeared in the years 1544 — 48; the confession of a sinner may have been published earlier. They were all printed at the expense of the author who only got in 1548 a royal privilege for Spain for the next ten years. After 1548 there only appeared new editions. In all those works, which did not want the approbation of the Inquisition, there is no mention of the pope or of the church of Rome, not even when speaking of the one and universal church and of its mystical head, Christ.

The accession of Fernando de Valdés, the new archbishop of Seville and Inquisitor General, which occurred in the year 1547, was an event issuing in terrible consequences.

Vargas, who held lectures in which he expounded the bible, at first the gospel of Matthew, and then the psalms, was the first of the three friends that came into collision with the Holy Office; he however died ere it could sentence him.

When, in the year 1548, Constantino, following another call, left Seville, Ægidius remaining alone, had a hard time of it. In the year 1550¹⁸ he was nominated by the Emperor Bishop of Tortosa, but the Inquisition, to prevent his elevation to such dignity, laid hands on him and threw him into prison.¹⁹ In August 1552 he was condemned to one years imprisonment in the castle of Triana, and he was forbidden to teach, either orally or by writing, for the term of ten years, neither was he allowed to

16) Acts of the Chapter p. 746.

17) Compare Menendez 424.

18) Llorente 4, 81, French 2, 140.

19) A notice concerning Dr. Gil, *Maestro de Artes y Doctor de Alcalá*, written in the second year of his imprisonment (therefore in 1551 or 52) by Juan de Arce, canon of Palencia, has been reprinted by Menendez p. 419 from the *Cartas eruditas* published by Melchor de Azagra (pseudonym for Ignacio de Asso) Madrid

leave Spain.²⁰ In 1555²¹ he visited the Evangelicals at Valladolid who gathered around Augustin Caçalla who had been at one time Confessor to the Emperor. A few days after his return from this, to him, exhausting journey, he sickened and died; this occurred in the beginning of the year 1556.²² The Chapter of Seville had, in 1550 and again in 1551, determined to pay him „600 ducats a year during all the time he might be in the prison of the Holy Inquisition;“ they now buried him in the cathedral and honoured him by an epitaph. But in 1559 an epithet which the Chapter had given him in that inscription was censured by *high authority*, viz. by the Inquisition, and they had to efface it;²³ and in the next year the tomb was, by command of the same authority, rifled of his remains, and they were burnt. The manuscripts which he left behind him, commentaries upon the book of Genesis, upon some of the psalms, upon Solomon's Song, and upon the epistle to the Colossians, all written in Spanish, were still preserved by admiring friends up to the year 1567. His best compositions were written in prison, nay were written by him when in chains. No one of all these writings, so far as we know, has ever been printed, and there is little hope of discovering any of the manuscripts.

One of Dr. Gil's principal enemies was Pedro Mexia, a man of letters whose merits are not yet forgotten, but not a scholar, and narrow-minded, although he was called a philosopher.²⁴ He could not but discover that Dr. Constantino's views agreed as little with his philosophy as did Dr. Gil's. Once he exclaimed when returning

1775 (Menendez by misprint: 1877. The copy formerly made for me has not, as has Menendez's text, the word *Obispo* between *electo* and *de Tortosa*).

20) de Castro, *Protest. Esp.* p. 112. 113. — With what Gons. tells p. 270 f. of the *fraudulenta revocatio* compare a similar case in Ruardi Tappart *apothoeosis* by Gratianus Verus 1558 (see above vol. 1, p. 133), p. 50 f. — Professor William I. Knapp of Yale College, New Haven, wrote me that he had got the *original confession or retraction of Dr. Juan Gil 1552*.

21) Llorente 4, 86, French 2, 144.

22) On Febr. 5. 1556 the Chapter published the edict opening the competition for the *calongia magistral*, vacant by the death of Dr. Gil; Acts p. 746. Llorente 4, 86, French 2, 144 gives the year 1556 as that of Dr. Gil's death.

23) Acts p. 759. 760.

24) Gons. 272.

from a sermon of Constantino: By God, this is no good doctrine, nor is this the same that our fathers taught us! As Mexia enjoyed great authority in the town, many were startled.²⁵ But, whilst, in 1548, Mexia was honoured by the title of an Imperial historiographer, Constantino was called to functions in the Imperial court.

Various opportunities had presented themselves to Dr. Constantino to exchange Seville for other places of residence. The Chapter of Toledo offered him a rich canonry. He replied to the deputation which came to Seville for that purpose, that he should ever feel grateful to the Chapter; but that he never should like to do anything that might disturb the bones of his parents and forefathers. This is an allusion to the fact that the archbishop of Toledo was about that time digging up the remains of the ancestors of some of his metropolitan canons who were said to be of Jewish extraction.²⁶ We have no reason to conclude from that refusal that there was Jewish blood in Constantino himself; he could not but dislike a bishop who cared so little about the true genealogy of the Christian, which was the capital question for Constantino, as we have seen above in the extracts from his Confession of a sinner. In a similar way he had previously refused a canonry in his native Cuenca. Summoned by the Emperor, he did not think it right to decline the call. In November 1548 Constantino embarked with the prince Philip, having inaugurated the voyage by a sermon on All Saints day; Caçalla also was in the suite. They

25) Related by a Jesuit manuscript of that time, used by Ad. de Castro in his *Buscapié*, Cadiz 1848, p. 134, and in his *Hist. de los Protest. Esp.*, Cadiz 1851, p. 268, and by Menendez p. 435. This must have happened before Constantino left Seville in 1548, where he returned only after the death of Mexia, which occurred in 1552 (in the second year of Dr. Gil's imprisonment upon trial, Gons. 272).

26) Gons. 279 f. On this primate of Spain, Johannes Siliceus, compare Ciaconii *Vita et res gestæ pontificum*, t. 3. Romæ 1677. col. 845, and Vicente de la Fuente, *Hist. eccles. de España*, 2^a ed. t. V. Madrid 1874. p. 221. 607; on this last quoted page is said that the *estatuto de limpieza de sangre* was introduced in the cathedral of Toledo in the year 1547. Compare on him also Llorente, *Anales* t. 2. Madrid 1813, p. 322. 324, a notice which is abbreviated in the *Hist. de la Inq.* c. XIII. § XII. Several papers on that *estatuto de limpieza* are in the British Museum, see Gayangos, *Catalogue of manuscripts in the Spanish language in the British Museum*, vol. 1. 1875. p. 567. — Sir Thomas Phillips once showed me a volume, printed for him, but not published, in which it was proved, as he told me, that scarcely any Spanish nobleman was to be found in whose veins there was no Jewish or Muhamedan blood.

accompanied the prince through Italy and Germany to the Netherlands, where they arrived, the next spring, at the court of the Emperor.²⁷ Charles appointed Constantino his confessor and chaplain.²⁸ When he stayed at Augsburg with Charles and Philip in the time of the diet, in the year 1550, he received Gaspar a Nidbruck in the most friendly manner, who presented himself with a letter of introduction from Francisco de Enzinas. Constantino earnestly pressed Enzinas to return to his family in Spain, or, at least, to settle at Antwerp,²⁹ — a proof that the doctor still cherished very illusory hopes for the safety of persons of such convictions. From Augsburg Constantino, doubtless, started at the end of May in the next year with Philip and prince Maximilian, the future Emperor, to Castile, seeing on the way at Trent the celebrated Council. He seems to have remained at Philip's court during the next three years. He was in England with Philip.³⁰ About the end of the year 1555 he had

27) Juan Cristoual Caluete de Estrella: *El viaie del Principe Don Phelippe*. Anuers MDLII. [MILAN, Brera. VIENNA, Court] Fol. 5^b. Beginning to name some celebrities of Philip's court, the author, after mentioning his *Capellan mayor*, *Don Pedro de Castro*, bishop of Salamanca, continues: *El doctor Constantino muy gran Philosopho y profundo Theologo, y delos mas señalados hombres enel pulpito y eloquencia que ha auido de grandes tiempos açà, como lo muestran bien claramente las obras que ha escrito dignas de su ingenio*. Fol. 7^b: Dr. Constantino embarked in a galley of the Principe Doria. *El primero dia de Nouiembre [1548] que se celebra la fiesta de todos los Santos salio el Principe [Philip] a missa ala yglesia mayor de Castellon [de Empurias]. Hizose el oficio diuino con gran solenidad, y predicò tan singularmente como lo suele hazer siempre el Doctor Constantino*. Fol. 325^b: *Passose la Quaresma [of 1550 in Brussels] en oyr sermones de los grandes Predicadores, que en la Corte auia, en especial tres, los quales eran, el Doctor Constantino, el Comissario Fray Bernardo de Fresneda, el Doctor Augustin de Caçalla, Predicador d'el Emperador excellentissimo Theologo, y hombre de gran doctrina y eloquencia*. The description of the *viaje* ends in the Low Countries in May 1550. The Index prohib. Sandoval y Rojas, Madrid 1612, reprint Palermo 1628 p. 59, with reference to the former two of these three passages: fol. 5. pag. 2. y fol. 7. pag. 2. *se quite todo lo que es en Alabança de Constantino de la Fuente, Autor condenado*.

28) Gons. 269 speaking of the period between Dr. Gils imprisonment (in 1550) and his condemnation (in 1552): *Constantino cum Cæsare, cui erat a concionibus et confessionibus, apud Belgas agente*. Cipr. de Valera, *Trat. del Papa*, Rf. Esp. VI, 252 repeats, perhaps only from Gons.: *fué confesor i predicador del Emperador*. Cardanus: *ab exomologesi Principis Philippi*, see our note 55.

29) See note 56 appended below.

30) Juan de Ribero, archbishop of Valencia, writes in 1602 (Menendez 439): *el año 1556, siendo mi padre virey de Cataluña, passando por Barcelona el*

returned to Seville from which he had been absent for seven years.³¹ His friend Dr. Gil died a few weeks after Constantino's return.³²

The canons thought of giving to Dr. Constantino the canonry and preachership vacant by Dr. Gil's death. The edict that invited candidates to compete for this prebend was issued on 15 February, and Constantino was appointed by the Chapter to preach the Lent-sermons.³³ He preached alternate days, though, being convalescent from a severe attack of illness, he was so weak that he had to be carried into the church, and took at intervals during the sermon a little wine, a freedom which in the case of a man so highly respected and so much beloved caused no scandal.³⁴ As for the magistral

Dr. Constantino, que venia de la jornada que el rey n. sr. D. Felipe II hizo a Inglaterra . . y hallándose con mi padre, le rogó [mi padre] que pues iba [Constantino] a Sevilla, donde yo estabu entonces . . — Juan Pineda Hispalensis speaks in 1619 of Constantino's Anglicana et Germanica peregrinatio (see below note 59). Nic. Antonio l. c. in both editions: Concionator Philippi principis, quocum in Angliam trajecit. Philip left England on 4 Sept. 1555 and arrived at Brussels towards the latter part of the same month. The solemn abdication of the Emperor took place there 25 October. Constantino probably was present at it.

31) It is evident that Gons. 282 supposes that C. had not been at Seville between 1548 and his final return to that town. As for the date of this return, one must consider that according to the same historian ib. C. preached at Seville during the Lent *alterius a reditu suo anni*, and that in the Acts of the Chapter from 1533 to 1561, published by Menendez as far as they relate to C., no other Lent-sermons of his are mentioned besides those of 1556. There is an incident which may confirm my view. Gons. tells ib. that C. was so weak during that Lent that he had to be carried to the cathedral, and in May of 1556 C. himself states that he had been ready, eight days ago, to deliver a lecture before the Chapter, even if he had to be carried there; *aunque me trajeron en una silla*, Acts p. 757. Ribero who says in 1602 that C. passed through Barcelona in 1556 (see our preceding note) made a mistake of only some weeks. Llorente 4, 260, French 2, 275, is more mistake in giving the year 1557 for those Lent-sermons of which Gons. speaks.

32) Compare above p. 9. As Dr. Gil died after C.'s return, the words of Gons. 282: *post doctoris Ægidii obitum* are to be construed, not with *reversus e Cæsare et aula*, as the Spanish translator has misinterpreted the passage, but with *ad interpellatum propagandæ lucis cursum rediit*, which construction besides is grammatically the natural one. Gons. says immediately afterwards that C. preached those Lent-sermons (see our preceding note), lectured in the city school which was under the direction of Escobar, and was elected Dr. Gil's successor to the magistral canonry.

33) Acts, p. 746 (Lent began 19 Febr.). He got 60 ducats for about 20 sermons. Ib.

34) Gons. 282 f.

canonry, the Provisor of the diocese (the archbishop's delegate for jurisdiction) required by writ, that no one should be elected who had not passed a public and rigorous examination to be held for the transaction in question, in order to avoid a new case like that of Dr. Gil, or who did not descend from persons whose catholic faith was unsuspected. He declared at the same time, that, if the canons should act contrary to such a regulation, they would be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and have to pay 500 ducats to the fund for His Majesty's war against the infidels. He even exacted, under the same penalties, that the negotiations between the canons on electing a certain candidate should be discontinued, and that no one should disclose his future vote. The provisor stated orally that he had been informed that Constantino was married and therefore ineligible unless he proved that he did not live with his wife and unless he exhibited the dispensation for not living with her.³⁵ The Chapter answered: Constantino is a man of exemplary conduct; for more than twenty years he is known here as a priest and as an eminent preacher and theologian, and nobody has learned anything contrary to his good name, otherwise we must have heard of it; but the archbishop never prohibited his preaching, and king Philip took him into his service and confessed to him and had the *maestrescolia* of Malaga given to him and pays him as his preacher. Whilst in His Majesty's service, this prebend was at another time offered him without opposition,³⁶ but he declined. The canons state that all this is notorious. The statutes excluding sons and grandsons and great-

35) Acts 750: *como no hace vida maridable con su mujer*. Gons. 286 tells that C.'s competitor Mazuelo *ad exceptiones personales conatus omnes convertens suscitavit ei ineptias omnes juventutis suæ, contracta videlicet, antequam sacris initiaretur, matrimonia, neque rite sacris initiatum, neque recte atque ordine magisterii et doctoratus insignia accepisse*. It is clear that Gons., who had already spoken of the dissipated youth of C., but had not mentioned his having been married, is only telling what was said by Mazuelo. According to him, C. would have been married more than once. In a report written a short time after C.'s death it is said that it was discovered that he lived in bigamy, and this is repeated by Paramo and Cabrera (see note 58 appended below). After all, it is unknown whether Constantino ever was married.

36) Competitors are also called oppositors. The offer must have been made after Dr. Gil's condemnation in 1552.

grandsons of persons condemned or reconciled on account of heretical pravity³⁷ was, to their knowledge, not applicable to any of these candidates. They besides reminded the provisor of his not being judge in the present state of affairs, but simply *colector*. After all, nothing of what the provisor desired was done, and without examination of doctrine or of genealogy *Doctor Constantino de la Fuente* was by all the canons, no one being absent, *unanimiter* elected, on 12 May 1556. As soon as this result was ascertained, Constantino's proctor was introduced and took possession, in the doctor's name, of his canonry, appealing to the pope against the archbishop. The provisor threw Constantino into prison, and tried to instal his candidate, a Dr. Çumel. Constantino, who seems, after a few days, to have been set at liberty, offered to deliver a lecture in the Chapter by way of supplement, in order to calm the provisor, who, however, was irreconcilable. The case had to be decided at Rome. On 7 June 1557 Constantino presented to the Chapter the confirmation of his canonry by the Roman Rota. Some weeks later, on 21 July, the Chapter permitted Constantino to miss the canonic hours when he preached or studied to prepare his sermons.

Besides preaching he lectured. When his health was somewhat restored from the illness of the spring of 1556, he began to lecture on the bible in a school of the city, the rector of which, Escobar by name, set apart a portion of his income to meet the outlay involved in founding a lectureship for this branch of study. Dr. Constantino first expounded to the young men the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and what may appear extraordinary, Solomon's Song; then he went on with the book of Job and got through more than the half of it. All these lectures were reduced into writing by an attentive hearer, and in 1567 were got ready for the press in Germany, but it would seem that they were lost ere printed.

Already before his stay in England, the Jesuits had become aware of his perilous character. When Francisco de Borja, Duke of Gandia, a grandee of Spain, since 1548 a member of the Company of Jesus, subsequently its General, and later canonized, had heard a

37) Acts 751 to be combined with 755.

sermon of Constantino, he quoted that cautioning line of Virgil: *aut aliquis latet error; equo ne credite, Teucri!*³⁸ In the first congregation held by the Company in Spain, at Medina del Campo, in autumn 1554, Borja was proclaimed as *Comisario General* for Spain and India, and, especially at his persistent proposition, missionaries were sent to Seville, the most excellent and learned ones of which the Company could dispose.³⁹ Borja himself made a short stay at Seville at Christmas 1554.⁴⁰ A year later Constantino returned there. The Jesuits first combated him secretly, then openly.⁴¹ He preached against them, saying: They recommend to you extraordinary asperities, but the Law is antiquated! Afterwards he remarked: If they are men of prayer and not given to women, they will persevere. He was repeatedly summoned before the Holy Office to give explanations of

38) Cienfuegos, *Vida del grande San Francisco de Borja*, 1702 Madrid, p. 292. One should think from this Jesuit historian, that the incident happened during Borja's stay at Seville about the beginning of 1555; at that time, however, Constantino was not there. Borja may have heard him at Tordesillas, either in 1552 or short before the English journey in 1554; during one of Philip's two stays there (see Cienfuegos p. 237. 262). It was in 1554 that people debated who preached better and more Christianlike, Constantino or Borja (Cienfuegos 273; see the passage in the appendix to my edition of Constantino's Sermons on the first psalm). And Cienfuegos, about to tell that in November 1554, the first Jesuits arrived at Seville, says (p. 288 f.): *Avia algunos meses, que Borja andava tan sollicito sobre fundar en Sevilla un Colegio, . . . porque estava prerenido con repetidas ilustraciones y relampagos su entendimiento del veneno que por la lengua de dos serpientes iba secretamente vomitando la Sierpe del Parayso*. By those two serpents the biographer, no doubt, means Constantino and Gil. Nieremberg in his *Vida of Franc. de Borja*, Madrid 1644, p. 314 says: *por lo qual dio tanta prisa el sieruo de Dios a la fundacion tan arrebatada de aquel Colegio, para que predicassen los nuestros, como lo hizieron, contra Constantino, y los demas hereges dissimulados. Afirmen lo referido el Padre Ribadeneira, y P. Dionisio Vazquez*. Ribadeneyra in his life of Borja, Madrid 1592, fol. 93 does not name Constantino. — According to Ribadeneyra fol. 91 it was *Hernan Ponce de Leon* who gave the Jesuits their first *morada* at Seville. His widow was in 1560 condemned as a Lutheran.

39) Cienfuegos p. 276. Compare p. 288 f.

40) ib. p. 290 f. Compare p. 282. About beginning of March 1555 he was at Tordesillas, p. 297.

41) ib. p. 292: *Esforço á sus Hijos Borja á que le hiziessen guerra, primero escondida, y despues en Campaña abierta, hasta que la severidad del Santo Oficio empleó contra sus errores todo su zelo, valiendose de los Jesuitas para convencer y ablandar la obstinacion de los que estaban en las Carceles, por aver bebido incautamente sus errores: y fueron muchos los que bolvieron al gremio de la verdad, conociendo los precipicios á que los avia guiado su error*.

certain passages in his sermons. His friends, who had noticed his visits to the castle of Triana, asked him what they wanted with him? „They wish to burn me,“ he replied, „but they find me as yet too green.“ However dextrous he proved himself to be in eluding the acuteness of his examiners when under hearing, he nevertheless held it to be advisable, to look around for some other stay, and he boldly elected as his resource, to seek admission into the order of Jesuits. There was in them a mystical element which at that time an ingenious Christian might hope to win over to evangelical tendencies. Constantino, however, was not admitted; an Inquisitor had given them a hint.⁴² Perhaps the books smuggled into Seville by the intrepid Julianillo were already discovered.⁴³ When this tempest broke out, and many hundred persons were seized, — how, says Gonzalez, could Constantino hide himself? He was secured in the Inquisitorial stronghold.⁴⁴ He withheld the confession of his faith before the Inquisitors until an untoward accident put at last an end to his tergiversation. A widow lady Doña Isabel Martinez had been imprisoned and condemned by the Inquisition and her property had been confiscated. Her son had, however, managed to secrete some chests filled with valuables. This was betrayed by a servant, and an officer was sent to get away the things that had not been delivered up. As soon as Martinez saw the officer, he thought he knew what his errand was, and anticipated his demand, by offering him all he wanted at once, only stipulating that he should be left free. The officer unhesitatingly promised him this, since his duty did not affect the man's person. Whereupon Martinez took the officer to the most out of the way corner of the large house, and taking some stones out of the wall, shewed him a mass of papers. The officer amazed took possession of them, but did not, however, leave until those chests, for which Martinez did not suppose him to be sent, were delivered up to him. These papers had been committed by Constantino to the widow, for her to preserve in concealment.

42) Extracts from a manuscript written by a contemporary Jesuit of Seville (compare above note 25), de Castro, *Buscapié* 133 f., *Prst. Esp.* 267 f., Menendez 434 f.

43) See life of Juan Perez.

44) *raptus ad Inquisitorium arcem.* Gons. 287. That of Triana.

Amongst other things found there was a thick volume in the doctor's own handwriting, wherein he minutely set forth his heartfelt convictions upon the points in dispute between Papists and Protestants. In his printed works he had abstained from all mention of the Pope; this and some other points, which are unnoticed in those books, he proposed treating, as he used to say, in the second part of his *Doctrina*. In this manuscript he portrayed the Pope as Antichrist, and called purgatory a bugbear and invention of the monks to fill their bellies. When Constantino was asked by the Inquisitors whether he acknowledged his handwriting, he even then endeavoured for some days and in every possible manner to avoid doing so, but at last he surrendered himself to the will of God and confessed: I wrote it all, and it represents my real convictions. Seek no further proofs against me, and do with me what seems good to you.⁴⁵ When Charles heard that his confessor was imprisoned, he said: If Constantino is a heretic, he is a great one.⁴⁶ Constantino's Christian Doctrine was one of about thirty favorite works which constituted all the library which the Emperor had, in his retirement at San Yuste, when he died.⁴⁷ Two years⁴⁸ did Constantino pine away in prison. The fearful heat

45) Menendez 437 places the imprisonment of C. after this avowal, de Castro 273 before the avowal, but after the discovery of the manuscripts, Llorente c. XXI. art. II. § 2. before this discovery. This last view seems to be that of Gons. (compare our note 44), who is the only source for the affair of the manuscripts.

46) Sandoval, *Vida del Emperador Carlos Quinto*, Segunda parte, Valladolid 1606 [first edition. STRASSBURG Univ.], lib. 33, fol. 5: *quando prendieron a Constantino canonigo de Sevilla dixo, si Constantino es herege, sera gran herege, y salio assi, que dixo despues uno de los Inquisidores que le condenaron que avia sido uno de los mayores hereges del mundo*. Just so, orthographical differences excepted, the reprint bearing the same year and place and printer (Cañas) [FRANKFURT o. M., City], p. 741. Has M'Crie p. 262 read *dixo despues á uno &c?*

47) Stirling, *The cloister life of the Emperor Charles the fifth*. London 1852. P. 266.

48) *biennium integrum*, Gons. 290. He was still in liberty when on 12 May 1558 he signed the receipt which is his only autograph known to us, mentioned by Menendez 439. On 19 August 1558 the Chapter sent two persons to the Inquisitors in order to negotiate the kind treatment of C., Menendez 759. The Emperor, who died on 21 Sept. of the same year, got the news of his imprisonment, see text. Llorente l. c.: *recluso en carceles secretas, año 1558, atendidas las constituciones del Santo-Oficio, meses ántes de la enfermedad y muerte de Carlos V*; French 2, 275: *son arrestation, qui eut lieu en effet dans l'année 1558, quelques*

in his cell, which compelled him to strip off every thing but his shirt, brought upon him dysentery, to which he succumbed in a fortnight. A monk of the convent of San Isidro, who likewise was incarcerated for his faith and who was confined in the same cell, closed Constantino's eyes. Nevertheless the lie was circulated that Constantino had committed suicide.⁴⁹ His death occurred in the summer of 1560. On 22 December of that year his remains and those of his friend Ægidius were committed to the flames. Caçalla had already been burnt a year and a half previously, with the alleviation of being first strangled because he had repented; the solemn declaration which he is reported to have made, having death before his eyes, proves indeed his penitence, but does not imply a retractation of his evangelical convictions.⁵⁰

The books which Constantino had published with the approbation of the Inquisitors were now prohibited by them, „not as if they had found anything in them worthy of condemnation, but lest there should exist any honorable memorial of a man doomed to execration.“⁵¹ Even some expressions in praise of Constantino found in books which were published before his imprisonment were blotted out and not allowed to be reprinted.⁵²

The canons had tried in vain to get Constantino better treated in the prison. Now at last the provisor's candidate, Dr. Çumel, got the magistral canonry.⁵³

mois avant la mort de Charles-Quint. Probably only one month before the death of Charles, or some days more.

49) Gons. 291 f. Cipr. de Valera, *Trat. del papa*, *Rf. Esp.* VI, 251: „he had died from sickness and ill treatment; this I know from the same person who was present at his death and had waited upon him in his sickness.“ Sepulveda, *de reb. gestis Philippi II*, § 28, tells that Constantino and Gil died from disease (*morbo*). On the calumny of suicide see our note 58.

50) See Wiffen's note to M'Crie, ed. of 1856, p. 206 f.

51) Gons. 297. Nic. Antonio says in 1672, when he had not seen Constantino's works: they were written *cum nondum exisset bonam mentem*, and the same is read in the second edition where a bibliographical notice on the Summary is added, from autopsy, as it seems.

52) Compare above notes 3 and 27; and below p. 26.

53) Menendez 760.

54) *Constantino named by mistake instead of Cazalla.*

Jac. Schopper tells (see Caroli memorabilia t. 1. 1697. p. 342 sq.), that, when he was in the cradle, he had been kissed by the Emperor's confessor Constantino, who had come at the time of the Schmalkalden war, in Lent, during the Emperor's stay at Ulm, to Biberach, where Alphonsus Vives, Spanish magister de campo, arranged a disputation between old Schopper and that confessor, who after this colloquy called on his opponent and confessed being beaten by the testimonies of Holy Scripture, and declared his conversion to Schopper's belief. However, Constantino was not then in Germany with the Emperor. Charles resided at Ulm from January 25 to March 4. 1547 (Caroli V iter ex infer. Germania ab a. 1545 usque ad comitia a. 1547, ab Mamerano annotatum, denuo revisum. 1548. Folio B 8 and C 1). Alphonsus Vivas is registered as Magister campi in the Catal. omnium generalium, tribunorum, ducum, primorumque totius exercitus Caroli V super rebelles conscripti a. 1546. authore Nic. Mamerano, Coloniae 1550, p. 42; he perished in the coup-de-main against Constance in September 1548 (Girolamo Faleti: prima parte delle guerre di Alemagna, Vinegia 1552, p. 363 f.; compare Constantia Rhenana, authore Bucelino, 1667, p. 349 f.). In the Catalogus familiae totius aulae Caesareae per expeditionem adv. inobedientes usque Augustam Rheticam, per Nic. Mameranum, Coloniae 1550, the dedication of which is dated August 2. 1548, p. 13: Petrus de Soto professionis ordinis Dominici, Theologus Confessor Caesareus. Dominicus de Soto eiusdem ordinis, Theologus et Concionator. and p. 16 two more preachers of the Emperor: N Doctor Cazalla Theologus Concionator. Johannes Munietones Augustinianus frater Birbiescae Alcaldi, hoc est, iudicis Aulae Caesareae, Concionator. No doubt Augustin Cazalla (the Christian name was unknown to Mameranus who for that reason puts an N instead of it) was that clergyman of the Imperial court of whom Schopper speaks. If Cazalla was at Biberach in Lent 1547 when the Emperor was at Ulm, it must have been in the very beginning of March, as the Emperor left that town on March 4, and Easter was on April 10. Dr. Constantino most likely was in Ulm, when prince Philip was there, who (according to Calvete de Estrella's Viaje) arrived on the 27 of February 1549 and left on the first of March. Alf. Vives had died in the preceding year.

55) *Doctor Constantino and Cardanus.*

Hieronymus Cardanus, the celebrated physician of Milan, in his work de subtilitate, book XIX: de daemonibus, tells: Vigebat olim in Hispania haec ars [necromantiae], publiceque docebatur in Salamantica academia, nunc vero publicis legibus sublata est. Unde ibi aliqua adhuc artis experimenta supersunt. Narrabat mihi Don Constantinus Fontanus Hispanus theologus, et ab exomologesi Principis Philippi Hispaniarum, dum in Vagliadolit civitate Hispaniae, in domo typographi quae male ob strepitus audiebat nocturnos diversaretur, prima nocte incubum sensisse: sed cum olivas nigras in coena comedisset, naturale existimasse, cum incubus inter morbos numeretur. Sequenti nocte super lecto videt auditque foles concertantes, quod quamquam durum videretur, quia tamen esse poterat, et hoc naturale esse duxit. Tertia autem nocte cum nondum dormitum isset, de hisce dissereret, tubae vocem quasi in aure audivit. Existimans sibi speciem esse, pueros videbat qui ibi astabant ridentes: tum vox illa cubiculum circuire coepit, perfectoque circuitu sub lecto se abdidit, ibi diu stropens, cum nihil videretur. Sed nullibi magis seu daemonum seu mortuorum vestigia videre aut audire licet quam circa morituros, aut post ingentes clades, vel pestilentiae temporibus. Dupliciter autem morituris haec eveniunt: vel ipsis, unus-

quisque enim antequam moriatur aliquid videns terretur: et postquam viderit, non supervivit. Et quanquam naturale esse possit, mirum tamen est. *I have copied this from p. 539 of the folio edition of the de subtilitate libri XXI. nunc demum recogniti atque perfecti. Basileae per Ludovicum Lucium. Anno 1554. Colophon: .. excudebat .. M. D. LIIII. mense Martio. [VIENNA Court. Also in my possession]. Dedication Ferrando Gonzaghao, dated XI. Calendas Maij, anno M. D. LII. Lutetiae. The passage recurs in the reprints of this edition: p. 691 of the octavo edition Lugduni Apud Gulielmum Rouillium, M. D. LVIII. [FLORENCE Nazionale. ROMA Vittorio Emanuele]; on the same page of the edition Lugduni M. D. LXXX. [STRASSBURG Univ.] (from which Bayle, Dictionnaire, article Ponce, has copied it, stopping, however, with videretur). The folio Basle 1560 [MILAN Brera, also in my possession] is the print of 1554; only it has received a new title (on which the portrait of Cardanus with the year of the portrait: 1553), a new last leaf (p. 561) and the accession (indicated on the title) of the apology in Calumniatorem, at the end of which is the notice: Basileae ex officina Petrina anno MDLX mense Martio. The edition Basle 1554 was the second one of the de subtilitate. Cardanus himself states as for the second edition: anno MDLiiij, atque in eius initio publicata est; this he says p. 139 of in Calumniatorem librorum de subtilitate actio prima, in his Quaedam opuscula artem medicam exercentibus utilissima. Basileae, at the end: ex officina Hieronymi Curionis, impensis Henrici Petri, MDLIX mense Martio [MILAN Brera].*

The first edition of De subtilitate, Norimbergae apud Joh. Petreium. M. D. L. dedicated Ferrando Gonzaghæ [MILAN Brera. VIENNA Court] does not contain the above passage, nor is it contained in the editions Parisiis ex officina Michaelis Fezandat & Roberti Granlon 1551 [FLORENCE Nazionale] and Lvgdvni apud G. Rouillium 1551 [VIENNA Court]. (The Sorbonne censured in 1551 Cardanus de subtil. libri XI Lugduni apud Guil. Rouillium 1550; see Du Plessis d'Argentré's Collectio t. 2. 1728, p. 169. In Argelati Bibliotheca scriptorum Mediolanensium 1745, col. 310 is mentioned a reprint Lugduni 1552 of the first edition). In the French translation by Richard le Blanc, Paris 1556 [STRASSBURG Univ.], the passage is wanting (fol. 380), as also what, in the Latin, is said immediately before, after the words acutiorem ad equorum hinnitus (1554, p. 539. 1580, p. 690); after the translation of these words follows that of the sentence (which we have copied) Sed nullibi magis and so on; so also in the editions of this translation Paris 1566 fol. 465 [VIENNA Court] and Paris 1578 on the same fol. [I think it was in the Univ. library at Strassburg that I used this ed.]

An octavo edition with the actio and the same subscription: Basileae ex officina Petrina anno M. D. LX mense Martio [VIENNA Court. ROME Casanatensis] has a dedication Ferrando de Corduba, where is said that the two former editions had been dedicated to Ferrando Gonzaga, who had died since. Instead of in Vagliadolit is printed in Pinthia seu Valleoletana, vulgato nomine Vagliadolit. With this same addition the passage recurs in the reprints Basileae per Sebastianum Henricipetri CIO. IO. XXCH [ROME Vittorio Emanuele] p. 976. 977; at the same publishers CIO. IO. XI [VIENNA Court. FLORENCE Nazionale] on the same pages; in Cardani operum tomus tertius, Lugduni M. DC. LXIII [MILAN Brera. VIENNA Court]; in the separate edition Basileae M. DC. LXIV. [VIENNA Court. STRASSBURG Univ.].

Joannes Petraeus Norimbergen. impressor and Adamus and Henricus Petri, each of them Basileen. impressor, are named in the Roman Index of 1558 among the

Typographi e quorum officinis Haereticorum opera prodire, and whose publications are prohibited all of them, unless examined by the Inquisition. And besides there is prohibited Hieronymus Cardannus, de subtilitate, together with some other works of the same author. The Censura in Cardani de subtilitate in Indicis libror. expurg. t. I. Romae 1607 orders: deleatur a vers. id non tantum artis &c. usque ad vers. narrabat mihi Don Constantinus &c. In the Index Sandoval y Rojas, Madrid 1612, reprint Palermo 1628 [STRASSBURG Univ.], Expurg. p. 283, and in the Index libror. prohib. et expurg. Juxta Exemplar excusum Madriti. M. DC. LXVII. [STRASSBURG Univ.] p. 521, referring to the ed. Basil. Seb. Henricpetri 1582: Expungatur totus lib. 19, qui est de Daemonibus, & continetur à pag. 960. usque ad pag. 980. cum omnibus Notis marginalibus.

Calrete de Estrellas in the Viaje del Principe Philippe 1552 (MILAN, Brera. See above here p. 11) mentions that in December 1548 in Paria Alciatus and Cardanus had been visited by muchos hombres doctos cortesanos. Amongst these will have been Dr. Constantino; the only other occasion for him and Cardanus to meet, was when Constantino passed through Lombardy in 1551. At all events the above conversation is not mentioned in the first edition of de subtilitate which appeared in 1550.

The accident in question had, no doubt, occurred in 1548, when Constantino had joined the court of Philip.

56) *Two letters of Gaspar a Nidbruck to Francisco de Enzinas.*

Nobilitate pietate et eruditione praestanti domino Francisco d'Enzinas, amico suo pie colendo. Argentorati.

S. P. Tuas ad octavam usque expectavi, et quia profectio mea ob nautarum importunitatem moram non patiebatur, diutius Argentinae haerere non licebat; adhaec literae tuae non ita necessario desiderabantur, sufficere si nunc proximo tabellario ad me huc mittas. Hodie patri mei literas ex Anglia accepi: probatur ipsi meum institutum, et consilium suum addit quomodo conficere id commode possim. Quare te pro amicitia nostra reverenter rogatum volo, ut ad doctorem Constantinum in mei gratiam perscribere velis, quibus in locis et cum quibus versatus sim. Non necessarium fuerit addere de religione. De me non multa polliceberis, hoc vero affirmare poteris, fidei et piorum virorum studioso commissurum quicquid cuiuscunque generis communicaverit. Si quid etiam de tuis rationibus cum ipso conferre velis, id meo iudicio tum melius fiet, cum Augustae fuero, facile enim resciscam quo animo sit erga puram Evangelii doctrinam, et quemadmodum erga te affectus sit; item quid alii de te sentiant. Haec enim omnia diligenter expiscabor, et per legatos Argentinenses Argentoratum meas transmitti curabo. Hoc meum est consilium, quod tamen tuo iudicio submitto. Nempe ut in iis literis, quas ad me mittes, de religione non nimium exacte (ut te et omnes pios vero decet) cum doctore Constantino colloquaris, sed tantum in mei commendationem pro tua humanitate amice scribas; habebis me tum semper fidelem et diligentem sollicitatorem. Si qui etiam sint nobiles in aula sanguine vel necessitudine tibi devincti, iis et ad mei promotionem aliquid dignaberis scribere, et significare, me linguis hactenus dedisse operam: Germanicam habere vernaculam, Gallicam haud longe dissimilem, Italicam me per aliquot annos exercuisse, Hispanicam intelligere et maius studium in ea perdiscenda collocaturum si cum Hispanis, officiorum meorum praestatione, honesto vel mediocri loco esse queam. Et cognosces si quid donorum largiatur aeternus pater, te non in ingratum posuisse beneficium. Vale in domino qui vos isthinc conservet, consiliaque vestra ad nominis

sui gloriam et verae religionis propagationem dirigat. Nova quae habeo ex Augusta, ad dominum Sledanum perscripsi, inde petere licebit. Iterum vale ac tuas per primum tabellarium transmittere digneris; addet percommode suis dominus Sledanus. Coniungem honestissimam una cum familia officiose et amanter salutabis. Datum Spirae 26 Augusti 1550.

Tui perstudiosus

Gaspar a Nidbruck. D.

Ex harum latore, studioso Argentinensi, nomine Joanne Winckelio, intelliges de rebus Saxonici, venit enim ex Wittenberga. Dominus Fredericus nondum venit, nescio in patria an vero Augustae sit.

Ornatissimo viro virtute et nobilitate praestanti, domino Francisco d'Enzinas.
Argentorati.

S. P. Tuas reddidi, domine carissime, tua quoque commendatio apud gravissimum virum doctorem Constantinum non parvum pondus habuit, nam humanissime me excepit, et, qua est prudentia ac eruditione, non dubito quin consilio suo iuvare atque promovere meum institutum possit, quod facturum se pollicitus est, neque ego ipsius benevolentiae diffido. Erga te quoque me gratum exhibebo si quando concedatur et occasio se offerat declarandi meum erga te studium. De mea protectione in Hispaniam nihil adhuc certi habeo; si quid iuvante Deo assequi potero, reddam te certiore. Rerum novarum nihil te dignum. Quid Status ad propositiones responderint, procul dubio tibi notum est, quid item replicarit imperator; ad hanc Caesaris replicam Status responderunt, sed Caesari responsum traditum neque adhuc publicatum; cum evulgabitur, tum ad vos perscribam. Reliqua ex domini Sledani literis cognoscas qui omnia non gravatim communicabit. Summopere desiderat doctor Constantinus te ad tuos redire, vel saltem in Belgico Antuerpiae esse, idcirco responsum petit ad suas. Si rescribas, mittas ad legatum Argentoratensem per nuncium juratum; hunc legatum ego rogabo ut vel ad meas manus literas mittat, vel doctori Constantino ipsi per famulum tradi curet si ego hinc discedam, de quo tamen ad te pluribus cum aliquid constitutum habuero. Vale in domino, et me tui studiosissimum redama. Augustae 8 Octob. 1550.

Tuus

Gaspar a Nydbruck. D.

The D behind his name means Doctor iuris. Some years later he calls himself Roem. koen. Maj. u. kön. Würde zu Behem. Hoverath.

Parts of these two letters, the autographs of which are in the Thomas archives at Strassburg (see not. 1, p. 164), are translated and printed in English in Wiffen's biographical sketch of Dr. Constantino prefixed to Betts' translation of Constantino's Confession of a sinner 1869, p. 14 f. At the end of the former letter the word Agent is another translation of the same word which first was translated by correspondent. P. 16, l. 10 write He asks instead of I ask; on the same page instead of Brussels must be written Augsburg (in the foregoing line a comma would be better than a semicolon).

The Emperor was at Augsburg from the 7th of August 1550 to May 51.

See on Gaspar a Nidbruck the correspondence between Maximilian II and Christoph duke of Wurtemberg, in Le Bret's Magazin, t. 9, Ulm 1785, p. 1. 2. 4. and the Beiträge of Ad. Horawitz in the Sitzungsberichte der Philosophisch-hist.

Classe der kais. Akademie der Wiss. Wien 1874. Bd. 76, S. 298 f. Compare in the first volume of this Biblth. Wiff. p. 125.

The wife of Sleidanus (since 1546) was a Nidbruck.

57) *Constantino not at S. Yuste with the Emperor.*

Dav. Chytraei oratio de Carolo quinto, Caesare augusto. 1583. p. 56 sq.; also in the same author's de tribus nostrae actatis Caesaribus Augustis orationes, Witebergae 1583, p. 82 sq.; and in his Saxonia under the year 1558, ed. of 1593, p. 572 sq., and tertium recognita 1611, p. 512: Habuit in ea solitudine Hieronymianorum fratrum Carolus postremo vitae suae biennio familiarem qui a confessionibus ipsi fuerat, doctorem Constantinum, virum gravem, pium et praecclare eruditum. Is, inter quotidiana et assidua precum et laudum divinarum a Carolo suscepta exercitia, ad scriptorum Bernhardi lectionem, citatis in consolatione sententiis quibusdam insignibus, eum invitarat. After some quotations from Saint Bernard on justification by mercy through faith: His Bernardi dictis se mirifice delectari et recreari Carolus ostendit. In another place of his Saxonia, under the year 1559, ed. 1593, p. 580, ed. 1611, p. 519, Chytraeus says: illum Constantinum qui patri Carolo V. morienti adfuerat (see the passage below here note 58). The fact is that Constantino was in prison when the Emperor died.

De Thou and Sarpi fell into this same error that Constantino had been present at the death of the Emperor. Thuani Hist. 23, 14. London t. 1. 1733. p. 788: Constantinus, qui a sacris confessionibus diu Caesari, eique in solitudine sua post Imperii ac regnorum abdicationem ac postremo animam agenti semper praesto fuerat, ad idem mox tribunal raptus, in tetro carcere paulo ante expiraverat. And the historian of the Concilio Tridentino book 5 (Geneva 1660, p. 426): finalmente la statua di Constantino Pontio, il quale confessor di Carlo quinto nella solitudine sua lo servi in quel ministero sino al fine, & raccolse nelle sue braccia l'Imperadore moriente. Questo pochi giorni inanzi [dell'auto de se] era morto in pregione, nella quale, per imputazione d'heresia, fu posto immediate dopo la morte dell'Imperadore. Pallavicino in the Istoria del concilio Tridentino, parte seconda, Roma 1657, libro XIV, capo XI, p. 135, observes against Sarpi: il Ponzio fu Predicatore non Confessore di Carlo; il qual ufficio*) nel tempo della sua infermità mortale veniva esercitato da Frate Francesco di Viglialva. With the marginal note: Vedi Gioannantonio di Verazugniga nel Compendio della Vita di Carlo V. e'l Sandoval nel fine della Vita dello stesso. In the text Pallavicino says some lines later on Ponzio: venne imprigionato in Siviglia per la mentovata causa vivente Carlo, il quale uditane la novella, disse tosto: Se Constantino è eretico, è grand' eretico: accennando, che s'era tale, si era egli simulato con una ipocrisia tanto più empia quanto più fina per ottimo catolico. (Giattino's Latin translation, pars II, Antwerp 1673: egregii Catholici personam fuisse mentitum). According to Vera y Zuñiga, Epitome de la vida del Emp. Carlos V. 1627. Madrid [VIENNA Court], Charles took with him to Yuste fray Juan de Regla, su Confessor (f. 111); as for fray Francisco de Villalva, Vera y Zuñiga only says (f. 114 f.) that Charles was listening to his consolations when the agony begun. Sandoval (ed. Pamplona 1634. VIENNA Court) does not name the confessor who assisted the dying Emperor.

In a letter of Gerardus Busdragus to a Cardinal, dated Padova 15 Dec. 1558 we read: de Hispaniis quoque narrant, quod illic etiam sint tumultus hac in re, et quod Carolus Q. Episcopo Toletano moriens dixerit, Lutheranos habere justam causam, saltem in articulo justificationis. The letter is found in Hispanicae Inquisitionis secretiora per Ursinum 1611. Gerdesius reprinted the whole from Ursinus in Scrin.

antq. t. 1. *I recollect having read, if not the whole letter, at least the above passage in Dorothei Asciani montes pietatis. Lps. 1670. It had been published by P. P. Vergerio, s. l. e. a. (compare Baumgarten's Nachrichten von einer Hallischen Bibliothek, Bd. 2. 1748. p. 61 f.), probably in 1558 or 1559; it is a fiction. The same P. P. Vergerio writes in his fictitious Secretarii pontificii actio tertia, first published 1559, reprinted in Primus tomus operum Vergerii. Tübingæ 1563 (from which edition fol. 90 I copy):* Mirum certe, quod ex omnium sermonibus et literis vestra Sanctitas audit, ubique sparsam esse et invalescere istud venenum Germanicum, etiam in terris nuper repertis, etiam in ipsis Hispaniis, quibus nihil solebat esse firmitus et constantius. Certum est nuperime plurimos illic coniectos in carcerem, plurimos igne consumptos, plurimos fuga sibi cosuluisse: et nihilominus videtur non posse malum eradicari. Nunc metuo ne sit additum oleum camino, cum ad Sanctitatem vestram Toletanus Episcopus scripserit, ipsum Carolum morientem dixisse, sibi videri, veram esse Lutheranorum de Iustificacione sententiam. Fama idem statim per universam Europam (ut audio) tulit, et simul, quod Sanctitas vestra dixerit, se nolle ipsi, propterea quod cum Lutheranis in præcipuo religionis capite sensisset, ullas exequias celebrare. Ac non est dubitandum, quin talis fama, seu vera seu falsa fuerit, ego puto esse veram, multos magnopere commoverit. Compare Llorente c. 18, art. 2.

58) *Constantino bigamist, suicide (compare p. 13 and 18); burnt alive.*

A notice in the Archivo municipal of Seville says: Hoy se ha suicidado el Dr. Constantino en la carcel de la Inquisition, rompiendo el vaso en que le entraban el vino. Menendez who gives this extract p. 438, states: no se ha podido averiguar el dia. It seems that Menendez misinterpreted this relation where he says 437: Algunas relaciones del tiempo añaden que se suicidó, introduciendo en la garganta los pedazos del vaso en que le servian el vino. He quotes no other document to prove that C. introduced pieces of glass into his throat. In a report written about 1560 (quoted by Vicente de la Fuente, Hist. ocultos de España, 2ª ed. t. V. 1874. p. 241) we are told: se quemaron las huesos de Constantino que se había muerto en la cárcel, y los de Egidio, canónigo de Sevilla. Hallóse por verdad que Constantino era casado dos veces con dos mujeres vivas, y que siéndolo, se ordenó de sacerdote, y con ser abominablemente carnal y vicioso, había sabido tan bien fingir santidad, que con su nunca vista hipocresia era tenido en el pueblo por santo. Al fin, dicen, que él mismo se mató en la cárcel y así se acabó de descubrir de todo punto su maldad y la máscara con que tenía el mundo engañado. Gonzalez p. 292: in optimam sancti viri existimationem sævire decreverunt [Inquisitores], frequentibus sparsis rumoribus, vitreis fragmentis scissa vena, ut dolorem atque ignominiam supplicii effugeret, mortem sibi conscivisse. Paramo, de origine &c. Inquisitionis, Matrili 1598, p. 302: inventus est Constantinus ex his, utraque conjuge viva, matrimonium contraxisse, et in eo statu ad sacrum presbyteratus ordinem fuisse promotus, and: sibi ipsi suis manibus mortem conscivisse perhibent. He only says perhibent, as the above report written about 1560 only says dicen.

Cabrera, Filipe Segundo. Madrid 1619. libr. V, cap. III, p. 236: En Sevilla quemaron en otro auto de Inquisicion cincuenta, i los huesos del Dotor Constantino, porque se mató en la carcel con vn cuchillo el Luterano, casado con dos mugeres viviendo anbas, i tomó el orden Sacerdotal también. Nicolaus Antonius, Bibliotheca Nova 1. 1672. p. 196 (repeated 1783, p. 256), after the catalogue of Constantino's writings: Tot vallatus vir doctrinæ atque existimationis ornamentis simul, et muni-mentis (1672: munumentis), ne quis altum sapere præsumat, sed potius timeat, sibique a se ipso caveat, in fœdissimas hæreses lapsus, dum in custodia esset, brevi dicturus

coram omni populo Hispalensi, ut moris est, abrenuntiata veræ fidei causam, ipse sibi manus sæve intulit, ne huic scenæ se vivum exhiberet. Effugere tamen non potuit in cadavere vindices flammæ. *Cienfuegos*, Vida de F. de Borja, *Madrid* 1702, p. 292: en la carcel se arrimó un puñal al pecho, y fué su infame brazo Juez, Reo, y Verdugo. *Pellicer*, Ensayo p. 31: Constantino salió en estatua por haberse quitado a sí mismo la vida en la prision.

Some historians thought that Dr. Constantino had been burnt alive. Bezu says, *Icones* 1580 li. iij: Egidio quidem post mortem cremato, Varquia in ipso Inquisitorum certamine mortuo, Constantino denique, viro trium linguarum egregie perito, et quo confessore, quem vocant, diu fuerat usus Carolus quintus, Sivilia damnato et cremato. *David Chytræus expressly tells in his Saxonia under the year 1559, ed. of 1593, p. 580, of 1611, p. 519: Philip returned to Spain*, ubi primo adventu in multos pios et innocentes homines hæresis nomine accusatos acerbe animadvertit, ac inter cæteros plurimos Doctorem etiam illum Constantinum, qui patri Carolo V. morienti adfuerat, cum tota familia, Hispali in foro vivum cremavit. *A rumour that the whole family was burned with him, may have been occasioned by the circumstances, that in 1559 a Juan Ponce was executed, and in 1560 the widow of a Fernando Ponce was condemned to penitences (compare here p. 15); both, however, were Ponces de Leon. Culvisius, no doubt, did not think to alter anything by writing children instead of family; Opus chronologicum, ed. altera, Fref. a. O. 1620, p. 846: Philippus . . . vivum cum liberis exussit Constantinum, qui patri Carolo morienti adfuerat . . . Chyt. (viz. Chytræus). The same in the third edition, Francf. 1629, p. 1185 f., and in the fourth, Fref. a. M. et Embdæ 1650, p. 934. The ed. Fref. a. M. et Lps. 1685, p. 934 has cum liberis excussit [sic]. The first ed. Lps. 1605, p. 968 says, without quoting Chyt. and without naming Constantino: exustus est, qui adfuerat Carolo patri morienti.*

59) *Constantino's Doctrina Christiana translated into Italian.*

La vita dell' invittissimo imperator Carlo Quinto; descritta da Alfonso Ulloa . . Venetia . . M D I X. [STRASSBURG Univ.]. Preface dated Venice 1 March 1560. Libro quarto, p. 520, speaking of the celebrated persons who accompanied prince Philip on his travel from Spain in 1548: Nella Theologia lo seguiron Don Pietro di Castro Vescovo di Salamanca, Cappellano maggiore di su' Altezza; Il Dottor Constantino gran filosofo, & profundissimo Theologo, & de' piu signalati nel pulpito & eloquenza, che sono stati al mondo da gran tempo in qua, come si uede chiaro per le opere che egli scrisse degne del suo diuino ingegno, & spetialmente per la Dottrina Christiana, che tratta sopra gli articoli della fede: la quale habbiamo tradotto in questa lingua. Nella Jurisprudencia . . . *The eulogy of Doctor Constantino is translated from Calvete de Estrella, see above here p. 11; Ulloa only changed profundo into profundissimo, and ingenio into divino ingegno, and added the passage following this word. It would seem he states he translated the larger Doctrina Christiana, of which the only part which has been printed treats, as the title states: de los articulos de la fe (see below n° 184), the smaller Summa de doctrina Christiana by the same author treating also the ten commandments &c. Ulloa does not state whether he got his translation printed, and we may therefore conclude that it was not printed at that time. — Also the second passage of Calvete on Constantino, on his embarkation with Doria and his sermon on All Saints day, is reproduced by Ulloa. I did not copy it from the edition of 1560 and now transcribe the last words of the passage from the edition of 1566, fol. 245: Quiui si celebrò l'officio diuino con gran solennità, & predicò con quella eccellenza, & dottrina che suol far*

sempre il Dottor Constantino. *Both passages are repeated still in the edition Venice 1606.*

The Spanish Inquisition had already ordered the cancellation of the words praising Constantino. Index librorvm expurgatorvm, . . Gasparis Quiroga . . iussu editus . . Juxta exemplar . . Madriti . . M. LXXXIII. Salmvri . . M. DCI. Fol. 1: „Alonso de Vlloa. De Alonso de Villa“ [sic], „en la vida del Emperador Carlos V. impressa en Venecia año de 1573. Fol. 243: quítese desde las parabras“ [sic]. „El Doctor Constantino, &c. hasta traduxo en esta lengua assi en la dicha impression, como en qualquiera otra: y en qualquiera lengua que el dicho libro se halle.“ The same in the Index expurg. . . Philippi II . . M. D. LXXI. Accesserunt . . Excerpta . . ex indice . . D. D. Gasparis Quiroga . . Madriti . . M. D. LXXXIV . . . Argentorati. M. DC. IX. p. 276. Index Sundoral y Rojas, Madrid 1612, reprint Panormi 1628, prohib. part p. 11, among the books en castellano: „Alonso de Villosa,“ [on the next page, with reference to this article: Villosa] „en la vida del Emperador Carlos V. impressa en Venecia año de 1573. casi à la tercera parte del libro quarto, se quiten de dos lugares las alabanzas de Constantino de la Fuente, Auctor condenado, I lo mismo se haga en la impression de lengua Italiana, y en otra qualquier impression, y lengua.“ Llorente in the Historia de la Inq. de Esp. Madrid 1822. capit. 21. t. 4, p. 264 writes: Alfonso de Ulloa, en la vida de Carlos V, alaba mucho las obras de Constantino, y con especialidad la doctrina cristiana que se habia traducido al italiano. The note to which reference is made at the end of this passage, contains only the quotation: Villosa, Vita di Carlo V, edicion de Venecia del año 1589. pag. 237. The same passage, with the quotation Venice 1589, p. 237, in the French translation of Llorente's History, traduite sur le manuscrit et sous les yeux de l'auteur, t. 2. 1817. p. 278, also in the second edition 1818, and in the Italian translation from the French by Ticozzi 1820 and several times. By doctrina cristiana (French traité de la Doctrine Chrétienne) Llorente means the Suma de la doctrina cristiana, not the Dialogo de doctrina cristiana entre maestro y discipulos (write discipulo), as he had some lines before called the two books, following the prohibitory decree of 1559 (see here below p. 26), where, however, Suma means the larger work of which only the first volume has appeared (the French translator of Llorente's History gives Suma by Abrégé).

M'Crie, History of the Reformation in Spain, 1829, p. 214, speaking of Dr. Constantino's Summary of Christian doctrine (meaning the larger sum, which, however, in note † he confounds with the smaller one): The work was translated into Italian, and has been highly praised by some Roman catholic writers. In the note ‡ at the foot of the page, he quotes: Ulloa, Vita di Carlo V. p. 237. Joan. Pineda, Comment. in Fab. Justiniani Indic. Univ. praef. cap. XIII. sect. 6. Neither Pineda nor Giustiniani say anything about an Italian translation of a book of Dr. Constantino's nor do they mention at all his doctrinal works; probably M'Crie did not intend to quote these authors for the former part of his sentence. As for the second part, we shall enquire hereafter (p. 29). M'Crie does not say here in which edition of Ulloa's Vita di Carlo V, nor does he quote this book in any other place of his two volumes on the Reformation in Spain and in Italy. M'Crie's words have been simply reprinted in the new edition edited by his son, 1856, p. 103.

Adolfo de Castro, Historia p. 275: Escribió Un diálogo de doctrina cristiana entre maestro y discipulos, que se prohibió por Valdés y que fué traducido al idioma italiano, segun dice Alonso de Ulloa en la Vida de Carlos V. (Venecia, 1589).

It is singular that Llorente, M'Crie and de Castro all refer to the edition Venice 1589, whilst there exist so many editions of the book.) Now, in the edition Venice 1589 of Ulloa's life of Charles V [ROME, University library = Alexandrina] the pages are not numbered, but the leaves, and on fol. 237 nothing at all is said of Constantino Ponce de la Fuente. It is clear that M'Crie simply copied Llorente. And de Castro did the same (he has Llorente's discipulos); if he had read the passage of Ulloa, he would most likely not have said, that the Christian doctrine (de Castro mistakes it for the dialogue) had been translated into Italian as Ulloa stated, but: that Ulloa had translated it. As for Llorente himself, he does not state but what he could derive from Ulloa, whom he quotes and whom he really must have read; there is only some mistake in the reference to the place where Ulloa's statement is to be found in his book.*

We have therefore no trace of Ulloa's translation being ever printed. We may, on the contrary, take it for certain that it never was printed. The translator, who does not seem to have got it published before he edited in 1560 his life of the Emperor, will not have ventured to issue it afterwards, for in the same year Constantino was condemned and his corpse was burnt. Ulloa, when praising the Imperial preacher, was doubtless unaware that he was already in the Inquistorial prison.

59) *Old lists of Constantino's writings.*

Royal privilege of 1548, printed with Constantino's Doctrina Scrilie 1548:

Por quanto por parte de vos el Doctor Constantino vezino de la ciudad de Sevilla me fue hecha relacion, diziendo que vos por servicio de dios nuestro señor hezistes y ordenastes cinco libros, intitulos el uno Confession de un peccador, y otro Doctrina christiana, y otro Exposicion del primer psalmo de David, Beatus vir, y otra [sic] Summa de doctrina christiana, y otro Catecismo christiano para instruir los niños: que eran obras muy provechosas para estos reynos: los quales avian sido vistos y examinados por los inquisidores, y ellos los avian aprovado, y vos los aviades imprimido a vuestra costa como por ellos parecia, suplicandome . . .

In the Prefacion to the same Doctrina the author says: tengo proposito si la divina bondad fuere servida, de añadir algunos sermones de principales materias contra los mas ordinarios vicios, y de exhortacion para las mas necesarias virtudes: con una exposicion de las Epistolas y Evangelios que por el curso del año se proponen en la yglesia. And in the preface to the psalms 1546: Sea esto como aviso para la lecion de la scriptura presente, y para la de otras de su calidad, si fuere Dios servido que salgan a luz.

The Catalogvs libroru, qui prohibetur mandato Illustrissimi & Reuerend. D. D. Ferdinandi de Valdes . . . M. D. LIX . . . Pinciæ. [ROME, biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele] contains, among the libros en Romance, que se prohiben, also: Constantino, las obras siguientes. Summa, de Doctrina christiana. Dialogo de Doctrina christiana, entre el maestro y el discipulo. Confession de vn peccador delante de JESV Christo, del mismo Cōstantino, o sin autor. Catechismo christiano del mismo. Exposiciō sobre el primer Psalmo de Danid, Beatus vir. The Dialogo is what the author has called Suma. The Summa de doctrina christiana of this Index is the Doctrina Christiana, parte primera.

(Where I simply quote the Vulladolid Index of 1559, I mean that edition).

*) Editions in Italian: 1560. 1562. 1566. 1568. 1573. 1574. 1575. 1581. 1589. 1606. in the libraries: FLORENCE Naz., MILAN Brera, NAPLES Naz., ROME Alex., VIENNA Court.

Gonsalvius Montanus says in his Inquisitionis Artes 1567, p. 294 f.: Extant illius scripta typis edita multoties, Parva doctrinae Christianae summa.) Item Magna,**) sed dimidia sui parte imperfecta . . . Edidit praeterea Catechismum***) . . . Extant et sex illius conciones in totidem versus Psalmi primi Davidis . . . hominis peccatoris Confessio . . . This last one he prefers to all the before named books. Alrcady on a preceding occasion he had spoken of some manuscripts, p. 283 f.: Accepit primo Salomonis libros, Proverbia, Ecclesiasten et Cantica canticorum atque his . . . explicatis, librum Jobi est aggressus, quem ultra medium interpretando perduxit. Extant ipsius in hos libros praelectiones omnes manu scriptae . . . quos cum vulgaverimus, . . . de summa viri eruditione certius iudicari poterit. His dogmatical manuscript, which had fallen in the hands of the Inquisitors (ib. p. 289 f.), was probably destroyed.*

Gonsalvius is evidently the source for Simler's article in Gesner's Bibliotheca, Tiguri 1574, p. 146 (article with a star and not found in the edition Tiguri 1545 nor in the Epitome bibliothecae Gesneri by Lycosthenes, locupletata per Jos. Simlerum, Tiguri 1555): Constantinus Fontius in summo templo Hispalensi canonicus, concionator, scripsit Parvam doctrinae Christianae summam. Magnum Catechismum. Conciones 6. in totidem versus Psalmi primi Davidis. Hominis peccatoris confessionem. Commentaria in Salomonis Proverbia, Ecclesiasten, Cantica canticorum. Item in librum Job. It is clear that instead of Magnum Catechismum there must at least be written Magnam. Catechismum. The whole article, including that mistake, is simply repeated not only in Frisius' edition, ibid. 1583, p. 173, but also in Possevini Apparatus sacer, t. 1, Venet. 1606, p. 679, and Coloniae Agripp. 1608, p. 383.†) And still in Nic. Antonio's second edition we find Magnum Catechismum.

The just mentioned Bibliotheca instituta a Conr. Gesnero, amplificata per Jo. Jac. Frisium Tiguri 1583 has on the same p. 173 a second article on the same Constantino, separated from the above copied article by other articles on other writers; it has a star, the sign that it is not found in the former editions: Constantini Doctoris Theologiae expositio in Psalmum primum, in sex conciones distributa, Hispanice. Antuerpiae, anno 1556. Eiusdem summa Christianae doctrinae. Antuerpiae, in octavo, Hispanice.

Nic. Antonio's Bibl. Hisp. has in both editions the following: Summam Christianae doctrinae. Antverpiæ in 8. vulgari Hispanico sermone, ut notat author Supplementi Gesnerianae Bibliothecae. Expositionem in Psalmum I. Davidis in VI. conciones distributam. Ibidem 1556. etiam Hispanice, ut refert proxime adductus author. Qui tamen in Psalmum quinquagesimum scriptam fuisse affirmare videtur. Nec difficilis est lapsus ab I in L. Hominis peccatoris Confessionem, nisi idem sit opus cum Expositione Psalmi L. I do not know in what supplement Antonio may have found that lapsus. In Verdier's supplement 1585 I find nothing on Dr. Constantino.

*) Here Daniel Gerdes, reprinting this part of Gons. in 1754 in his *Scrinium antiquarium*, t. 4, part. 1, p. 660 says in a note: Dolendum est horum librorum nihil amplius superesse, aut in nostris oris esse cognitum.

**) Constantino himself did not call it Magna Summa, but he distinguished it from the breve summa as a mas largo y mas copioso tratado (prologo to the Sermon on the Mount, *Usóx* p. 240. 241).

***) haud magni momenti in locis liberioribus: at sub illa plus quam Babylonica tyrannide et in illis tenebris Aegyptijs multum attulit lucis. By a strange mistake *Usóx* reports (Rf. Esp. XIX, p. 427): Edidit Catechismum in locis liberioribus, and Menendez has been misled in the same way (p. 428).

†) *Index Sandoval y Rojas, Palermo reprint 1628, Prohib. p. 10: In Antonij Posseuini Apparatus Sacri Appendice, tom. 1. prioris editionis, et in ipso tom. 1. posterioris editionis littera C. expungatur totus §. qui agit, de Constantino Fontio, Auctore damnato, inter Auctores Catholicos.*

In Bibliotheca classica. Authore M. Georgio Dravidio. Francofurti. M. DC. XI. are mentioned, among exegetical books, Constantini Fontii commentaries to the Song of songs (p. 225), Job (p. 296), Proverbs (p. 344), the first psalm (p. 352), and (p. 255) Constantini Foretij commentary to Ecclesiastes, Foretij by mistake instead of Fontij. This mistake of Draudius recurs in two publications of Fab. Giustiniani, who no doubt copied Draudius, not naming him, however, as his authority. The Elenchvs auctorum qui in sacra biblia . . . scripserunt . . . Fabiani Iustiniani Gonsvensis. appended to the same author's Index vniversalis. Romae MD. CXII. [ROME Vittorio Emanuele] has Constantini Fontij commentaries on Job, first psalm, Proverbs, Song of songs, and Constantini Foretij on Ecclesiastes. In De sacra scriptura eiusque usu ac interpretibus commentarius auctore Fabiano Iustiniano. Romae 1614. [PALERMO Comunale]. Liber tertius seu catalogus vniversalis, p. 30. 36. 48. 54. 57. Constantino's commentaries are mentioned just as in the same author's book of 1612, and, as there, so also here p. 54: Constantini Foretij on Ecclesiastes.

Ioannis de Pineda Hispalensis e societate Jesu in Ecclesiasten commentariorum liber vnus. Hispali 1619. [PALERMO Comunale]. In Praefatio, cap. XIII, §. VI, p. 43: Legas etiam apud Fabianum, Constantini Foretij in Ecclesiasten Commentaria: sed insigni mendo Scriptoris, aut Typographi; quod iterum incorrectum prodijt posteriori eiusdem Fabiani Commentario de Sacra Scriptura, eiusque usu ac Interpretibus, Romae 1614. Ergo sciendum pro Foretio legi omnino debere Fontium. nam is ille est Constantinus. Fontius, damnatus auctor, qui cum ex Anglicana et Germanica peregrinatione multum Lutheranae scabiei contraxisset, convexissetque eo unde profectus fuerat, non prius curari potuit, quam salutifero Sanctae Inquisitionis igne eius ossa, ante annos 60 plus minusve, Hispali publice concremarentur. Scripserat vero nescio quas in Proverb. et Ecclesiasten meditationes. The same in the edition of this Commentary of Pineda Antverpiæ 1620 [VIENNA Court] p. 38. Usóz Rf. Esp. 19, 437 f., quotes the same passage, part of it in translation, the words nam f. in Latin, from the edition Parisiis 1620.

There is no trace that Constantino's commentaries ever were printed, and according to all probability the manuscripts are entirely lost. Certainly not one of them who have spoken of these commentaries after Gonsalvius Montanus, has seen them either printed or in manuscript.

It now appears that M'Crie's quotation (here p. 26): Joan. Pineda, Comment. in Fab. Justiniani Indic. Univ. praef. cap. XIII. sect. 6. must mean the remarks on Fab. Giustiniani's Universal Index, made cap. XIII, §. VI of the Preface of John Pineda to his Commentary on Ecclesiastes (which is not the only commentary he wrote). But Giustiniani and Pineda are not to be quoted as Roman catholic authors who highly praised Constantino's Summary of Christian doctrine. For of this work they do not speak at all, and as for Constantino's commentaries of which they speak, Giustiniani only mentions them without praising or blaming the books or the author, and Pineda, who mentions two of the commentaries, gives it to be understood that he does not know them, and only reprobates the condemned author.

In Quiroga's prohibitory index of books in Spanish, Madrid 1583: Constantino, doctor de Sevilla: todas sus obras (de Castro p. 438). In the Index Sandoral y Rojas, Madrid 1612, Palermo reprint 1628, Prohib. p. 22 in the first class: Constantinus Fontius, vel, de la Fuente, Hispanus, and on the same page in the same class: En Castellano. Constantino de la Fuente. In the Index .. Juxta Exemplar excusum Madriti M. DC. LXVII. p. 229: Constantino de la Fuente. Autor condenado, todas sus Obras en qualquier lengua, y especialmente La Confession del Pecador.

***Summary of Christian doctrine, four editions,
and Christ's Sermon on the mount, four editions.***

The Valladolid index of 1559 prohibits among the books en Romance Constantino's Dialogo de Doctrina christiana, entre el maestro y el discipulo.

178. 1544. Summary, first edition.

The upper half of the title-page is occupied by the weapon of a cardinal, no doubt of Don Garcia de Loaysa. In the lower half on each side an angel; between the angels, below, an ornament containing the letters I C which no doubt mean Juan Cromberger. Between the four engravings, each of which is framed separately, is read the title, the first word between two ornamental leaves:

Suma | de doctrina christiana | en que se contiene todo | lo
principal y neces- | sario que el hōbre | christiano de- | ue saber: y |
obrar . . .

Under the engravings, between two leaves: Con priuilegio imperial. All the words on the title are in red, as is also the punctuation. Octavo.

Second leaf: Lo que este libro principalmente contiene. On the back begins the dedication Al illustrissimo y reuerendissimo señor Don Garcia d' loaysa Cardenal de sancta Susaña: Arçobispo de Senilla: Del cōsejo de su magestad y su psidete. &c. which ends on the second page of the next leaf with the subscription: Sieruo y capellan de vuestra señoria illustrissima. Constantino.

Fourth leaf: Al letor christiano. Ends on sheet 2, leaf iiij, p. 1: cada dia mas nos obligo. where follows Aqui comienza la tabla delos capitulos. The contents of the chapters begin on the next page and end on the first page of the seventh leaf with chapter 52. The second page of the seventh leaf and the whole eighth leaf blank.

Text of the dialogue (with the inscription Las personas . .) folio [i] — clxvj. End: El quede con vos. | Deo gracias. With marginal contents. On the back of the last leaf of the text:

Acabose la presen- | te obra: compuesta porel muy re- | uerendo
señor el doctor Con- | stantino: fue impressa enla muy noble y muy
le | al ciudad d' Se | nilla: en las | casas | de | Juan cromberger que
sancta | gloria aya: año d' mill y qui | niētos y quarenta y qua | tro:
acabo se el pri- | mero dia de A- | bril . . . (.:.) | (.:.) |

The whole Gothic.

MUNICH Royal. On the cover the following words printed in gold: DOCTRINA XPANA. BARTOLOME MAY.

Wiffen in the Notice of Constantino prefixed to *Betts'* translation of the Confession of a sinner, p. 32 registers a „not discovered“ edition of the Summa „Scrilla 1540 (?)“ We did not know the edition of 1544.

179. 1545. Summary, second edition, with Sermon on the mount, first edition.

× Summa × | de doctrina | Christiana | Compuesta por el Doctor Constantino, | A paragraph. Item | El sermon de Christo nuestro Redemptor en el monte, Traduzido en | Castellano por el mismo Author. | A device. Hercules with his club, motto: Labor oīa uincit. | Todo agora de nuevo añadido y emmendado | Con priuilegio imperial. | This last line Goth. Colophon fol. clxxix: Deo gracias. | Fue Impressa en Seuilla en casa de | Iuan de Leon. A sancta Maria | de Gracia. Año de | 1545. |

This description according to the facsimile in t. 19 of the Reformistas Españ., which is taken from the copy in the Royal library at BRUSSELS. Wiffen says: „The book is in Gothic letter (26 lines in a page), the title and last page only are in Roman letter. The colophon is on the recto of folio 179; on the reverse is the figure of Hercules and a motto as on the title.“

The Sermon on the mount is an addition to this edition. From the introduction to the Sermon it would appear that it had not been printed before.

180. 1550? Summary, third edition, with Sermon on the mount, second edition.

Summa de doctrina Christiana, Compuesta | por el Doctor Constantino. | Item, | El sermon de Christo nuestro redemptor en el monte, Traduzido en Castellano por el mismo Author. | Puso se tambien ala fin vna doctrina, que | muestra como cada vno deue regir | y gouernar su casa, ordenada | por sant Bernardo. | [Emblem two birds with a fish.] | Vendese en Anuers, en casa de Martin | Nucio, en el Vnicornio dorado. | Con priuilegio Imperial. | S. a.

First leaf blank. Second leaf title, on the back Lo que este libro principalmente contiene. *Third leaf* *.iij: Al illvstrissimo y reverendissimo señor Don Garcia de Loaysa Cardenal de santa Susaña, Arçobispo de Seuilla, del consejo de su magestad y su presidente, signed: Constantino. *Fol.* *.iij. to †.ij., seven leaves, Al lector christiano. *Fol.* †.ij. and one following leaf: Tabla. *The work* A to V .iii., fol. 1—155. *The Sum* has marginal contents. *Ends* on fol. 133 verso where the Sermon on the mount begins. *Fol.* 150 (numbered) a special title: [Ornament] Doctrina que muestra | como cada vno deue regir y gouernar su | casa: ordenada por Sant Bernardo. | Adicionada y buelta de latin en | castellano por el Maestro | Nauarro Canonigo de | la sancta yglesia | de Seuilla. | A woodcut, representing Christ on the cross.

Octavo. Roman characters.

MUNICH Royal (The blank leaf is folded back so as to appear between the Tabla and the Dialogue). *VIENNA Court* (several leaves misplaced). *I bought*

a copy for 25 francs from Tross at Paris, in whose Catalogue de livres anciens, année 1869 — N° III contenant des livres provenant en partie de la bibliothèque de l'empereur Maximilien de Mexique, it is found p. 224, n° 1890. Old calf-binding; on both covers the Imperial double-headed eagle with crown, in contemporaneous gold-pressing. On the title is written H. I. V. Laberzsch [?], by the same hand which wrote the same name on the titles of two other works of Constantino now in the Munich library, see here below n° 205 and 208.

No doubt this edition is meant by the description *Nic. Ant. 1. 1783 p. 256* (added in the second edition): „*Hispana operis inscriptio: Suma de doctrina Christiana. Cui subijcitur: El Sermon de Christo nuestro Redemptor en el monte, traducido por el mismo Autor, con declaraciones: ad Garsiam de Loaisa S. R. E. cardinalem, Hispanensem antistitem. Antuerpiæ apud Martinum Nutium absque anni mentione.*“

The incomplete copy preserved in Trinity library DUBLIN seems to be of this edition. There are wanting the title with the blank front-leaf and folios 121 to 133 incl., according to a description found amongst Wiffen's papers. Compare Usóz, *Rf. Esp. XIX*, p. 420 f., and what Wiffen says in the Constantino list printed with Betts' translation of Constantino's Confession p. 34, where, however, the number 155 in line 10 appears to be a mistake for 134, see Usóz l. c.; and the size is not decimo as W. says l. 3, following his above mentioned description, which nevertheless contains statements evidently proving that the Dublin copy is in octavo.

The ms. copy made for Usóz from the Dublin copy (see *Rf. Esp. 19*, 420 f.) is now in the National library at Madrid (*Menendez p. 426*).

The above mentioned catalogue of Tross remarks: s. a. (vers 1550). I think the reprint was begun after Constantino's arrival in the Low-Countries.

181. 1551. Summary, fourth edition, with Sermon on the mount, third edition.

Symma de | doctrina Christiana. | En q̄ se cõtiene todo | lo principal y necessa | rio q̄ el hõbre christia | no deue saber y obrar | Tambien el sermõ de | christo nuestro redẽp- | tor enel monte. | Por el D. Constantino. | This title, black and red, last line Gothic, is in an architectural frame. Under this one, between two crosses: Con priuilegio. | Colophon, Gothic, on fol. ccciii verso: Fin de la summa de doctrina | christiana, compuesta por el do- | ctor Constantino: impressa | en Seuilla por Chris | toual aluarez: a | XXVIII. de mar | ço año de | 1551. |

This description according to the title-facsimile in t. 19 of the *Rf. Esp.*, taken from a copy in possession of Usóz which now is in the MADRID National library.

The commentary upon the Sermon on the mount has at the end additional matter wanting in the edition of 1545 and in that of Antwerp.

The passage in the introduction to the Sermon on the mount, where the publication of the larger Doctrine is promised, is read even in this edition (*Rf. Esp. 19*, p. 240, cf. 421), although the larger Doctrine had appeared three years ago. The passage was simply reprinted here, and so is probably the whole work on the Sermon on the mount.

In the Corrigenda of M'Crie's Ref. in Spain, ed. 1856, p. 211 is said, that a copy of Constantino's Suma, Antwerp 1556 is in the Bodleian, Oxford. No doubt the book indicated is the Doctrina of 1554—5, here below n° 209; no other work of Constantino is found in the printed catalogue of the Bodleian library, see Catal. libror. impress. bblh. Bodlei., vol. 1. 1843, p. 594.

182. 1556. Sermon on the mount, fourth edition.

Constantino's translation of the Sermon on the mount and the Doctor's notes are reprinted, with some variations and without Constantino's name, together with Luis de Granada's Guia de pecadores, Lisboa 1556. See Usóz Rf. Esp. XIX, p. 425 f.

Confession of a sinner.

Prohibited Valladolid 1559.

1544 or earlier?

In the privilege of 1548, the Confession is placed first of Constantino's writings which were then printed.

183. *The first edition was probably anonymous. At all events there existed an edition without the author's name; this is proved by the prohibitory notice of 1559, see above here p. 27, and also the Index Sandoval y Rojas 1612, reprint Palermo 1628, Prohib. p. 24 has among books En Castellano: Confession del Peccador de Constantino de la Fuente, autor condenado, ò sin nombre de autor. and p. 27 (under the same head: En Castellano:) Cõfession del Peccador. vide lit. C. Clas. 2. Confession del peccador. &c.*

184. *It would appear from the same notices that there existed a separate edition with the author's name.*

Catecismo.

Prohibited Valladolid 1559.

185. 1546 or 47.

Printed earlier than the privilege of 1548.

The dedication to Temiño, bishop of Leon, appears to have been written for the first edition. On September 10. 1546 Temiño was consecrated for the church of Leon, while he was staying at Seville where he had just taken possession of the archbishopric in the name of Fern. Valdés (Usóz, Rf. Esp. XIX, 428).

**Catechisme, second edition, and
Confession, third edition.**

186. 1556.

Catecis | mo christiano, | Compuesto por el Doctor | Constantino. |
¶ Añadiose la confession d'vn | pecador penitente, hecha por | el
mismo Author. | [Emblem with circumscription: dvlcia mixta malis/ | En
Anvers | En casa de Guillermo Simon, | a la enseña del Papagayo. |
1556. | Con priuilegio. |

Title copy according to the facsimile in t. 19 of the Ref. Españ., made after the copy preserved in the Royal library at BRUSSELS.

Wiffen's description: „108 folios of 24 lines in a page. The Catecismo consists of 75 leaves, the Confession of 30 leaves; then follows Epistola del bien auenturado Sant Bernardo de la perfección de la vida, 3 leaves.“

De la Serna Santander possessed a copy of this edition. In his Catalogue des livres de la bibliotheque de M. C. de la Serna Santander, t. 1, Bruxelles, an XI (1803) [Halle Univ.], p. 186, n° 751, he gives this title: Catecismo christiano compuesto por el doctor Constantino. Anvers, Simon, 1556. and adds: „petit in -12. Ce Catéchisme est extrêmement rare. Nicolas Antonio ne le cite que sur la foi de la Bibliothèque de Gesner.“

Summary and Sermon on the mount, fifth edition; Catechism, third edition; Confession, fourth edition.

187. 1863.

Suma de doctrina Cristiana. | Sermon de nuestro redentór en el monte. | Catecismo Christiano. | Confesión del pecadór. | Cuatro Libros compuestos por el Doctór | Constantino Ponze de la Fuente. | × | De la perfección de la vida. | Del Gobieruo de la casa. | Dos Epístolas de s. Bernardo romanzadas por | el Maestro Martin Navarro. | × | Reimpreso todo fielmente, conforme a las ediziones | antiguas. | —pues a todos nos va tanto en ello, | cada uno debe de mirár lo que le | conviene, i no pensár, que le ha | de dár remedio, la culpa, que los | otros tienen en su perdición; pues | que él no está sin ella. — Todos nos | quejamos, que no nos hazen bue- | nos los que tienen cargo d'ello; co- | mo si nosotros no fuésemos obliga- | dos a serlo. Cada uno mire tras | quien sigue; que no le faltará re- | medio.» (Dr. Constantino, páj. 15) | Madrid. Año de MDCCCLXIII. |

A small initial sign at the beginning of each of the six lines which give the titles of the six works, contained in the volume. Octavo.

After the title-leaf one leaf license of 1548 and contents. Then author's dedication and Al lector, together seven leaves, not numbered. P. 1—278: Suma with the Sermon en el monte and table, from the ed. of 1551, with the variantes of the ed. of Antwerp. After one unnumbered leaf containing the word Catecismo, follows this work with dedication p. 279—358, Confesion de un pecador p. 359—392, both from the ed. of 1556. The two letters of S. Bernard p. 393—409. Three leaves facsimile Portadas antiguas with a fore-leaf containing these two words. Observaziones of the editor, Luis de Usóz i Rio, whose name is subscribed at the end, Madrid XII m. 1863, p. 419—460. Erratas one leaf. Contents and additional obsercation one page; on the back of the leaf the words: ossibus ereptis revocat laetitia medullas. Prefixed the series-title: Reformistas antiguos Españoles. Tomo XIX. | On the reverse, list of the reprints n° 1—18.

VIENNA Court. B—r.

With the copy at Wadham College, OXFORD, formerly belonging to Wiffen, is bound up Wiffen's manuscript translation of Usó's Observaciones.

188. 1880.

Extracts from the Confession in the Historia de los heterodoxos españoles por Menendez Pelayo t. II. p. 428—430.

Translations of the Confession.)*

French from Spanish.

Geneva martyrology, compare above here n° 126 (no yet in the edition of 1570).

189. 1582.

Fol. 507 verso — 510 verso, traduit d'Espagnol en François . . . Confession d'un pecheur devant Jesus Christ Sauueur & Juge du Monde, &c.

STRASSBURG Univ. B—r.

190. 1597.

Fol. 502 verso — 506 recto.

191. 1608.

Fol. 502 verso — 506 recto.

STRASSBURG Univ. B—r.

192. 1619.

Fol. 551 recto — 555 recto.

STRASSBURG Univ.

193. 1760.

Constantini de La Fuente | Martyris Hispani | Confessio hominis peccatoris coram Deo. | A. 1559. | . . . ex idiomate Hispanico in Gallicum . . . translata, atque in Actis Martyrum Majoribus Lib. VIII. Fol. 502 & sqq. relata, unde eandem . . . excerptare . . . volupe fuit.

Confession d'un pecheur, devant Jesus | Christ, Sauueur & Juge du monde &c.

Scrinium antiquarium | sive | miscellanea | Groningana | Tomi VI. Pars I. | × | Groningæ & Bremæ | A. 1760. | Quarto.

*) Wiffen says of the Confession of a sinner (Transl. of Belts p. IV): „It has commanded the admiration of three successive martyrologists;“ with the note: „Rabus in German, Crespin in Latin, Goulart in French;“ and again (p. 36): „in Latin, in Crespin's Acta martyrum 1560.“ As for Goulart, the statement is right, his editions of the Geneva martyrology 1582 f. contain Constantino's confession, but Crespin's Latin and Rabus neither translate it nor mention it.

The Latin title p. 458, the Latin notice 458—9, the French title p. 459, the French text p. 459—483.

ZÜRICH City. B—r.

The French marginals are left out.

Wiffen in the just quoted note: „Gerdes in his Miscell. Groningana, vol. VI. part. 1, reprints the Confession, after Goulart, in French, but so fused together in its style and order, that its distinctive character is sacrificed.“ If this is the case, the blame falls on the Hist. des mart.

Latin from French.

194. 1602.

Constantini Foncei Hispani, theologiæ doctoris, et martyris, ingenua & accurata peccatorum coram Christo cōfessio, cum animosissimo, & fiduciæ Christianæ plenissimo ad ejusdem misericordiam, perfectissimamq; satisfactionem confugio; ex Actis Martyrum Gallicis Latinè reddita à Gerhardo Brüningio.

On p. 108—134 of Viaticum | itineris ex- | tremi, | doctrinæ et conso- | lationis plenissimum; | Ex optimorum quorumq. veterum | & nostri seculi S. Scripturæ interpretum, & marty- | rum quoq; sanctorum thesauris | sibi suisq. collectum & repositum | à Nathane Chytræo. | Quo quid contineatur, præfationes sequens | syllabus ostendit. | Additæ sunt necessariæ quedam notæ per Johau. | Piscatorem: ex potestate ipsi factâ | ab auctore. | Emblem with the words omnia ex vno. | Herbornæ Nassoviorum | Ex officina Christophori Corvini. | Anno 1602. | Octavo.

STRASSBURG Univ.

In the Syllabus the title of the translation is given thus: Constantini Foncei Hispani Caroli V. Imp. olim concionatoris, Theologiæ Doctoris, & postea martyris, ingenua and so on as above.

A few notes not found in the French are added: 1582, fol. 508: m'as nettoyé avec l'eau purifiée en ton précieux sang. Chyt.: abluisti me aquâ pretioso sanguine tuo purgatâ, in the margin: Rectius, Aquâ pretiosi sanguinis tui. — 1582, fol. 509 verso: q l'hōme est vray Dieu, puis q tu es vray homme. Marg.: Haec sententia sanū intellectum postulat, ut illud 2 Pet. 1. v. 4. Divinæ consortes naturæ. — 1582, fol. 510 verso: i'ay faite moy seul des biens qu'as departis à tous. At the word solum the marginal note: Id est, maxime omnium. In the next sentence: ta mort est toute mienne, marg.: Sic tamen, ut cæterorum quoq; electorum singulorum tota sit.

Preface of the book dated Bremâ, prid. Calend. Septemb. 1594.

Nathan Chytræus was a brother of the well known David Chytræus.

195. 1608.

The same, reprinted. The only differences in the title are the year 1608 and the following divisions: consola- | tionis . . et [instead of &] | nostri martyrum | quoq; . . : after thesauris full stop. The title in the Syllabus as above. The same text p. 108—134 with the same marginals and the same inscription (only confessio instead of cōfessio). Octavo.

B—r.

German from French.

B—r. Compare above here n° 126.

196. 1606.

Grosz Martyrbuch p. 1126 — 1134.

197. 1617.

The same, p. 1061 — 1069.

198. 1682.

The same, p. 1043 — 1051.

199. 1722.

The same, p. 1043 — 1051 of Das Grosse | Martyr-Buch, || .. aufs neue | über-
sehen und an einigen Orten ver- | bessert. | × | Bremen. || 1722. | *Folio*.

English from Spanish.

200. 1869.

The | confession of a sinner, | translated | from the Spanish of |
Dr. Constantino Ponce de la Fuente, | a reformer of the XVI century. |
By | John T. Betts. | With a biographical sketch | by | Benjamin B.
Wiffen. | Emblem | London: | Bell and Daldy, York street, | Covent
garden. | 1869. | [All rights reserved.] |

Octavo. After title-leaf Wiffen's Preface p. III — XVI, Wiffen's Biographical
notice p. 1 — 51. Title for the translation p. 53, Translator's preface p. 55 — 59,
Translation p. 61 — 109. Colophon: Ornament with the words: Chiswick press;
below: Printed by Whittingham and Wilkins, | Tooke's court, Chancery lane.

Extracts in English from the French.

201. 1829.

Extracts from the Confession of a Sinner, by Constantine Ponce
de la Fuente.

Translated from a French version in Histoire des Martyrs,
p. 503 — 505. Anno 1597.

Appendix No. III. P. 407 — 412 of History of the reformation in Spain by
M'Crie 1829.

202. 1856.

The same in M'Crie's new ed. 1856, p. 196 — 199.

The same extracts in German from the French.

203. 1835.

Auszüge aus der Beichte eines Sünders, von Constantine Ponce
de la Fuente.

From the French translation in the Histoire des Martyrs 1597, M'Crie's extracts are translated into German in Geschichte der Reformation in Spanien. Aus dem Englischen des Dr. M'Crie übersetzt von Gustav Plieninger. Stuttgart 1835. P. 419 — 425.

The same extracts in Dutch from the French.

204. 1839.

Geschiedenis van de hervorming in Spanje, door M'Crie. Met Aanmerkingen van W. N. Munting. Amsterdam. Tweede deel. 1839. P. 227 — 237.

Sermons on the first psalm.

Wiffen, Notice before Betts' Confession p. 38: „Not discovered; printed before 1567.“

Prohibited Valladolid 1559.

205. 1546. *First edition.*

[Red Ornamental leaf] Expo | sicion del primer | Psalmo de dauid: cuyo principio es | Beatus vir: | diuidida en seys | Sermones: | por el Doctor Constantino: | *Between two black leaves: Labor omnia vincit ∴ Emblem representing Hercules with club and lion's skin. | Between two black leaves: Con privilegio. Last line: 1546. | Black and red. The red lines of the original are represented here by interspacing; also the punctuation of the red words, and the pyramid of stops after vincit, are red. Octavo.*

a ij.: Al lector. Qvan necessaria . . . *Ends [a VI] verso: den gloria. [a VII] recto, the psalm in Latin, verso the same in Romance. [a VIII]: Por ser la primera impressiō no se pudierō excusar algunos descuydos. Para los demas importancia, dara Dios tiempo en que se enmienden: delos mas liuanos señalaremos aqui los q̄ se ofreciere, hasta q̄ se pueda poner mayor diligencia. Follow errata. Verso blank.*

Text, inscribed Exposicion del primer psalmo de David: diuidida en Seys Sermones, fol. [i] — clxxxiiiij. *Verso, between two leaves: En Seuilla, por Octubre. De | Second line: 1546 ∴ | Hercules with lion's skin and club. | Between two leaves: Labor omnia vincit ∴*

The Hercules of the colophon is different from that on the title. Both differ from that on the title of Constantino's Summa, impressa en Seuilla en casa de Iuan de Leon in 1545, where also the inscription at the emblem: Labor oia vincit. Probably the sermons were likewise printed by Juan de Leon.

MUNICH Royal. Sheet R, short before the end of the fourth sermon, is wanting, a second copy of sheet B being by mistake bound in its place. On the title is written: H. I. V. Laberzsch [?], compare our numbers 180 and 208.

206. 1556. *Second edition.*

Exposicion del | primer psalmo | de Daud, cuyo principio es Beatus uir. Diuidida en | seys Sermones. | Por el Doctor Constantino. | *Emblem representing beehives and a man persecuted by bees, with the motto: Dulcia mixta malis. | En Anvers | En casa de Guillermo Simon ala | enseña*

del papagayo. | M. D. LVI. | Con Priuilegio. | *The letters eatu uir, and the sixth line and the last one in Italics. Duodecimo.*

Verso: Fue visto y approuado | el presente Libro por | los que la M. Imperial | ha para ello ordenado. |

Fol. 2—9 recto Epistola. *Under the end of it* El primer psalmo de Dauid en latin.

Fol. 9 verso: Exposiciõ del primer psalmo de Dauid: diuidida en seys Sermones. Sermon primero. *Fol. 200 verso:* Fin del sexto y vltimo Sermon.

Fol. [201 = R ix] recto: " | Eue impresso el | presente libro en la muy leal ciu - dad de Anuers, en casa de Guiller | mo Simon, Acabose a veynte | dias del mes de Mayo. | M. D. LVI. | $\times$ | *Verso:* $\times$ | *a king with crown and harp.* | $\times$ |. *Leaves 10 and 12 of this last sheet are blank. On the 11th leaf verso the same emblem which on the title.*

In the foliation the numbers 62 and 63 have been forgotten. In order to compensate it, after the wrong number 86, sheet H begins with the right number 85, so that 85 and 86 occur twice. The misprint 190 instead of 191 has been without consequence.

VIENNA Court.

207. 1881. *Third edition.*

Exposicion | del primer salmo | dividida en seis sermones | por | Constantino Ponce de la Fuente. | Tercera edicion. | Bonn | imprenta de Carlos Georgi. | 1881. | Octavo.

Constantino's Text p. 1—233. *Verso* Tabla. P. 235—242: Apéndice del editor, *undersigned* Ed. Bohmer.

The bookseller Julius Flittner in Bonn, announcing on the cover of Bæhmer's Romanische Studien, Heft XIX, 1881, that he sells this third edition of Constantino's First psalm, says: von diesem Werke kommt nur eine kleine Anzahl von Ex. in den Handel. It was presented to many public libraries by the editor and by John T. Betts, the publisher.

Larger Doctrina Cristiana.

Prohibited Valladolid 1559.

208. 1548. *First edition.*

In a nice frame, representing a portal: Doctrina | Christiana | En que esta comprehendida | toda la informacion que per - | tenece al hombre quo quie- | re seruir a Dios. | Por el D. Constantino. | Parte primera. | Delos articulos dela fe. | Con priuilegio | 1548. | *The words which are here interspaced, are red. Folio, layers of four sheets = eight leaves.*

On the back of the title-leaf, the privilege, dated 22 August 1548, signed: Yo el Principe.

Leaf ij Dedication to the Emperor.

Leaf iij Prefacion, which ends on the first page of the second layer. On the back of the same leaf begin Los errores dela impression which occupy three pages.

The work fol. I—CCXCVJ, signature a—z and A—O.

Under the end of the text a postscript Al lector, ending: Con el fauor de nuestro señor muy presto saldra el cūplimiento de todo esto de manera que se pueda juntar con lo que agora sale. | Then Colophon:

Impresso en Seuilla por Iuan Ca- | nalla: con examen y licencia delos muy reue- | rendos señores Inquisidores del Ar | çobispado. Acabose a | ocho dias de Mayo de | mill y quiniētos | y quarenta y | ocho años. | (·) (·) | (·) | Deo gratias. | Last page blank.

MUNICH royal. The copy has on the title the written name H. I. V. Laberzsch [?], compare above nos 180 and 205.

Doctrina Christiana per el Doctor Constantino 1549. "This edition is mentioned in the Bibliotheca Anglicana, 1686, an auction catalogue, p. 96. Libri Hispanici. Folio." Wiffen's Notice of Constantino, prefixed to Betts' translation of Constantino's Confession, p. 35. I rather think 1549 a mistake for 1548. Wiffen adds l. c. on the said edition of 1549: "It is also alluded to by Montanus, in Sanctæ Inquisitionis etc. 1567, p. 294." But Gons. only says iam ante aliquot annos ediderat. Wiffen did not know of an edition of 1548.

209. 1554—5.

Doctrina | Christiana, en que | esta comprehendida toda | la informacion que pertenece | al hombre que quiere | seruir a Dios. Por el Doctor Constantino. | Parte primera de los articulos de la fe. | Round a device: Concordia res parvæ crescunt. | En Anvers, | En casa de Juan Steelsio. | Año D. M. LV. [sic] | Con Priuilegio Imperial. Octavo.

Title and dedication to Charles V. and preface 13 folios, text numbered fol. 1—398, and one leaf aprobacion with colophon: Fue impresso en Anuers en casa de Juan Latio. | Año M. D. LIII. [sic]

BODLEIAN.

Usóz, Reform. Esp. XIX, p. 433 describes a copy of apparently this same edition, bearing in the colophon M. D. LIII, on the title D. M. LIII. Usóz adds: [Así, en vez de MD. LIII]. (In Wiffen's list prefixed to Betts' translation of Constantino's Confession p. 36, line 1 there is a misprint in the year D. M. LIII, notwithstanding the sic; it ought to be D. M. LIII).

The National library at MADRID has a copy of the Doctrina Chr. in the Usóz collection (Menendez 430), it is perhaps that which has D. M. LIII on the title.

CALVIN'S CATECHISM AND LITURGY.

THE earliest Protestant Spaniard we find in Geneva, is the translator of Calvin's catechism from French into Spanish. In the preface, dated 1550, he begs, that, should his Spanish be found defective, it may be pardoned on account of his absence from Spain, which had been so long that a man of more lively intelligence than himself might have been estranged from the native language.¹ Nothing is known about the person of the translator, but what he himself says in his prologue, reprinted here below (n° 211). Nor do we know anything of him, who revised this Spanish catechism in 1559 and added the second half of the volume, containing prayers, instructions and liturgical formularies, likewise translated from the French, with small supplements.² In 1596 Cipriano de Valera made a new edition of the whole, slightly revised.

From the formulary of the public service added to the edition of 1559 we see that the congregation sang psalms.³ It is uncertain whether they were printed.⁴

1) Wiffen thought that Juan Perez was the author of the Spanish Geneva catechisms of 1550 and 1559, and the Strassburg editors of Calvin's letters are of the same opinion (*Corp. Rf.* vol. 48, col. 615. I reprint the passage in a note to my biography of Perez, below here). It is, however, wholly incredible that Perez should speak thus, who many years afterwards, without ever having returned to Spain, wrote works confidently in the Spanish tongue and wrote it elegantly too (*elegante escritor*, says Menendez p. 458).

2) The prayers added in the catechism of 1559, p. 140 f. from the French, are not a reproduction of those in Perez's catechism of 1556 which are taken from the same original.

3) P. 3: *cantan algun Psalmo los que estan congregados*. P. 10: *cantan todos algun Psalmo*. P. 40: *cantan en la congregacion algunos Psalmos*. The last of these three sentences occurs also in Valera's *Dos tratados*, see below here n° 214 f.

4) Felix Bovet: *Histoire du psautier des églises réformées*. Neuchatel and Paris 1872, unaware of the passages in the Spanish *Forma* printed already in 1559 and of the repetition in the *Dos tratados*, concludes p. 104 f. from some Latin verses at the head of Spethe's Psalter of 1596, according to which the psalms of Beza and Marot were sung also by the Spaniards, that there seems to have existed an edition of

Juan le Quesne's *psalmos metrificados* anterior to that of 1606 [PARIS Geneviève and elsewhere, known also to Wiffen] which he registers among the *Traductions des psaumes de Marot et de Bèze*. He thinks the undated edition mentioned by Adler might be such an anterior one. J. G. C. Adler: *Bibliotheca biblica Württembergensium ducis*. Altonæ 1787. Appdx II. P. 45: *In Octavo. Los Psalmos de David metrificados* [write -cados] *en lengua Castellana per* [write *por*] *Juan le Quesne*. (*Sine æræ & loci indicio*). When I asked for this book at Stuttgart, it was not found, not even in the old catalogue; it seems therefore to have been lost long ago. Compare on the edition of 1606: Rodr. de Castro *Bibl. Esp.* 1, 471—2 and Baumgarten *Nachrichten von einer Hallischen Biblth.* Bd. 2, p. 486—7. Bovet who says: *Nous n'avons rien pu découvrir sur l'auteur*, thinks him a Frenchman, certainly on account of his name.

John Calvin is of course a first class prohibited author, see Roman Index of 1558; and besides there is prohibited there this formulary for public prayers for the sacraments and for marriage, in Italian, among Incertorum auctorum libri prohibiti. The Sandoral y Rojas Index 1612, Palermo reprint 1628, Prohib. p. 27: Catecismo, que significa, forma de instruccion, que contiene los principios de la Religion de Dios, &c.

210. 1550.

Catechis- | mo. [*This word in an ornamented frame*] | A saber es
formvlario | para instruyr los mochachos en la Chri- | stiandad:
Hecho a manera de Dia- | logo, donde el Ministro de | la Yglesia
pregunta, y | el mochacho re- | sponde. | Tradladado de Frances en
Español. | Ephe. 2. | El fundamento de la Yglesia, es la doctri- | na
de los Prophetas y Apostoles. | 1550. |

This title-leaf is an integral part of the first sheet. Small octavo.

A ij, p. 3—7: Prologo of the translator, dated VIII. de Abril. M. D. L. [*Reprinted here under number 211*]. P. 7. 8: Epistola of the author to the reader, beginning: Cosa singularmente encomendada ha sido en la Yglesia de instruyr los mochachos, first section ending p. 8: hasta que la Yglesia ha sido totalmente corrompida. Then p. 8 second and last section: La manera desta instruction es, que los Domingos a medio dia . . . Lo que en cada Domingo se declara, esta notado en el margen. P. 9—115, A V—H ij the Catechism. First question: Qval es el principal fin de la vida humana? Last answer, in the chapter de los sacramentos, ends: no podrian dar la, sin deshonrra de Dios, y escandalo de los fieles. Then the words Fin del Catechismo. Verso blank. [H iij]: Correction de las faltas principales de la impression. Verso and [H iij] blank.

GOETTINGEN Univ. ZURICH City.

The BRITISH MUSEUM copy, as far as I can read in my old blotted title-copy, has not mochachos on the title, but monhachos or monhhachos; nor do I know whether the title-leaf is an original part of the first sheet.

In 1867 Tross in Paris offered a copy.

211. 1882.

Prologo [so called in the column-title p. 4—7] of the Catechismo. Tradladado de Frances en Español. 1550. [*From the Göttingen copy*].

Al muy illvstre señor, el señor .N. el tradlador. Salud en nuestro Señor Jesv Christo.

Hauiendo me Dios (por su misericordia infinita) sacado del abismo de superstitiones & ydolatrias en que tanto tiempo he estado, y reduzido me al conocimiento de su sancta Palabra y voluntad, manifestada al mundo por Jesv Christo su Hijo vnico, biva ymagen y nuestro solo Señor y redeptor. Por salir totalmente del peligro y daño spiritual, que me podia succeder communicando con los que tan poco cuydado tienen del reposo de sus cōsciencias, siguiendo la informacion de muchos que hauian ya experimentado la doctrina delos lugares donde el sancto Euangelio se predica, yo procure por todos los medios possibles de recoger me a esta ciudad en la qual este exercicio respaldece mas que en ninguna otra de la Christiandad, para seguir la profession a que Dios me hauia llamado, y librarme detre las manos de aquellos, que hauiendo se declarado enemigos de Jesv Christo, persiguen cō tal vehemencia a los que dessean seguir sus pisadas. | Siendo pues por la gracia de Dios llegado ala dicha ciudad, yo he por algunos dias oydo la doctrina de aquellos, a quien Dios ha escogido para el ministerio de su sancto Euangelio. Por medio de los quales los fieles son de tal manera enseñados, que no podrian dexar de recebir grandissima vtilidad, si del todo no quisiessen menospreciar su doctrina. y el exemplo dela honestidad con que biuen. Yo de mi parte conozco verdaderamente, que Dios confirmado en mi su misericordia, sin tener respecto a mi indignidad, permite quel desseo que tgo de aprouechar enesta sancta doctrina se acreciente de dia en dia, de donde me redunda vna tal consolacion, que causaria en mi spiritu entero contentamiento, si viesse todos los hombres del mundo reducidos a este conocimiento. Especialmente la nacion Española, la qual o por falta de instruction, o por ser tan opprimida de los inquisidores de la fe, esta tã agena del. Pero como el remedio desto pertenezca a solo Dios. Deuemos suplicarle que se sirua de sacarles de vna ignorancia tan dañosa a sus consciencias, y que de, la gracia, a aquellos que ya estan fuera della de ayudarles, comunicando conellos, la vtilidad dela doctrina Euangelica, de que son enseñados enesta ciudad. Y yo aunque el menor y mas indigno de todos, con-[*catchuord stri-*] striñendo me a ello la charidad Christiana, y la obligacion que como Español les tengo, he procurado (segun la medida de la gracia que ha plazido a nuestro Señor comunicarme) de buscar los medios mas necessarios, para que conociendo el error y engaños en que estan engolfados, puedan seguramente venir al puerto de la pura verdad, contenida enel sancto Euangelio que Jesu Christo nuestro Señor nos dexo, como verdadero camino que derecho me nos guia a la vida perdurable. Para lo qual, entre muchos libros en que la declaracion desta sancta doctrina se contiene (los quales yo he visto y escudriñado,) segun mi juyzio no he hallado vno, que mas sucinta y compendiosamente, tracte aquello que me parece mas necessario a la instruction de los pobres ignorantes, quel Catechismo, o formulario, con que los ministros, o predicadores desta yglesia enseñan & instruyen los mochos questan debaxo de su gouierno, en los puntos y articulos mas importantes y necessarios a los Christianos. El qual con la ayuda y fauor de Dios. yo he traduzido de Frances en lengua Española, para que todos los de aquella nacion (a cuya noticia viniere) puedan gozar de lo que enel se cōtiene, y seguir la regla infallible que enel se les da. Y porque esto no se podria buenamente ha | zer sin vn gran numero de libros, para que el prouecho fuesse mas general, considerãdo que mi facultad no se estiende a poder le hazer imprimir, por no quedar me en medio del camino, y que por falta mia no dexe de auer lugar, el bie y vtilidad que soy cierto procedera dello, con la ayuda de nuestro buen Dios. He determinado dedicarle y ofrecerle a .V. S. muy Illustre como a verdadero medio, para

effectuar mi intencion. Y como a aquel a quien la gloria de Dios, y el acrescentamiento del Reyno de Jesu Christo son tan encarecidamete encomendados. Suplicandole se sirua de acceptar el presente, conel zelo que me ha mouido a hazer se le. Y que si .V. S. hallare en la traduction algun descuydo, que de, occasion de burlarse a aquellos quen la lengua Española son mas auisados que yo, que escusando me, le attribuya a la larga ausencia que yo he hecho de España, la qual hauria bien podido diuertir vn entendimiento mas abiuado quel mio. Con protestacion quel sentido de lo que eneste libro se trata, ha sido enteramete guardado. Y assi soy cierto que estando debaxo del fauor y protection de .V. S. no podra dexar de ser accepto y agradable a los que le leyeren, y que la materia de que trata, sera causa de alumbrar muchos entedimientos ciegos, y de enseñar los ignorantes. Para que siguiedo la doctrina de Jesu Christo [*catchword* nuestro] nuestro Señor que enel se les presenta, végan al verdadero conocimiento de Dios, por do su sanctissimo nombre sea por siempre ensalçado y glorificado.

A .viii. de Abril. M. D. L.

212. 1559.

Catecismo, | qve significa, | forma de in- | strucion: que contiene los prin- | cipios de la religion de Dios, v- | til y necessario para todo fiel | Christiano: | ¶ Compuesto en manera de dialogo, don- | de pregunta el maestro, y responde el | discipulo. | *A cut, representing an anchor, surrounded by a serpent, and held by two hands, coming from clouds; with the letters J and C, signifying Jean Crespin, at the left and the right of the top.* | Psal. CXIX. | ¶ La declaracion de tus palabras alumbrá, y | da entendimiento à los pequennos. | Nuevamente impresso | Año de | 1559. | *Octaro.*

P. 3: A todos los A- | madores del Señor Iesu Christo, | y que bien en la esperan- | ça de su venida, | Salud. *Begins: Pide nos la religion. Purenesis on the ground of Calvin's epistre au lecteur, in the Corp. Ref., Calvin t. 6, col. 3. Ends: la sagrada profession hecha en nuestro Baptismo. Amen. on p. 14, where is appended a quotation from Deuter. VI.* P. 15: Lo que en syva contiene este libro de doctrina Christiana, es lo siguiente. P. 16: El symbolo de la fe Christiana. P. 17 f.: El decalogo. P. 20: La oracion del Señor. P. 21—139 *the dialogical catechism, translated from the French reprinted in the above quoted vol. 6 of Calvin's works, col. 9—133.* P. 139 *last answer ends:* no se les puede dar sin deshonrar a Dios, prophanando el Sacramento, y sin escandalizar a los fieles. | Fin de la doctrina Christiana.

P. 21—139 *is not a simple reprint from the Catechismo of 1550, but a revision of it. This is evident from the just quoted part of the last sentence. I add two other proofs, taken from the 53. Domingo. Catechismo 1550, p. 109: Deuen todos vsar sin diferencia, de la segunda señal que es el Caliz? P. 110: Tu no contiendes quel cuerpo este encerrado dentro del pan ni la sangre dentro del Caliz. Catecismo 1559, p. 133: Y deuen todos los fieles sin sacar ninguno, vsar de la segunda señal, es a saber del Caliz? P. 134: Luego no entendeys vos, que el cuerpo este encerrado en el pan, ni la sangre en el Caliz?*

All the following is additional to the publication of 1550.

P. 140: Siguen se algunas pias Oraciones. *End p. 150. Translated from the French text reprinted l. c. col. 135—145 (the translation of the prayer in*

captivity follows in the second part, p. 53 f.). P. 151: La forma que se tiene en preguntar y examinar los pequeños antes de ser admitidos a recibir la Cena de nuestro Señor Iesu Christo. Ends p. 164 (for which number, by misprint, is put 155): Fin del Catecismo. This forma p. 151 f. has peculiarities, which are not found in the first text of the Maniere d'interroguer of 1553 reprinted in a Manuel not earlier than 1559 (as is proved by the appended confession, — I have examined the volume, compare also Calvin t. 6, p. XI), and again reprinted in 1561; and it shows even some congruity with the text appended to the New Testament of 1562 (in the Corp. Ref., Calvin t. 6, col. 143 f.). The translator may have used a copy containing such manuscript alterations as have been adopted also in later editions of the French.

Follows a title-leaf, headed by an ornament (identical with that at the head of the second of the Deux oraisons de Sleidan. Chez Jean Crespin):

La forma de las oraciones y ple- garias que se hazen en la Yglesia de Dios. Con la manera de administrar los Sacramentos, y de celebrar el Matrimonio, y de como se han de visitar los enfermos. Lvcas 18. Necesario es orar siempre, y no cansarse. Ivan .16. En verdad, en verdad os digo, que todas las cosas que pidiereis al Padre en mi Nombre, os las dara. The text is paged from 1 to 66. In the same time this title has the custos Lijj, and accordingly the last half-sheet has P. — From p. 1 to 53 free translation of the French Forme des prieres, l. c. col. 173—210. The Spanish has in the first page exortacion as the editions 1562 and foll. — P. 53—58 Oracion para los fieles que estan oprimidos en captiuero. From Calv. col. 145. 146. — P. 58-66 Oracion para quando es visitado el enfermo, y esta en peligro de la vida, cercano a partir della. I do not find this in Calvin.

FRANKFURT o. M. City. BERN City. BRITISH MUSEUM. A detailed description by Professor Reuss of Strassburg University from a copy at PARIS in the Arsenal library, and communicated to me, perfectly agrees with my notices taken from other copies. Professor Charles Schmidt of the same University is possessor of a copy, in which the second part is wanting, so that the page (155 instead of 164), where is said Fin del Catecismo, is the last one. My own complete copy has an autograph of the celebrated George Jenatsch.

213. 1596.

Catecismo que significa, forma de instruccion: que contiene los principios de la religion de Dios, util y necessario para todo fiel Christiano: compuesto en manera de dialogo, donde pregunto el maestro, y responde el discipulo. Psal. cxix. La declaracion de las palabras alumbray, y da entendimiento a los pequeños. En casa de Ricardo del Campo. M. D. XCVI. On the title a woodcut representing in a shield an anchor and laurel branches, with the words: Anchora spei around.

Great sedecimo, 271 pages.

Preface of 12 pages, probably by the translator, not furnishing historical circumstances. This catechism is translated from Calvin's larger catechisme. The translator may have been Cyprian de Valera.

All this I relate from Johann Bartholomæus Riederer: Nachrichten zur Kirchen- Gelehrten- und Bücher-Geschichte, Dritter Band. Zwölftes Stück, Altdorf 1766, p. 475 f. where details are given as to contents.

Having compared Riederer's extracts with the Spanish of 1559, I state that the identity is complete; the differences are almost throughout insignificant, the only word changed being Caliz, instead of which the reprint gives copa. The revisor and editor was certainly Valera.

A copy in Bachelin-Deflörenne's Catalogue 1872, n° 2439. Usóz possessed a copy, according to Wiffen.

Wiffen noticed: „Catechismo que significa, 8vo, 1586, mentioned in the auction catalogue of Richard Davis p. 142 n° 541“ and „Catechismo que significa forma de Instruccion, 8vo, 1569, mentioned in the catalogue of the sale of Dr. John Warner, bishop of Rochester's books, London 1684/5, p. 29“. Probably 1586 and 1569 are misprints for 1596.

214. 1588.

The Lord's Supper extracted from the catechism of 1559 in Cipriano de Valera's Dos tratados of 1588 p. 458—466. It is exactly the same, what in the reprint of the edition of 1599 on p. 529—537; only the orthography is changed and a superfluous marginal quotation is suppressed on p. 532 of the reprint, and on p. 537 the number of the verse is added where 1588 only has Num. 6.

Ascertained by the Custos Dr. Læwe from the copy in GETTINGEN University library.

215. 1599.

In Valera's Dos tratados, second edition 1599, p. 529—537, the Forma que se tiene de celebrar la sancta cena is reprinted. Valera says p. 531: pondre aqui el orden que se tiene en nuestras Iglesias, que Dios . . . ha en nuestros tiempos reformado, quando se celebra la santa Cena. Usóz in his reprint of Valera's Dos tratados in the note to p. 531: Toda esta Forma de la Zena, desde esta paj. 531 hasta la 537, es igual á lo que se lee desde la páj. 233 á 242 en el Catecismo, imp. tambien por Ricardo del Campo . . . el a. 1596, 3.^a Ed. Valera's text agrees with p. 32—41 and 11 of the edition of 1559; the variations are unimportant. In the passage from 1 Cor. 11, p. 529—530 of Valera, the version of the edition of 1559 has in some places been altered, already in the edition of 1588, in the same way as in Valera's N. T. of 1596 (recebi for aprendi; copa for caliz).

ZURICH City.

216. 1851.

The same in the reprint of the edition of 1599 of Valera's Dos tratados.

217. 1766.

Riederer's extracts mentioned above n° 213.

HALLE Univ.

SUMARIO DE INDULGENCIAS.

THE evangelical Summary of Indulgences, which appeared in Spanish about the middle of the 16th century, is a cleverly composed and powerfully written tract.

The translation and the division of the Ten commandments is not that of the *Sumario de doctrina* by Juan Perez,¹ published in 1556, but that of the translation of Calvin's catechism, although not without differences, nor does the Summary of Indulgences follow the edition of 1559 of the catechism, but that of 1550.²

In all probability, the Bull forged by the heretics which in the beginning of the year 1558 Peter Veller confessed to have carried to the Netherlands (see our following article on Juan Perez) was nothing else but this Summary of Indulgences.³

Most likely it was remodelled from a French original.

1) to whom Wiffen and Usóz were inclined and at last were satisfied to attribute the *Sumario de indulgencias*. See *Rf. Esp.* XVIII, title and p. 38; the list of the reprinted *Ref. Esp.* in t. XX; and *Bth. Wiff.* vol. 1, p. 35 f.

2) In command. 4: *estrangero que está de tus puertas adentro*. 1550: *questa*. 1559: *que mora*.

(It is not Reyna's translation).

I may notice here that in 1568 or 69 Henry Denham got the Stationers' license for printing of *the X commandements in spanysshe*. See *A transcript of the registers of the Company of Stationers of London 1554—1640*. Edited by Edward Arber. Vol. 1. London 1875. P. 385.

3) Usóz in the list of *Rf. Esp.* in t. XX gives the date 1560 for the *Sum. de Ind.*, not, however, without a sign of interrogation.

In Rf. Esp. XVIII, p. xviii is mentioned un tratadillo en Franzés, semejante en Título i Conclusión, á la Obra española, i que, en sustanzia, presenta coincizencias, mas o menos próximas, con el „Breve sumario“. Half the title of the volume which contains this tratadillo is given there, but not the title of the tratadillo itself. I used the copy in the GENEVA library (bound together with the

Antithese de nostro seignevr Iesvs-Christ et du Pape de Rome . . . M. D. CXIX). Traitté | des indvlgences, | Contre le decret du Concile | de Trento. [By Chemnitz/ | Briefue considera- | tion sur l'an du Iubilé. | Le vrai & grand Pardon general | de pleniére remission des pechés. | [Quotation from S. Austin. >] A Geneve, | pour Iaques Choüet. | M. D. XCIX. | Colophon: De l'Imprimerie de Pierre | De La Roviére. | Octavo. Fol. 4 verso of the preface: l'ai adiousté au liuret de Chemnicus vne briefue consideration du Iubilé, pour rendre mon dessain plus complot, & contenter ceux qui desirent entendre ces choses tout du long. Preface is signed: Fait ce 15. d'Aoust 1599, No name nor place. — P. 214: Briefue considération touchant | le Iubilé. Then immediately: Povravant que le Pape & son clergé s'aprestent pour celebrer au commencement du siecle prochain le Iubilé à l'imitation de celui des Juifs . . . Ends p. 232 with quotation from S. John's gospel 7, 37 followed by the words: A lui soit gloire eternellement. Amen. Then: Au lecteur S. l'ai esté d'auis que l'imprimeur adioustast à la fin de ce liuret, la copie d'un grand pardon general de pleniére remission apporté de la cour celeste, oscript du precieux sang de Iesus Christ . . . Begins 232, ends 238. Then 238: Pour ne laisser blanches les pages suiuantes, nous auons adiousté quelques passages de Saint Augustin, & Leon I. touchant le tresor de l'Eglise. Ends 239. — Errata at the end of the preface of the volume.

Most likely the following French publications are the same with this grand pardon general de pleniére remission.

Theophile Dufour in the work on Calvin's catechism of 1537, Geneva 1878, p. CCXI f., gives this title: Les grans pardons & indulgences, le tresgrand Iubile de plainiére remissio(n) de peine & de coulpe a tous les confraires de la tressacree co(n)-frairie du saint esperit . . . Nouvelleme(n)t imprime a Gand par Pieter van winghues. Dufour thinks it printed at Geneva before the 29 April 1534.

Du Plessis d'Argentré Collectio iudiciorum de novis erroribus, t. 2. 1728, p. 177 among books censured by the Parisian theological Faculty in 1551: Le grand pardon de pleniére rémission pour toutes personnes, durant à tosjours, imprimé a Geneve par Adam & Jehan Rivery, 1550. Dufour does not know whether this is the same work as the above grans pardons. In Bibliothèques françaises, ed. Jurigny, III. 1773. p. 376: Le grand PARDON & pleniére Rémission pour toutes personnes & durant à perpétuité; imprimé à Genève par Adam & Jean Riveri, 1550.

The same Rivery got in 1560 the license for printing Le grand pardon dit du pape, as Dufour reports.

Questi sono i gran perdoni & indulgentie della plenaria remissione di pena et di colpa concesute a tutte le chiese et tempj di Dio per tutti i Christiani i quali sono sotto il cielo. Many copies of this tract were found in the possession of Lucio Paolo Roselli, as is stated in the law-suit of the S. Ufficio of Venice against him in 1551. See Benrath in the Jahrbücher für protestant. Theologie 1882, p. 184. I should think also this Italian tract derived from the French grans pardons.

Vnsern Herren Jesu Christi des Obersten Priesters gnaden vnnd Ablassbrieff. 1555. On the title and at the end an emblem: the lamb with a standard, and around: Victoria. S. l. Octavo. Dedication to Sabina dowager duchess of Wirtemberg, dated Tübingen 1 Jan. 1555. P. Paulus Vergerius. He says there: Diweil dann in disen tagen ich mit Gottes gnad vnderstanden, wiewol . . . hieyon vil gottsgelernte Männer geschriben haben, auch mein kleinfüg pfund auff den Tisch des Herren in solcher materi gelegt hab . . . Hab deszhalb E. F. G. in vnderthenigkeit disz meiner gedanken, so in schrift verfasst, theilhaftig wöllen machen. Follows a

notice by Vergerio on the composition of the Papal Bulls. He says with reference to the following Ablass of Christ: hat sich ein trower diener Jhesu Christi vndorfangen, nach fürgestelter ordnung der puncten oft gomeßer Bâpstlicher Bullen mit diser kurtzen schrift, lautter darzûthûn, wie sie dem wort Gottos gantz vnd gar zûwider. With sheet B begins: Hie hast du die herrliche gnad vnnd völle, auch reiche aller schuld vnd pein vergebung vnd Ablass, allen Kirchen vnd allen menschen, so zû jeder zeit leben, vnd Gott im geist vnnd warheit dienen, angeboten . . . As witnesses (Zeugen) for the certainty of this indulgence many writers of the Bible are adduced. Conclusion C ij verso. Geben im fewrschönen Göttlichen himmel im jar vor der welt erschaffung. Ausz gnad vnd freier macht der heiligkeit des HERRN Jesu Christi. Wer disen innhalt verbrechen oder sunst vernichtigen sich vndersteht, soll wissen das er mit dem banne des ewigen fewrs der Hellen solle gestrafft werden. Follows Ein gebett der vertribnen Jesu Christi, 7 pages, undersigned Vergerius. [VIENNA Court].

The resemblance of the Breve sumario de indulgencias with this little work reproduced by Vergerio is striking as for the above mentioned witnesses.

The Valladolid catalogue of 1559 prohibits among books en Romance: Iubileo de plenissima remission de peccados, concedido antiguamente: y en el fin del dize. Dado en la corte celestial del Parayso, desde el origen del mundo, con preuilegio eterno, firmado y sellado con la sangre del vnigenito hijo de Dios IESV Christo nuestro vnico y verdadero redemptor y señor. Compare our report on Vergerio's German of 1555 and on the French of 1599.

In the Stationers' register, 14 August 1560, Lucas Haryson is licensed for printing of a generall pardon for ever (Arber 1, 150).

218. 1556?

Breve svma- | rio de indvlgen | cias y gracias. | *A woodcut: an angel blowing a trumpet* | Conuertios a mi, y sereys sal- | uos todos los moradores de | la tierra: por q̄ yo soy Dios | que saluo, y no ay otro. | Esaias XLV. |

Very small octavo a — d = 31 leaves unnumbered; the 32^d leaf, which probably was the last one, is wanting.

Wiffen's copy in Wadham college, OXFORD. The written fac-simile which Wiffen sent to Usóz (see above vol. 1, p. 38) is now most likely in the National library at Madrid. Printed by Jean Crespin at Geneva? Compare Wiffen in Ref. Esp. XVIII, p. 41 f.

219. 1862.

Reformistas antiguos | españoles. | N^o. XVIII. | Obras ya reimpresas. | *The list begins on the same page, and ends on the next, including this n. 18. Second leaf:*

Breve sumario | de | indulgenzias. | Por | el dr. Juan Perez (?) | En apéndize: una carta de | Antonio del Corro. | En Madrid. | Año de Grázia de 1862. |

Very small octavo.

P. V—VIII: A. Benjamin B. Wiffen, signed: L. Usóz i Rio. Madrid. 13. 9° m. 1862. *Introduction by the editor Usóz p. IX—XXII, and Wiffen's Prólogo, which begins on p. XXII and, the paging now changing from Latin to Arabic ciphers, continues p. 23—55, where it ends. Then Apéndice p. 57—76, containing a letter of Antonio d'el Corro. Breve sumario with Diez mandamientos 32 leaves, unnumbered, signed a b c d; first leaf the ancient title of the sumario, on the back of d V begin Los diez man- | damientos de la | Lei de Dios. | Con una breve decla- | ración. |, ending d VIII^b, the text of this last leaf being a retranslation from the English version (see our next number and compare n. 218).*

VIENNA Court. B—r.

220. 1576.

Jehovah. A free Pardon with many Graces therein conteyned, graunted to all Christians by our most Holy and reuerent Father God almightie the principal high Priest and Bishoppe in Heauen and Earth: First written in the Spanish tounge, and there published by a Spaniard vnknown, (yet as it seemeth) the seruant of our said Holy Father. And now Translated into the mother English tounge by John Danyel of Clements Inne. Printed at London by Thomas East, for Andrew Mounsell, and are to be sould at his shop in Paules Churchyard at the signe of the Parrot. (1576). *Small octavo VI and 48 pages.*

According to a copy made for me from Wiffen's copy taken from the original in the archiepiscopal library at LAMBETH. Compare Rf. Esp. XVIII, p. 35 f., where the English title is translated into Spanish. The page of Muillund's Index, London 1845, where this book is registered, is not the 96th, but the 59th.

Wiffen's manuscript copy of the book (see above vol. 1, p. 38) is now most likely in Wadham college, Oxford.

JUAN PEREZ DE PINEDA.

JUAN Perez de Pineda was born at Montilla in Andalusia,¹ about the end of the 15th century.²

In the year 1526 we find him at Rome as Secretary to the Spanish Embassy and Prior of the church at Osma, of which Saint Dominic, who was born in that bishopric, had been a canon. After that the Imperial army, led by Moncada, had without encountering any resistance, taken Rome, on the 20th of September 1526 and that the soldiers had plundered St. Peter's church as well as the Papal palace, Clement VII made peace with the Emperor. On September 23. Perez wrote to Charles: without the sack of the palace and of St. Peter's one might have waited a thousand years ere His Holiness had consented to what he now saw to be inevitable. It was Perez who on the 12. December of that year, at a solemn assembly of the Pope and of the Cardinals, delivered to them the Imperial letter which remonstrated against the Pope's confederacy with the enemies of the Emperor and demanded that a General Council should be summoned without delay.³ In the next year, when the Spanish ambassador, the duke of Sesa, left Rome, secretary Perez, who had lived under the duke's roof, moved into the mansion

1) Llorente c. XXI. art. II. — This Perez is called *Pieres* in the Geneva martyrology 1570 f. (see here our appended note on Julianillo), *Pierius* by Beza 1580 (see note 41). No other Pierius is meant by his countrymen Antonio del Corro (in a letter to Calvin 1559, and in two papers 1568, sent to Beza) and Casiodoro de Reina (protestation of 1571); by a Frankfort document of 1558 (see our note 31), by Perrucellus in a letter of the same year to Calvin (our note 32), in an old catalogue of preachers in France and in the *Histoire ecclesiastique* (our note 40).

2) In October 1558 Calvin calls him *homme ancien*, here below note 45, and Llorente c. XXI. art. II., speaking of the prohibition of his writings in 1559: *Era ya Juan Perez hombre de mucha edad*.

3) See *instrumentum publicum* appended to the Imperial letters, Mayence edition (see above vol. I, n° 4) p. 100. where the secretary is called *Joannes Perez, Cesareæ maiestatis Secretarius, ac Prior ecclesiæ Oxomeñ* (just so also in Cratander's edition [see above n° 5], whilst the edition of 1587 [ib. n° 10] writes *Oxonien-sis*; compare in the Mayence edition p. 210: *Garcia de Loaysa Episcopo Oxomeñ*.

of the bishop of Gurk, Don Antonio de Salamanca. This was one of the only two houses in Rome which were spared in the most indiscriminate sacking, wreaked upon the eternal city by the army of Bourbon in May 1527. Salamanca and Perez thanked God, that they were admitted to ransom at the sum of 2400 ducats for both, without having been tortured or maltreated.⁴

Some weeks later the Secretary asked the Pope to give him a Brief to the Inquisitor General of Spain, Alfonso Manrique, archbishop of Seville, with instructions to silence the attacks directed against the writings of Erasmus. The Imperial Grandchancellor Gattinara had some time previously commissioned Perez to press this demand, and the present circumstances prevented the Pope's refusing ready compliance. The Brief which was written in the castle of St. Angelo, where Clement was a prisoner, was forwarded on 1st August to the Secretary of State Alfonso de Valdés. The Pope forbade, under pain of excommunication, the attacks upon the writings of Erasmus which were opposed to those of Luther.⁵

4) See the anonymous letter in *Documentos inéd.*, t. 7, 1845, p. 451, which when compared with Alfonso de Valdés' *diálogo* on the sack of Rome, ed. of 1850 p. 414—445, would appear to have likely been written by Don Antonio de Salamanca, as is conjectured in the *Noticia previa* to the reprint of 1848 of Perez's *Epistola consolatoria*, p. VII. — Against the identification of this Salamanca with that in the autobiography of Benvenuto Cellini there seems to be the circumstance that Cellini's Salamanca is reported to have borne the Christian name Francis, see *Vita di Cellini*, vol. 1, Torino, Fontana, 1845, p. 53, where reference is made to Gonzales de Avila's *Antigüedades de Salamanca* p. 437. — The old editions 1. 2. 4. 5 of the dialogue on the sack of Rome have: *don Antonio de Salamanca: hoyos: obispo gurgense* (the 3^d has likewise *hoyos*, to judge from Usó's edition). Usó's, following, one should think, the Paris edition, has *que hoi es* instead of *hoyos* which however was right, being the name *Hoyos*. In the list of the bishops of Gurk we find in 1533 the Spaniard *Antonio de Hoyos* who was murdered in 1551; Balbi resigned in 1526 (Potthast: *Supplement zur Biblioth. histor.* 1868, p. 326). We learn from this dialogue that already in 1527 Antonio de Salamanca Hoyos had got that see. In the Italian translation *Hoyos* is left out (at least in ed. 4, fol. 159: *Salamanca, Vescovo Curcense*; the other Italian editions are not at present at my disposition). — In a letter of the Cardinal di Como written Civitavecchia 24 Mai 1527, printed in Carlo Milanese's little volume *Il sacco di Roma*, Firenze 1867, we read p. 485 f.: *succhegiato et fatto prigioniero sino a Pereres spagnolo, segretario dello imperadore con grandissima autorità, et fatto taglia duemila ducati*. A note of the editor to the name Pereres: *Il Perrenot, ossia il Granvela*. This is a mistake; the Cardinal means Juan Perez.

5) Compare Ed. Böhmer: *Franziska Hernandez* 1865 p. 54 f.

On the last day of November Perez, writing from Rome, reported that it appeared more important to withdraw the Imperial troops from the town than to prolong the imprisonment of the Pope in St. Angelo, but that 200,000 ducats were needed to distribute amongst the troops, to induce them to consent to withdraw; that His Holiness had but little money, and that hence it was necessary to create a batch of Cardinals, who would individually pay some twenty thousand ducats for the hat, and that Moncada had already found ~~three~~ candidates in Naples who were prepared to pay.

When the army departed from Rome, Perez also left; he went to Naples. The duke of Sesa had died in August 1526, whereupon Hugo de Moncada had become the Emperor's chief representative, and had soon afterwards been appointed also Viceroy of Naples; his death in a naval engagement is reported by Perez in a despatch dated 30 April 1528.

The last of Juan Perez's official letters, that we know of, is dated Naples 29 October 1528, wherein he states that the Pope had returned to Rome, and that public security was reestablished there. It is probable that Perez returned there, but we have no letters from him of later date thence; as there was an Imperial ambassador at Rome, Perez would naturally have no further reports to make in his own name. The next thing we hear of him is contained in a letter from a Vicechancellor at Naples who writes from this city on the 28th of August 1530: „By a letter from Rome I learn that poor Juan Perez had arrived there“ (most probably he had been with the Emperor's Court in northern Italy before Charles passed over the mountains to hold the diet at Augsburg), „and that on his way to Naples, being about 30 miles from Rome, between Velletri and Sermoneta, he had been attacked, and that nothing further had been heard of him.“⁶

6) *Per lettera di Roma ho adviso chel povero Jo. Perez era arrivato in Roma et partendose per Napoli lontan da Roma circa 30 miglia tra Velletri et Sermoneta è stato assassinato et sino (et si) ad mo non si ha nova di lui . . . Fidelissimus servitor Pomp. Vicecancell.* The words bracketed by me seem to be a repetition. From Simancas, *Archivo General, Estado, Roma, legajo 849 fol. 109* copied in Bergenroth's collection in the British Museum, and from the British Museum copy (registered in Gayangos' *Cat.* vol. 2, p. 587) copied for me by Geo. F. Warner. *Assassinare* in Italian does not imply killing, not even the intention to kill (see Tommaseo's dict.).

We subsequently meet with Juan Perez in Spain, where he presided over what was called the College of Doctrine at Seville,⁷ a municipal institution for the education of youth, in which many years later Dr. Constantino accepted a lectureship.

He left Spain when he got notice of the intention of the Inquisitors to arrest him as suspected of Lutheranism.⁸ This he no doubt did after the accession to office in 1547 of the Inquisitor General Valdés, probably when Dr. Gil had already been imprisoned, and perhaps only in 1554.⁹

He next appears at Geneva.¹⁰ There from 1556—1560 the press was busy with his publications. In 1556 he edited his translation of the New Testament from Greek into Spanish.¹¹ It being customary, he says, with authors to dedicate their books to princes, Perez presents his New Testament „to the Almighty King of heaven

7) Llorente cap. XXI. art. II. p. 265, French t. 2, p. 279. Llorente calls him *doctor*; so Perez calls himself on the title of his *Sumario* and of the translation of the Psalms; and so does Valera in the *Dos tratados* 1599, p. 247. 249, and in the *Exhortacion* prefixed to the bible of 1602, fol. *3; Pellicer in his *Ensayo* p. 120: *doctor en Theologia*.

8) Llor. ib.

9) From Valera, *Dos tratados* 1599, p. 246—7, follows that Perez (whom Valera knew personally) left Seville *despues desta persecucion de Rodrigo de Valer* whose definitive condemnation he places *cerca del a. 1545*, and before the expatriation in 1555 of the seven persons to Geneva. M'Crie thinks Perez left at the time that Ægidius was thrown into prison; Menendez follows M'Crie.

10) Menendez is right in saying 459 that it is not proved that the Protestant writer is the Imperial agent, but is he not incautious enough when he asserts that it cannot be proved? At the same time M. is too confident in taking the head of the Sevillian College of doctrine for the refugee of Geneva, as if there could be no doubt about it. In fact, the identity of the Juan Perez of Geneva with the head of that college rests as exclusively upon the authority of Ll. as does the identity of the Genevese Perez with the Roman one. In this state of the question, it is certainly *licito*, to think the Imperial agent a different person from the Protestant writer, but it appears to me more impartial to suppose that Llorente had reasons to identify those three. Menendez says: *el Juan Perez de Montilla parece haber sido clérigo y no diplomático*, but the diplomatist was Prior of Osma, see above here. As for the other objection of M. against the identification of the Juan Perez of Rome with the Juan Perez of the Sevillian college and of Geneva: *las fechas no concuerdan bien*, I am at a loss to see this.

11) In the *epistola* prefatory to his N. T. he says (fol. *VI), giving the two reasons which moved him to translate it: *La una que sintiendo me muy obligado al servicio de los de mi nacion segun la vocacion con que me llamo el Señor a*

and earth, Jesus Christ." To the supplication to Christ follows an address to king Philip of Spain, in which Perez reminds the Sovereign of his duty to protect and to spread the teaching of this holy book. In the preface he rightly lays stress upon the fact that the inspired writers by the employment of the Greek language disclosed their wish to give their writings the greatest circulation possible at that period. It may strike one as singular that Perez did not hint at the fact that he was not the first Spanish translator of the New Testament;¹² probably he held it to be prudent to avoid making the king of Spain aware of the circumstance, perhaps unknown to or forgotten by him, that his father had prohibited Enzinas' translation dedicated to his Imperial Majesty and had imprisoned the translator, twelve years previously. In the same year in which Perez published the New Testament, he also issued a Spanish catechism. In the succeeding year 1557 Perez published his translation of the Psalms from Hebrew, with a dedication to Maria of Austria, sister of the Emperor Charles V, the Queen of Hungary and Bohemia and Regent of the Netherlands.¹³ In

la anunciacion de su Evangelio, pareciome que no avia medio mas proprio para cumplir, sino en todo, a lo menos en parte con mi deseo y obligacion, que darsselo en su propria lengua . . . Richard Simon, *Histoire critique des versions du nouveau testament*, Rotterdam 1690, chap. 41, p. 496: *La Traduction tient le milieu entre celles qui sont trop literales, & celles, qui sont trop étendues. Il s'attache à son texte, sans estre neanmoins obscur: car il supplée ce qu'il est nécessaire de suppleer pour se faire entendre, & pour ne laisser pas le sens suspendu. Mais il ne marque pas toujours en lettre Italique ce qu'il ajoûte. Comme il ne garde aucune uniformité là-dessus, cela me fait croire qu'il a plustost traduit sur les Versions qui avoient esté faites sur le Grec arant luy, que sur l'Original. Il a enfermé entre deux crochets de certains mots qui ne sont point dans le texte Grec . . . Il a de plus ajoûté à la marge de son texte de petites notes, . . . mais outre que ces observations sont rares, elles ne sont pas toujours exactes . . .*

12) He only speaks of his own labour: *Dos causas me movieron a tomar no liviano trabajo de traducirlo . . .* (fol. * VI). That the translator is Perez, is proved by Cipriano de Valera in his *Dos tratados*, 1599 p. 247, reprint of 1851: *el Doctor Juan Perez, que se vino á Jenera, donde imprimió el Testamento nuevo, i otros libros en Español*, and in his *Exhortacion*, fol. * 3, prefixed to the Bible of 1602: *El doctor Iuā Perez de piu memoria año de 1556. imprimió el Testamento nuevo . . . A Iuan Perez, Cossiodoro y Iulian yo los conocí, y traté familiarmente*. Certainly Valera does not mean that Perez only printed the translation of some other person.

13) As he does on the title, so he gives himself as translator in the *epistola dedicatoria*, fol. A VII: *teniendo yo mucho hu desseudo servir a vuestra Alteza, no halle otra cosa mas propria para dar verdadero testimonio de mi desseo que traduzir su Psalterio [viz. el de David] en romance Castellano, y dedicarlo a*

1556 and 1557 he printed Juan de Valdés' commentaries upon the epistle to the Romans and the first epistle to the Corinthians, the latter with a prefatory letter of dedication to the future Emperor Maximilian, whom, Perez says, all Spain held in affection for his justice, piety, affability and other royal virtues.¹⁴

The peace of Augsburg 1555 had established for Germany an agreement between Protestants and Roman Catholics, who found themselves forced by the insuperable logic of events, mutually to tolerate each other. For Spain too a gleam of hope shone forth to see the nation liberated from the fetters of Rome. After that the duke of Alba had, in August 1556, sent that terrible letter to the Pope which made the Vatican tremble, Perez thought the moment a favorable one to press upon king Philip that he should not recede, but go on still further, and this he implored of him in a letter which was already printed in the summer of 1557.¹⁵ Perez says: It is right

vuestro Alteza . . . — Pellicer, Ensayo p. 122 on Perez's Psalms: la version es clara y corriente. Menendez who p. 458 calls Perez elegante escritor, says p. 461 on his psalms: Así la dedicatoria, como la Declaracion del fructo y utilidad de los Psalmos para todo cristiano, están gallardísimamente escritas. Juan Perez es prosista sóbrio y vigoroso, de la escuela de Juan de Valdés, y menos resabiado que Cipriano de Valera y otros por la sequedad ginebrina . . . La traduccion es hermosa como lengua . . . Ni muy libre ni muy rastrera, sin affectaciones de hebraismo ni locuciones exóticas, más bien literal que parafrástica, pero libre de supersticioso rabinismo, está escrita en lenguaje puro, correcto, claro y de gran lozania y hermosura. Menendez has, however, afterwards given the preference to the Valdés translation, which was not yet published when he wrote the above.

14) Compare our note appended below on Maximilian.

15) *Carta a Philippe, Rf. Esp. t. 3. p. 79 f.* As for the authorship, Usóz says in the list of *Rf. Esp.* in vol. 20: *al parzér, por Juán Perez*, and Wiffen likewise places the *Carta* under the head: Juan Perez, *Bth. Wiff.* p. 37; I think they are right. — The carta evidently is written before the battle of Saint-Quentin which took place in August 1557, see p. 9. 59. Usóz is wrong in thinking the political horizon of the *Carta* as well as that of the *Imagen del Anticristo* to have been the time between the beginning of 1558 and the beginning of 1559, *Rf. Esp. t. 3. 1848*, p. III. Still in 1865 in the list of *Reformistas* vol. 20 of that series, Usóz gives the date 1558 for *Imagen* and *Carta*, Wiffen in the list printed in the same year with his short notification of Usóz's death makes at least an interrogation sign after the mention of this year 1558 as the date of those two writings. I think the heretical *Carta en español intitulada al Rey nuestro Señor*, which Peter Veller confessed (see p. 64 here) to have brought from Frankfurt to the Netherlands, was this work in question. Twice a year, as Veller himself says, the booksellers used to go to Frankfurt to attend the two fairs in order to buy books. His confession dates from Lent 1558,

to call things by their proper names. Thus in calling the truth, truth, one honours the truth and God who is the author of it. And in calling evil, evil, one does not injustice to the evil. He who calls black, black, and a lie, a lie, does not wrong them. And if a man calls a Turk, a Turk, no Turk has cause to complain. And when you call a lamb, a lamb, and a wolf, a wolf, there is nothing injurious. Nay, it would be perversion to call evil good, black white, darkness light, and a lie truth. And to do so would be to incur the curse denounced by the prophet Isaiah against those who judge so perversely.¹⁶ The papists, however, cast aside the bible which contains nothing but pure truth and words of God.¹⁷ They think it good that a truth of Christ should not be preached unless cloaked with fifty papal lies.¹⁸ The author severely rebukes the preposterous subjection to the pope,¹⁹ in which the Spaniards, he says, so ignominiously outdo all other nations.²⁰ Roman excommunications are, he exclaims, but scare-crows which only terrify those who do not know what they indeed are.²¹ He recognises the duty of obedience and reverence to the Apostolic See, provided that it really be Apostolic and not opposed to Christ and to his Apostles.²² That then, however, disbelief in God was the smallest evil of the Romish court.²³ His meaning is that its reckless immorality was still more unpardonable than the denial of the existence of a personal God, for the unbelievers „do by nature the things contained in the law.“ In this wretched condition of the church the Pope does not bear the greatest guilt, says Perez, but we do, for „a consenting party suffers no wrong.“²⁴ To disarm the Pope the King must do two things. The first was that which Henry II of France so successfully carried out: the prohibition of the export of money to Rome from his kingdom.²⁵ The second

Docum. inéd. t. 5. 1844, p. 530—32. Possibly he had just only returned from the quadregesimal fair of 1558 with these *Cartas* and other books when he made those depositions, it is, however, very much more likely that he got them the year before. On Lent, especially midfast, as term of the Frankfurt booksellers fairs see Schwetschke's *Codex nundinarius*, Halle 1850, p. VIII.

16) P. 164. 17) P. 101. 18) P. 103. 19) P. 13. 20) P. 63.

21) P. 118. 158. 22) P. 22. 23) P. 54. 24) P. 122. 125.

25) P. 150 f. The Roman catholic Divine Melchior Cano, Provincial of the Dominicans for Castile, gave the same advice to Philip in November 1556, see *Rf.*

was that he should take Christ as his helper, protecting Christ's followers from papal persecution. The King, however, preferred reconciliation with the Church of Rome; he commanded the duke of Alba to beg pardon, „with a halter round his neck,” as Ruy Gomez, Philip's minister of State, expressed it.²⁶

Perez had with him at Geneva his countryman Julian Hernandez. This spirited Old-Castilian who on account of his diminutive stature was called by the French *le petit Julien*, succeeded in the year 1557 in bringing across the Netherlands into Seville two great barrels filled with Perez's New Testaments and Psalms. After that Julianillo had distributed many copies in Seville, he was betrayed to the Inquisition, was arrested, and in a short time the prisons were gorged with eight hundred persons. Concerning the trade in heretical books between Germany and Spain, a bookseller, who was examined by the Inquisition of the Netherlands, gave interesting details, in the beginning of the year 1558.²⁷ This man, Peter Veller, who was engaged in the extensive business of Stels at Antwerp, testified that some Antwerp booksellers fetched, twice a year from the fairs at Frankfort on the Main, the new works which were published by the heretics in Latin and in Spanish. Veller himself had carried to the Netherlands copies of the Spanish „Letter to our Lord the King“ and of the Bull forged by the heretics. He had seen great barrels filled with these Bulls and Letters which were destined to be sold in Spain. There is scarcely any doubt left, that the Letter is the above mentioned by Perez, and the Bull the Summary of Indulgences on which we have treated in our preceding article. Veller further said that Peter Vilman, a bookseller at Antwerp, had book-depôts at Medina del Campo and at Seville. A ropemaker at Antwerp, a relation of

Esp. t. 12, append. p. 44; Fermin Caballero's *Melchor Cano*, Madrid 1871, p. 520 (400. 295 f. 524—5). This was one of the points respecting the war with the Pope, on which Philip in October consulted some theologians; Caballero p. 512. 297.

26) Federico Badoero's *relazione* of the summer 1557, in Albèri's collection *Le relazioni degli ambasciatori Veneti*, vol. 8, Firenze 1853, p. 308. Also the old Emperor in Yuste *pusose en cólera por lo de la paz, pareciéndole que es muy vergonzosa*: Gachard *Retraite et mort de Charles-Quint*, t. 1. 1854, p. 218, compare t. 2. 1855. p. XV. XVI.

27) *Docum. inéditos* t. 5, p. 529—33. 519. Cf. Pollicer's *Ensayo* p. 33.

the man who had corrupted the mind of Francisco de San Roman,²⁸ was in the habit of sending books to Malaga. There were many heretics in Andalusia and in Aragon. It had also been confessed by one who was burned the year before at Bruges, that they had in Spain a church, although secretly.²⁹ Much money was sent out of Spain to print Spanish heretical books in Germany, and for the support of Spanish heretical refugees in that country. Such heretics were in the habit of attending the Frankfort fairs, and some of them brought books to the Netherlands purposing to take or send them into Spain. Veller moreover added that the heretics, after they learned that the seaports of the peninsula were no longer safe, sent their books by way of Lyons and over the Pyrenees to Aragon or to Navarra. In consequence of these revelations the Inquisition resolved to send a spy to Frankfort, a monk in disguise, to collect there more varied and precise information, and above all how to enable them to recognise the heretical Spaniards when travelling through the Netherlands, in order to catch them.³⁰

Whilst the books, published by Perez in 1557, were printing at Geneva, he lived in Frankfort, probably from September 1556 until June 1558. Various complaints against the minister of the French church there, Valerandus Pollanus, had to be decided by an arbitration of Notables, accepted by both parties, as all previous means had failed. The arbitrators who met for this purpose in Frankfort in September 1556, were the following, recorded here in the order in which they are placed in the official document: Calvin, Johannes a Lasco, Robert Horne (afterwards bishop of Winchester), Laurent de

28) See here vol. 1, p. 155.

29) This would be *Charles Coninck ou Le Roy*, Geneva martyrology.

30) Compare also Menendez 366. — On Frankfurt as a meeting-place of Protestant Spaniards see Gons. *Artes* p. 224. — In a French letter of the *église wallonne* of Amsterdam, July 1556, *Jaques Lespagnol* is mentioned as a member of the evangelical French church at Frankfurt o. M. (*Corp. Rf.* 4, 236). — Matthias Ritter at Frankfurt says (in 1585, as it seems. *Franckfurtischer Religions-Handlungen Zweyter Theil*, Franckf. a. M. 1735, *Beilage* p. 19): *... non modo testamentum eius [Buceri] in Anglia ante mortem renovatum: sed etiam fide digni homines testantur. Venit ad nos ex Anglia Anno 1554 Hispanus quidam, Iacobus Crucius, qui antea in quadam Indiae civitate Episcopum egerat. Is postea anno*

Normandie, Jean Crespin of Geneva, Juan Perez,³¹ Nic. Walet (a Walloon who had come to Frankfort the year before) and Eustathius Quercetanus. Most probably Perez had come in company with Calvin, but he did not return with him (Calvin was at home in October). Perez was the leading man, when in May 1558 the ministers of the congregations of foreigners at Frankfort handed in to the senate of the city their full consent to the so called Frankfort Recess, by which, two months previously, the evangelical electors and other princes had fixed the terms of their religious union in conformity with a proposal of Melancthon.³²

Perez, in June 1558, was constrained to return to Geneva,³³ where, during his absence, many of his countrymen had settled.

1556 *quum Ioannes a Lasco ad nos [Frankfort] profectus novas turbas excitabat, mihi de hoc eodem interroganti, dixit, ab eo Bucerum usque ad mortem dissensisse.* This Crucius, therefore, is quoted by Ritter as one of those *fide digni homines*.

31) *Joannes Pierius. Corp. Rf.* vol. 44, col. 293. The editors say: *Pierium ignoramus.* But Compare our next note.

32) Franciscus Perrucellus writes to Calvin, Frankfurt 9 June 1558 (*Corp. Rf.* vol. 45, col. 199): *Etsi nos non lateat, clarissime domine, multas ob causas easque necessarias hinc revocari D. Pierium, non possumus tamen non dolere ob tanti viri non solum cruditi verum etiam pii discessum. Scimus, proh dolor, quam ægre divellamur a caris. An ulla est necessitudo aut familiaritas, quæ cum huius pietate sit conferenda? Attamen quia sic visum est Deo, feremus utcumque tantam iacturam, præsertim apud alios tantum emolumenti allaturam, ne Dei consilia et voluntatem impedire videamur. Decreveram pluribus ad te scribere quis sit præsens nostræ ecclesiæ status, præsertim ob explicationem seu responsionem quam dedimus ad quatuor articulos quos hic noster senatus mandato principum Germaniæ in eum finem nobis 20. Maii tradiderat, tum etiam de nonnullis tumultibus a quibusdam excitatis. Sed quum D. Pierius iis omnibus non solum interfuerit, rerum etiam præfuerit, satius esse duxi ut hæc ab illo quam ex meis scriptis disceres.* (The editors say here on Pierius: *Vir aliqui ignotus verbi minister fuisse videtur iam Genevam rediens.* In the *Addenda* to the *Thesaurus epistolicus Calvinianus, Corp. Rf.* vol. 48, col. 615 they say: *Pierium dudum suspicati sumus Hispanum fuisse, proprie Perez dictum, de quo Beza in Iconibus. Calvini catechisicum hispanice vertit. Eiusdem comes fuit Francofurtum proficiscentis. Iam certissime id affirmare audemus a . . Boehmero edocti.* — On the four articles of the Frankfort recess see Herzog's *Real-Encyklopädie*, 2. ed., vol. 4, p. 628. In consequence of interminable quarrels among the foreigners themselves (see *Frankfurtischer Religions-Handlungen Zweyter Theil*, Franckf. a. M. 1735, *Beylage* p. 86 f.), their church was in 1561 shut by the city government (the English had already in 1559 returned to their country).

33) See note 32. — That Perez was at Geneva in April 1559, appears also from Corro's letter I.

Before the end of the year 1556 two Spanish families had been received into the Italian congregation; in the year 1558 the number of fugitive Spaniards had so increased, that at the recommendation of Calvin, whose mediation they had sought, the City, in October of that year, granted them leave to form a Spanish church, with Juan Perez for their preacher, and conceded to them the church of St. Germain.³⁴

In the year 1559 Perez, formerly the Imperial diplomatist, but now a minister of the gospel, edited his Spanish translation of John Sleidan's two Latin orations which affect public evangelical interests; one of them is addressed to the Emperor, the other to the Princes and the Estates of the Empire. The translator introduces these documents by his own petition to king Philip.³⁵ He reminds the monarch of the efforts made by Wickliffe, by Hus, by Jerome of Prague, and recently by Luther to bring about reformation. He sets forth how anomalous it is to permit the Roman Catholic party to be at once both party and judge. He tells king Philip, that if he allow the Inquisitors to continue their destructive work, he

34) See note 45.

35) See my reprint of Sleidan's Latin and German text, with bibliographical appendix, in the *Bibliothek des literarischen vereins zu Stuttgart*, CXLV, Tübingen 1879. — Llorente quoting a paragraph from the *Informacion al emperador* says cap. XVIII, art. II, § 20: *haviendosele [al emperador] persuadido muchas veces la multitud y grandeza de los daños del modo de proceder del Santo-Oficio, entre las quales merece mencion especial la representacion que despues se imprimió en Alemania furtivamente, año 1559, sin el nombre de autor; pero sabiendose haberlo sido los Españoles huidos á Ginebra y Flandes.* (The French translation has misinterpreted this thus: *une représentation . . sans nom d'auteur, mais qui n'était pas inconnue aux Espagnols réfugiés à G. et en F.*, whilst Ll. means: one knew, however, that the Spanish fugitives had got it printed). Llorente says nothing about the questions who was the author and whether the *Informaciones* are a Spanish original. Wiffen and Usóz thought the *Informaciones* were a Spanish original, and they could not but believe that the author was Francisco de Enzinas (*Ref. Esp.* t. 12, *Notas del editor* p. 3 f.; t. 13, appd. p. 3; t. 20, list of the series, and Wiffen's list of the same with his notice on Usóz's decease; *this Biblioth. Wiff. I, p. 40*). Usóz was right in supposing the division in chapters and the headings of them, as also the summary of the Information to the Princes and Estates, to be the Spanish editor's work. The first sentence of this summary he took, it is true, from the author's preface. He somewhat amplified the last sentence of the address to the Emperor. That Perez was the editor of the *Informaciones* and the author of the *Supplicacion* is what Usóz thought.

would cease to rule men and that he would be a king over ashes and sambenitos. And what ashes! the ashes of the disciples of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the ashes of His Majesty's most loyal subjects. Such words shew the impression wrought upon the author by the news of the first of the great executions of the year 1559, the Auto celebrated in May at Valladolid. In September of the same year Lutherans were burned at Seville. Perez, who clearly saw what the end would be for the brave Julian and many dear friends in his native land, wrote and printed in the year 1560 a consolatory letter.³⁶ It is improbable that the edifying little book ever reached the imprisoned brethren. After more than three years imprisonment Julianillo died heroically in the flames at the Auto of December 22. 1560, in which also the effigy of Juan Perez was burnt, as were likewise the remains of doctors Gil and Constantino. A Spanish report issued at that time from the Inquisitorial side³⁷

36) Menendez 463: *notable por la dulzura de los sentimientos, y lo apacible y reposado del estilo. 465: fuera de los resábios protestantes (sobre todo en los primeros capítulos), está admirablemente escrita, aunque se advierte abuso de lugares comunes y de citas de la Escritura, y el autor acaba por tornarse lánguido, difuso y palabrero, á fuerza de dar vueltas á una misma idea. Tiene, con todo eso, pasajes llenos de calor y brío; pero ganaria mucho el opúsculo con reducirse á la tercera parte de su extension.* Now for a nimble diversion: *Ni nos admiremos mucho de los primores de la lengua: ¿quien no escribia bien en aquel glorioso siglo?* Follows an eulogy of Padre Rivadeneyra's *Tratado de la tribulacion*, as superior to the consolatory epistle of Perez.

There is, of course, a great resemblance between Perez's epistle of consolation to persecuted evangelicals, and the letter which had been written to the same purpose by Pierre Viret. Several passages of the work of Perez would lead to the supposition that he knew that of Viret, and this is so much the more probable as Viret's epistle had been reedited the year before the publication of that of Perez. *Deux epistres, l'une demonstre comment nostre Seigneur Iesus Christ est la fin de la Loy, & la somme de tout ce qu'il faut chercher en l'écriture. Composée par M. I. Calvin. L'autre pour consoler les fideles qui souffrent pour le Nom de Iesus: & pour les instruire à se gouverner en temps d'aduersité & de prosperité, & les confermer contre les tentations & assautz de la mort. Composée par M. P. Viret. 1543. S.l. Octavo. [ZURICH City]. C 5 begins Viret: A tors ceux qui souffrent persecution pour le Nom de Iesus. Ends [13]. Column-title: Epistre consolat. I have not seen the edition, of which I found somewhere the title: *Epistre consolatoire pour consoler* and so on as above to *mort. Rereue et augmentée. 1559*, with Rivery's printingmark.*

37) The same report which we have quoted above p. 24 from Vicente de la Fuente, *Hist. eccl.* 5, 241, where also this passage is found.

says: Those who were imprisoned for Lutheranism at Valladolid, Seville and Toledo, were so numerous and of such social position, that it was believed, that in two or three months, had redress been postponed, all Spain would have been set on fire, and that the greatest disaster, ever yet seen in the country, would have become inevitable.

In that same year 1560 Perez had published another Spanish treatise, a revision of the Latin work of a German reformer, Urbanus Regius, of about twenty chapters, each so constructed as to contrast the old (biblical) doctrine of God, with the (comparatively) new doctrine of men;³⁸ the Spaniard has made additions.

In July 1561 Perez was by his own desire carried into the hospital, to be treated there, and it does not appear that he ever resumed his ministerial duties, nor is there evidence that the Spanish church continued to exist at Geneva. From 1563 the Italian church there again received Spaniards, which it had not done since 1558.³⁹

It was probably after the edict of January 1562 which gave to the French Protestants liberty of worship that Perez followed a call as minister of the gospel to Blois in France.³⁹ When after the death of Guise, Condé held a conference on 8 March 1563 with three Huguenot ministers about the peace to be concluded, Juan Perez of Blois was one of the three.⁴⁰ They declared that at all events the

38) Compare in the *Supplicacion* before the *Dos Inform.*, ed. 1857, p. 27 f. — I think with Usóz and Wiffen (title of the reprint of 1852, list in *Rf. Esp.* t. 20, *Bth. Wiff.* 1, p. 36) that the author of the Spanish *Breve tratado de doctrina* was Juan Perez. This is confirmed by the notice I extracted (note 44) from the *Livre du Conseil* at Geneva that in March 1560 the Spanish ministro got the license to print a certain book, if he corrected his additions according to the propositions made by Gallasius. The license for the *epist. consol.* was only given in May.

39) In the summer of 1561 the General of a monks order, after a tour through France for visiting his monasteries, wrote from Paris to a Cardinal at Rome, that he had found three quarters of the country infected and malevolent against the Holy See. *Processo di Carnesecchi*, ed. da Manzoni 1870, p. 339.

40) *Hist. ecclés.* vol. 2, p. 279: *Le Prince estant à Orleans demanda de communiquer avec les ministres sur les affaires qui se presentoiént. Cela fut cause que trois furent députés pour cest effect, à savoir Desmeranges ministre d'Orleans, Pierius Espagnol de nation, mais non de religion, et ministre de Bloys, et la Rochechandiu ministre de Paris.* — In a catalogue of the Protestant ministers in France which is thought to be written about 1567, *Bulletin de la Société de l'Hist. du Prot. français*, t. IX, p. 296, Pierius is mentioned as in Blois or Mers (Indre).

edict of January 1562 which gave much liberty to the Protestants must be restored. A synod of 72 ministers demanded the same. Nevertheless Condé signed on the 12th of March the edict of pacification which on the 19th was promulgated as the treaty of Amboise, which allowed much less liberty to the Protestants than the January edict had given them. In 1564 we find Perez at Montargis as evangelical minister of Renée the dowager duchess of Ferrara, Calvin's pupil and friend.

Perez died at Paris in 1567.

Beza styles him a man of learning and of signal probity.⁴¹

He left behind him money that he had collected for the purpose of printing books for the furtherance of the evangelical cause. The Spanish New Testament which was printing in Paris the year he died,⁴² is, in my opinion, his work, and the same, I think, is the Spanish New Testament with notes principally taken from the Genevese theologians, which was recommended by the Censor of the Theological Faculty of Paris in 1574 for suppression.⁴³ Not one copy of it is known to have been seen since, nor has even that which the censor used been found.

41) Beza *Icones* 1580 fol. li. iij. after having spoken of the four principal evangelical doctors in Spain, Cazalla, Gil, Vargas, Constantino: *Horum autem sanctissimum studium plurimum adiuverat Ioannes Pierius, et ipse Hispanus, qui quum Genevam renisset, ubi Hispanicam etiam Ecclesiam coëgit, plurimos hispanica lingua sacros libros edendos, et Siviliam usque transportandos curavit: homo eximia tum doctrina, tum in primis probitate insignis, qui postea Blesis, celebri ad Ligerim civitate, ac demum apud Renatam Ferrariensem Ducissam ministerio functus, Lutetiae tandem facultatibus suis omnibus ad hispanica excudenda Biblia legatis, ex calculo [misprint: calcudo] decessit. His igitur illi libris adiuti, incredibile est quantopere paucis annis Evangelium promorerint, donec . . . deprehenso et in carceres cum iis qui supererant libris pertracto Iuliano Ferdinando, a quo Genera fuerant asportati, . . .* In Simon Goulart's translation of the *Icones* the words *ex calculo decessit*, which simply mean: he died, are translated thus: [Perez] *mourut de la gravelle à Paris*. Likewise Wiffen, in the *Notice* prefixed to the *Epist. consol.* p. XXVIII: *he died at Paris of calculus disease*; in the translation of this *Notice*, *Noticia previa* p. XXII: *murió en Paris, de mal de piedra*. On Perez's stay and death in France compare below in the article on Corro.

42) See Reina's letter in my *Romanische Studien*, vol. 4, p. 493 f.

43) See here below n° 238.

44) *Preventive censure of the press at Geneva.*

E.-H. Gaullieur: Études sur la typographie Genevoise p. 33 f. of the Bulletin de l'Institut National Genevois, t. 2, Genève 1855, p. 128: Le 9 mai 1539 „Arrêté... que nul n'aye à imprimer chose que soit dans la ville sans licence de Messieurs...“. *Gaullieur does not mention an order which I found in the ms.* Livre du Conseil des affaires de la ville (*in the Archives*): Jeudi 26 de novembre 1556 (fol. 118—119): Ordre sur les imprimeurs et imprimerie. Icy est mys en auant de mettre ordre sur imprimerie, a scauoir qu'ils ayent des correcteurs scauans et diligens, et que nul ne imprime de la sainte escripture translations ou comentaires sans licence de la seigneurie... et surtout qu'ils impriment rien sans licence. Arreste qu'on se tient au dit ordre et aduys... *Again in the detailed Ordonnances* touchant l'imprimerie of the 15 February 1560, *Gaullieur* p. 136: Que nul n'ait à mettre sous la presse livre qui ne soit approuvé et qu'il n'en ait obtenu permission de la Seigneurie.

On printing of Spanish books I have not found anything in the folios of the Livre du Conseil from 1550 to beginning of 1560. In this year the Counsel was three times occupied with Spanish publications, and that of books of Juan Perez. Vendredi premier de Mars 1560 (fol. 15): Ministre espagnol a requis avoir license d'imprimer certain livre. Estant ouye la relation du sr syndique de la maison neuve, arreste qu'on luy permet, moyennant qu'il corrige certaines additions a forme que luy a este dit por spectable de Saul [= *Nic. des Gallars, latinised Gallasius*]. Lundi 22 d'avril 1560 (fol. 31): Ministre espagnol a presente une copie d'epistre consolatoire pour les fideles en espagnol requerant luy permettre l'imprimer. Arreste quelle soit visitée. Vendredi 3 de May 1560 (fol. 35): Prescheur espagnol. L'on a fait aussi relation que les ministres qu'ont visite le livre du dit ministre intitule l'epistre consolatoire pour les fideles qui sont persecutes en la papaulte, compose en espagnol, sont d'aduis qu'il puisse estre imprime. —

Calvin writes to Bullinger, from Geneva, 17 February 1557: ... nuncius ... quem libro nondum absoluto [Calvini in Oseam commentario] oneravi, non ut tibi gravis sit ac molesta lectio, sed ut videas quantum sit otii nostris typographis, quibus vacat hæc edere.

45) *Evangelical Spaniards in Geneva.*

My researches in Geneva were made in 1873. In addition I give some notices from Galiffe's two alphabetical lists of names of the Colonie espagnole and of Portugais drawn up in his book: Le refuge italien de Genève aux XVI^{me} et XVII^{me} siècles. Genève 1881. p. 167—169. Galiffe quotes his authorities in general, not for each name. Most names of the Colonie espagnole he evidently took from Burlamachi. Portugais he only has 5 names. As for the years in his notices, he says: La première date qui suit les noms d'individus se rapporte à la première mention de ceux-ci dans les sources locales.

Before there was a Spanish church established at Geneva, and after it ceased to exist, the evangelical Spaniards used to join the Italian congregation.

Ochino who arrived at Geneva in 1542, did not remain long enough to consolidate an Italian church. In July 1550 Pietro Paolo Vergerio writes from Geneva: In Geneva .. fino ad ora vi possono essere più di mille per Cristo e per lo evanhelio forusciti, viz. from France and Flanders, amongst them Jaques de Falais [Falesius]. Vergerio encourages the evangelical Italians, to go likewise to Geneva, if they be not allowed, and do not wish, to confess their faith in their own country; he does not seem to know of any Italian Protestant being then at Geneva. Of Spaniards he says nothing. The Flemish and the French are

the only fugitives at Geneva he mentions. (Epistola del Vergerio nella quale sono descritte molte cose della Città, & della Chiesa di Geneva. In Geneva M. D. L. Dated July 15, and in the postscript July 20. 1550. p. 19. ZURICH City). *Half a year ago, in January, Vergerio intending to accept a place of evangelical minister in Val Bregaglia, had written to Calvin: Spero enim fore ut Itali eo confugiant, ut Genevam ad Galli tui* (Corp. Rf. 41, 513).

Whilst Vergerio stayed at Geneva, probably Calvin's catechism in Spanish, translated by a Spaniard living there, was still in the press. The translator's preface, dated April 1550, was printed earlier than the translation; the work appeared in the course of that year. (See above here p. 43 f.).

From the same year 1550 begin the notices of Vincenzo Burlamachi (born 1598, died 1682), in his Libro di memorie diverse della chiesa Italiana in Geneva (Ms in the City Archives there). Burlamachi says under 1550: È qui da notare che solo sono qui messi i nomi che sono scritti ne' libri; essendo certissimo che solo vna parte d'essi è qui registrata. The last inscription he gives is of 1654, his list of the governo della chiesa Ital. in Geneva is continued to 1669.

Calvin to Farel, 15 June 1551: Interea hospitibus, qui multi quotidie hac transeunt, vel qui ad nos habitandi causa demigrant, me impendo. Inter alios Marchio a Vico Neapolitanus nuper appulit. Subsequitur mox alter. Si nos proximo autumno invisas, auctam aliquo numero urbem reperies. Spectaculum mihi iucundum, nisi quod obruor concursu. (Corp. Rf. 42, 134). *The Strassburg editors note that the number of fugitives increased maxime post edictum in Chateaubriand promulgatum d. 27 Junii* (Ruchat V. 447 ss. Hist. eccl. I. 84). — *Roget, Histoire du peuple de Genève* (t. 3. 1875. p. 221): La congrégation italienne fut régulièrement constituée le 31 mars 1552 par la nomination de son premier pasteur. Celse Martinengo, de Brescia, à laquelle procéda le Conseil, après que les ministres l'eurent déclaré „ydoinne et suffisant“. — *Franciscus Gaius [a Bosco Normanno] in a letter adressed Francisco Beraldo, written at Geneva, 19 April 1554, mentions Gallorum magnam copiam, Italorum et Anglorum. (Printed in Colomesii Gallia orientalis; in Colomesii opera ed. Fabricio p. 18). In January 1555 Calvin inviting Juan Valdés' friend Peter Martyr Vermigli to comply with the wish of the Italian congregation and become their minister, says: Est quidem pusillus grex sed vero electus, ut florem Italiae in eo conspici posse arbitrer.* (Corp. Rf. 43, 388. *Vermigli was, however, retained at Strasburg, ib. 496. 44, 144. In the next year the same place was again offered to him after his removal to Zurich, but he was not allowed to leave his office there, ib. 44, 403 f. 587. 593 f. 600 f. 617 f. 668 f.; and a new request of the senate of Geneva to that of Zurich in August 1557 remained likewise without success, ib. 48, 454 f. Compare Simler de vita Petri Martyris, Tiguri 1563, fol. 19. 20). Roget (Hist. du peuple de Genève, t. 4. 1877, p. 328) under the year 1555: Le temple de Notre-Dame la Neuve (l'Auditoire) fut mis à la disposition des Italiens et des Anglais. La prédication pour les Italiens fut fixée au jeudi, vendredi et samedi à 9 heures, tandis que les Anglais célébraient leur culte le lundi, mardi et mercredi à la même heure. In 1559, April 25, Vergerio mentions to the duke of Württemberg Genevam ubi fere quingenti exules ex Italia degunt* (Briefwechsel 1875, p. 207).

Galiffe registers also Servetus in the Colonie espagnole. But that unfortunate Aragonese stayed only a few weeks at Geneva in an inn on his way to Italy, and was forced to remain there, in the prison and at last in the flames 1553.

I have extracted from Burlamachi's memorie the names of Spaniards and Portuguese. The first person occurring from that peninsula is in 1554 Tomaso

Portuguese con sua moglie et cinque figliuoli. *Galiffe has not this article, but no doubt the same family is meant by his notice:* Coello, Coeglio, Quaglia . . ., appelés le plus souvent Portugheso, ou di Portugallo, Thomas et Jaques, 1554 (sont souvent confondus avec les Coella, Coveglio des Calabres). — *Cipriano de Valera relates* (Dos tratados, 1599, p. 247): En el año de 1555 salieron de Sevilla siete personas entre hombres y mugeres, y vinieron à Geneva donde residieron. *Among them may have been Juan Perez; he is not found in Burlamachi's register. Nor is Julian Hernandez mentioned in the Geneva sources, except in the martyrology; see our next note. Burlamachi has in 1556 Francesco Vidino Spagnuolo, and after other names: Francesco Spagnuolo, with the reception-notice belonging only to this last one: Rec^{to} dec^{re} 1556. This second Francesco probably is Galiffe's Farcas ou Farias, de Séville, François, 1556. And these two Francisco's may be the heads of the two Spanish families of which Viret is speaking in the postscript of a letter from Geneva, Calen. Septemb. 1556, to Calvin who then was at Frankfurt o. M.: Ex quo hinc discessisti hoc accidit novi quod mihi exciderat. Advenerunt duæ ex intima Hispania familiæ quæ se huic ecclesiæ coniungerent. Laudandus Dominus qui odorem evangelicæ prædicationis ad illam quoque gentem diffudit quæ tam inaccessa videbatur. Ex his primordiis et primitiis maiores fructus exspectamus. (Corp. Rf. 44, 278.)*

A year later, on October 7. 1557 the ex peregrinis ecclesia at Geneva sent to Bullinger thanks for having dedicated to them his In apocalypsin conciones. The letter is signed: Ministri Genovensis ecclesiæ omnium exsulum Gallorum nomine. Seniores et diaconi ecclesiæ Italicæ totius ecclesiæ nomine. Ministri seniores et diaconi totius ecclesiæ Anglicanæ nomine. (Corp. Rf. 44, 657 f. cf. 654 f. As for the English, compare Heyer's Notice sur la colonie Anglaise établie à Genève de 1555 à 1560 in the Mémoires et documents publiées par la société d'hist. et d'archéologie de Genève t. 9. 1855.) No Spanish church.

1557 *Burlamachi has* Francesco di Cardines di Seuiglia. *The* *Fragmens* biographiques et historiques, extraits des registres du Conseil d'État de la République de Genève dès 1535 à 1792 *printed* Genève 1815 *have* p. 24 *the two following articles as taken from the extracts of the Counsellor J. Ant. Gautier who died in 1729:* 1557. Juillet 12. On ouvre le temple de St. Germain, vu la multiplication prodigieuse du peuple qui augmente tous les jours. Octobre 14. On reçoit 300 habitans le même matin; savoir, 200 François, 50 Anglois, 25 Italiens, 4 Espagnols, etc.; tellement que l'antichambre du conseil ne les pouvoit tous contenir. (*On the same reception, Mém. et docum. de la Soc. d'hist. et d'archéol. de Genève, t. 9. 1855. p. 348.*) *It was in 1557 that, according to Valera (l. c. p. 247. 248) a revival took place in the monastery of San Isidro at Seville; doze de los frayles en poco tiempo se salieron, unos por una parte, y otros por otra: los quales dentro del año se vieron en Geneva, à donde quando salieron tenian determinado de ir . . . Entre los que se salieron, y vinieron à Geneva fueron el Prior, Vicario y procurador de San Isidro, y con ellos salio el Prior del Valle de Ecija de la misma orden (from this passage one should conclude that the Prior of Ecija did not go to or did not arrive at Geneva). Galiffe has under 1557 Frc. Cardenès ou Cardines, and besides Hernando de Leon, Peregrino de Pas, Pierre Pablo, all four from Seville. On a Pierre Paulo 1558, Galiffe himself remarks: peut-être le même que le précédent. In 1558 Burlamachi has six Spaniards, inscribed without interruption by other names: Merchio Vias di Siuiglia (Galiffe: Merchio Via, de Séville, with the year 1553 and the question: confusion avec Dias? Under the letter D he has: Dias ou Vias, de Séville, Melchior, 1558). Cipriano Valleria di Siuiglia, with the addition Traductor della bibbia.*

Giouanni di Mollina, di Varracina d'Arragona. Alonso Battista di Canaria (*Galiffe*: Battista, de Séville (dit aussi de Canarie), Alonzo 1558. B. G. [viz. bourgeois genevois] 1569).*) Lopes Cortis di Castiglia (*Galiffe*: Cortes, de Séville ou Castillan, Jope ou Lope, 1558. *Perhaps a Castilian who was member of San Isidro*). Gio: di Viuares di Vagliadoli (*Galiffe*: Jean Vivarte ou Vivarès, de Valladolid, 1558). *Galiffe adds under 1558*: Jean de Leon, de Seville (*one of the S. Isidro monks, burnt in Seville in 1560, see Gonzalez, Llorente, Menendez*), Jean Moreno, Etienne Ringon (avait suivi les unitaires et les anabaptistes en Moravie, et en était revenu en 1561), Jean-Antoine d'Acerbe (*and, as it would seem, another person of the same patronymic, dits aussi Napolitains*) and a Navarrese, Etienne. On the 10th of June 1558 *Peter Martyr writes from Zurich to Utenhoven* (*Gerdesius* Scrin. antiq. t. 4, p. 673): Quin et Hispani, ac ii docti et probi viri, turmatim Genevam confluunt. *Neither Burlamachi nor Galiffe mention Cassiodoro de Reina and Antonio del Corro, it is, however, certain that both stayed at Geneva and that Reina was a member of the Italian church (see below in their biographies). Reina arrived at Geneva perhaps already in 1557; he left not later than summer of 1558.*

The ms. Livre du Conseil des affaires de la ville contains, Lundi 10 de octobre 1558 (fol. 302): Eglise des Hespagnols. Le dit sr Calvin a aussi propose que les Hespagnols luy ont donne charge de requerir messieurs de leur donner place au temple S. Germain pour y ouir la parolle de dieu en leur langue veu qu'il y a ung homme ancien de bonne conversation qui leur preschera. Arresté qu'on accorde qu'ils preschent a S. Germain a l'heure qui leur sera la plus commode.

Galiffe has under 1559 Jean Ferrares, N[obl]^e François de Lunes, both de Saragosse,**) François Machuca d'Alcala d'Henares, Jean Tallaverano, Grégoire de Lard, armurier, and N[obl]^e Calcao, Calcanio, Carcanio, de Cordoue, Ferdinand, 1559, avait été moine et était soupçonné d'être espion. *This Calcao is no doubt the Calcas of the following extract from the Registre du Consistoire de Genève. Du jeudy 20 de juing 1560. A comparu le ministre espagnol de ceste cité, propousant qu'il a faict icy arrester ung espagnol, lequel a esté quelque temps en ceste cité, por l'évangile, comme il disoyt; mais il ne le voyoit bien peu souvent en leurs assemblees et aux lecons publiques: qui le rendoit fort suspect d'estre espie et papiste, et tenir et avoir du caffart, car il avoyt esté moyne. Ayant demouré deux moys en ceste cité, il s'en alla à Lyon; et incontinent qu'il y fut, deux fidèles espagnolz furent emprisonnez por l'évangile; et sont en grand danger de mort; et craint on que ce ne fust luy mesme qui en aye esté cause qu'ilz sont pris, et qu'il ne les aye accusez. De Lyon, il est retourné icy, là où l'ayant trouvé, l'a faict arrester por estre interrogué là dessus, et por scavoir que c'est. Appellé, le dict espagnol a dict qu'il est en bonne délibération de user chrestienne-*

*) I do not know the Historia de la Inquisicion en las islas Canarias by A. Millares. Las Palmas de Gran-Canaria. 1874. — Among the Spanish manuscripts in the British Museum (Gayangos' Catalogue vol. 2, p. 567) there is a letter written at Brussels in December 1527 by an advocate at the Court of Brabant to the Imperial Chancellor, about a friend of the writer, Jacobus of Grunnenberg, arrested in the Canary Islands on suspicion of Lutheranism and taken to Spain.

**) The elector Palatine Frederik recommends to Calvin, in a letter dated 9 Febr. 1564 a Franciscus de Luna, of whom he writes: Dicit se Hispanum esse, nobili genere apud suos ortum, religionis ergo exsilium pati . . . Quum autem vestram ecclesiam invisere decreverit, ubi fortassis apud suæ nationis homines pleniora adiumenta exspectat . . . (Corp. Ref. 48, 255.) This Luna, according to this letter, seems not to have been at Geneva before 1564.

ment, et s'en alla en son pays por recevoir quelques deniers por vivre icy. Il dict qu'il congnoyt Mess^{rs} Baptiste et M^{re} Sterpin, espagnolz, et Amyed Varod de ceste cite. Interrogué qu'il scait faire, dict qu'il se mesle de faire du savon, et a loué une barque por aller quérir des pierres por faire la cendre. Advis de le renvoyer à Mess^{rs} por luy bailler bon courage, et fassent appeller Amyed Varod, por luy chanter sa leçon de ce qu'il avoyt respondu por luy, sans l'havoir congneu aultre part qu'icy; puis luy enjoignent qu'il tienne de près le dit espagnol, pour scavoir qu'il fera et dira: aultrement, qu'on se prendra à luy, et au dit M^{re} Sterpin ensemble. Le dit espagnol se nomme Ferdinandus Calcas. *On the margin:* Renvoyé à Messieurs à lundy. *(This article has kindly been copied, on my demand, by Mr. Eugène Ritter, Professor at the University of Geneva. I knew of the affair from A. Cramer's autographed extracts.)* Galiffe has Sterpon, Sterpin 1560. Baptiste is perhaps Alonso Bautista de Canaria.

Livre du Conseil des affaires de la ville. Lundi 14 Juillet 1561 (folio 215); a la requeste du ministre espagnol a este arreste de retirer le dit [ministre] espagnol [à l'hôpital] jusqu'a ce qu'il soit gueri.

Registre miscellané, bibliothèque mste, n° 59, in-folio, written about the middle of the 18. century, and bought not long ago for the Archives of Geneva, p. 364—365; Es anneés 1555 et suivantes plusieurs familles s'étant retirées pour la religion demanderent une eglise pour faire le service en leur langue, et ils eurent pour ministre 1558 Jean Pereira qui se retire par congé en 1561. *We know (see note 44) that the name of the ministre espagnol at Geneva who in 1560 got a license to print his Epistola consolatoria, is Juan Perez, otherwise called Pierius (see note 1), and no doubt he is meant by that name Jean Pereira, as also by the name Jean Pererius, the only one registered En L'Eglise Espagnole in a catalogue of Geneva Ministers and Professors written at the end of the 17. century, in a manuscript volume of the bibliothèque des manuscrits aux archives de l'état de Genève, n° 7, fol. 193. Another person Jehan Pereri, ministre of the parishes of Neydan and Feigères, who in 1561 was discharged from his service, in order to go to Merindol, his successor being Jehan du Peril (see the manuscript Registres de la compagnie des pasteurs de Genève, in the archives of this Vénérable compagnie, and compare Corp. Ref. vol. 46, col. 606. 719). Archinard in his Genève ecclésiastique 1861 has left out this Jehan Pereri where he ought to have named him p. 36, and in the Supplément we find immediately after Pereira p. 5: 1561 Juan Perez (voy. dans la Revue germanique du 31 Octobre 1861, un article [which I do not know] de J. M. Guardia sur l'Espagne protestante p. 531 et 533); after Perez no successor is mentioned in that Supplément, whilst the list of the Italian Pasteurs runs there from 1542 to 1753. The fact is, that Juan Perez is the only Spanish minister who had a congregation at Geneva, and that he functioned 1558—61. Not even Galiffe is well informed about him; he has the article: Perera, Perez, Purius [read Pierius], de . . ? Jean 1558, ministre de l'Eglise espagnole, 1559. Among the Portugais Galiffe has Fernand et G. Perez, à Lyon et à Genève, 1553. — In the ms. Livre du Conseil des affaires de la ville I did not find Juan Perez's name in any form.*

The reason is clear why in the years 1559 and 1560 no Spaniards or Portuguese are inscribed in the Italian church. Burlamachi has 1561 Francesco d'Andrada Portugheze (Galiffe Franç. d'Andreada). Galiffe, in the Spanish colony: Etienne Ruds, avant 1563. 1563 Burl.: Gio: Luigi Dalzamara Spagnuolo, Galiffe Jean-Louis-Bon Dalzamara. 1564 Burl.: Antonio Archier Sardo, probably a relation

of Sigismondo Archer or Arquer, burnt as a heretic at Toledo in 1571 . . . (I put some stops between inscriptions of the same year, when I leave out some name). Francesco Gottierres Spagnuolo = Galiffe's Fr^y. Gutierres. Pietro Giugnès; Galiffe's Pierre Giugnès 1564 and Pierre Nunio ou Niuno 1567 are, I think, the same person: Pedro Nuñez de Avila, on whom see below here a special article . . . Francesco Massuello Spagnuolo; this family has continued to live at Geneva for two centuries, at present elle est éteinte there. Under 1564 Galiffe has also Emmanuel Amador. 1565 *Burl.*: Pietro Vrtaldo Spagnuolo.

A ms. of the 18. century in the Archives of Geneva: Mémoires concernant l'Eglise Italienno de Geneve, notes under the year 1566: On recovra les Espagnols Prosélites dans le Con^{re} [Consistoire] Italien, et deia auant ce temps la [on en a reçu] plusieurs.

1567 *Burl.* Pietro Dux d'Alba (wanting in Galiffe) . . . Bernardo Dalmaras Spagnuolo . . . Giouanni Tallauera di Barcellona. Galiffe has besides a certain Jaques. 1548 *Burl.*: Ruy Dies Spagnuolo, Galiffe: Ruy Dias ou Vias, de Séville . . . Onorio Vsas di Siuiglia, whom Galiffe has under 1569 as Onorio Usaz. 1569 *Burl.*: Pietro Paulo Spagnuolo, probably the same whom Galiffe has under 1558. 1570 *Burl.*: Tibaldo Dux d'Alba (wanting in Galiffe. Are there meant two Spanish dukes of Alba?). 1574 Galiffe has the Portugais: Salvador Mediena, de Vimiero. 1577 *Burl.*: Alfonso Martines Spagnuolo, Galiffe: Marchiolo, Marchivolo, Marciolo, Machiola, de Séville, François-Fernandès, 1577; son fils B. G. [bourgeois genevois] 1578. 1582 *Burl.*: Pietro Galasio Spagnuolo, read Galesio; on him I hope to give afterwards a fuller notice. Sebastianus Perés (= Perez) Spagnuolo. 1584 *Burl.*: Jacomo Farco dà Sondrio. Gio: Farcas Spagnuoli. Emanuel Farcas Spagnuoli. Galiffe has: Farcas ou Farias, de Séville, François, 1556; Jean et Emmanuel 1582 (not 1584); he does not mention Farco da Sondrio whom I have registered on account of the next plural Spagnuoli. 1587 *Burl.*: Gasparo Remires Spagnuolo; also in Galiffe Gsp. Ramirez with the same year; I do not know why I put an interrogation after the year in my extracts from *Burl.* Under the same year Galiffe has Pierre Galiffo. 1589 *Burl.*: Giouanni Cardenasso Spagnuolo . . . Giouanni Herrera Spagnuolo. The latter one in Galiffe with the year 1584. 1607 Ludouico d'Aquila Spagnuolo. This is the last Spaniard mentioned as such by *Burlamachi*. From Galiffe's lists are to be added the Portugais: Emmanuel Franzese 1613, and two Spaniards, Gaspard Maxica, de Valladolid, who in 1636 became bourgeois of Geneva, and Emmanuel Gonzales 1735.

I still give from *Burlamachi* the numbers of the votes in the elections of the heads of the Italian congregation. In the year 1556 voti 57. 1557: 77. 1558: 74. 1559: 98. 1560: 96. 1561: 115. 1562: 95. 1563: 117. 1564: 110. 1565: 101. 1566: 100. 1567: 96. 1568: 146 (the highest of all numbers registered). 1569: 137. 1570: 118. 1571: 69. 1577: 75. 1578: 104. 1591: 33 (the smallest number of all mentioned). 1669: 60. (I do not recollect whether *Burlamachi* does not register any more numbers of votes, or whether I abridged after 1571).

Eberhardt von Retruot tells in the preface, dated May 1601, to his edition and translation of the confession of the evangelical Spaniards at London (see below in the article Reina), that twenty years ago he had seen at Geneva a pretty considerable number of fugitive Spaniards and Italians who had their own church there: wie ich dann auch selbst Anno 1581 zu Genff einen zimblichen Anzahl Hispanier vnd Italianer gesehen, welche allda in exilio sich verhalten, vnnd jhr eigne Kirch haben, deren Prediger dazumahl Signor Balbada [read Balbani] genennt worden.

46) *Julian Hernandez, and smuggling of Protestant books into Spain.*

An appendix to Skinners translation of the Inquisitionis artes, London 1569, gives the following on Julianillo, in a notice on the Sevillian auto of 1560 (according to a copy of that appendix made for me in 1862 by Wiffen): Julian Hernandez, born at Valverde. This man was a corrector to the print of such books as were printed at Geneva in the Spanish tongue; and afterwards, for the zeal he had, to set forward the Gospel, returned into Spain, where after he had continued certain years distributing Testaments and other godly books, that were in the Spanish tongue, to divers men and in sundry places, he returned into Flanders, and by occasion of a certain book, which he had given to a smith who showed the same secretly to a priest who complained thereof further to the Inquisitors, this Julian was sought for and apprehended by certain Familiars who hunted after him in his way going to a city called Palma, and by them was cast into prison, afterwards condemned by the Inquisitors, and died most constantly for the profession of the Gospel of Christ; having great disputations during the time of his imprisonment with a learned Clerk and a famous Divine, one D. Hernando Rodriguez. *According to a relacion manuscrita in possession of Menendez Pelayo (p. 444) the delator was a woman who by a mistake of persons commissioned with the distribution had received a copy of the Imagen del Antecristo. Olié el Julian lo que pasaba, y huyó [de Sevilla] . . vinieron á prenderle en la sierra de Córdoba junto á Adamúz. When he was burnt, 22 December 1560, he had been ultra triennium in prison, Gonz. 219.*

*The Testaments which according to Skinner, Julianillo distributed in Spain during his stay there between his two journeys abroad, could only have been Perez's N. T. of 1556. As he cannot have left Spain later than 1557, where according to Skinner he had made a stay of certain years, it would follow that he returned there from Geneva in 1555 or 1554. We have, however, no trace of Spanish books printed at Geneva before 1555, except the catechism of 1550, the translator of which appears to have been without assistance of a countryman (see his preface above here n° 211). Nor do Gonz. and Crespin speak of more than one stay of Julianillo abroad. I therefore think, it was at the end of his only stay at Geneva that he carried to Spain the duo ingentia dolia librorum sacrorum, as Gonz. says, certainly meaning the N. T. and the Psalms, both translated by Perez. This travel is placed by Valera in 1557, Dos tratados 1599 p. 249. and Exhortacion prefixed to the bible of 1602, fol. *3.*

Professor Wm J. Knapp, now of Yale College, New Haven, has found the official list of the books carried into Spain by Julianillo, which list was posted on the Iglesia mayor at Úbeda in 1558.

In the Histoire des vrayes Tesmoins de la verite de l'evangile. Iean Crespin. 1570. the article on Iulien Hernandez begins in this way (fol. 543): Ce Iulien qui pour sa petitesse s'appeloit le petit, seruoit à Geneue Iean Pieres Espagnol ministre de l'Euangile, lorsque par la frequentation de plusieurs doctes hommes, continuant la vraye religion, fut poussé d'un zeile d'esprit, plus que du conseil & aduis d'aucun, d'entreprendre vne chose d'aussi grande importance, comme elle estoit subiecto à danger euident. Car il mena & fit porter en Espagne grande quantité de liures de la saincte Escriture en langue Espagnole, de grand desir qu'il auoit de faire croistre la lumiere de l'Euangile en son Espagne . . . *This is reprinted in the later editions. On the whole the article is taken from Gonzalez, but the circumstance that Julian served at Geneva Juan Perez, minister of the Gospel, is an addition to a fact*

concerning Geneva on which one must believe Crespín well informed. As for chronology, it may be quite exact, that Julian felt himself inspired to that perilous transport, while he served Perez at Geneva. But as Perez left Geneva in 1556, where he only returned in 1558, Julian purposed in 1556 what he executed in 1557, or he got the idea of carrying himself the books to Spain, when he at Geneva served Perez who was at Frankfort. It is indeed very likely that Julian corrected Spanish proof-sheets printed at Geneva in the absence of Perez.

The smuggling of Protestant books into Spain was continued. Rahlenbeck, in the *Bulletin du bibliophile belge*, t. XII, Bruxelles 1856, p. 250 relates that Marco Perez, négociant plusieurs fois millionnaire and member of the consistory of the Calvinists of Antwerp, had evangelical books printed in Spanish and sent to his native country. La gouvernante, attentive à ses manoeuvres, le denonça à Philippe II. Elle conseilla au roi de faire visiter tous les navires qui viendraient en Espagne, afin de s'emparer de trente mille exemplaires d'une traduction de Calvin et de dix prédicateurs, qui devaient accompagner cet envoi. On fouilla beaucoup, mais on ne trouva rien. Les précautions des marchands missionnaires avaient été bien prises. Ils expédiaient par voie de terre ou par voie de mer, suivant les avis qu'ils recevaient de la Péninsule. Leur agent principal en Andalousie était un Anversois nommé Tilman qui tenait boutique à Séville et à Medina del Campo. Un autre correspondant dont il nous a été impossible de retrouver le nom, se tenait constamment à Léon de Francia [viz. Lyon]; il y attendait les ballots de contrebande et savait les faire passer inaperçus par les montagnes de la Navarre et les plaines de l'Aragon. Grâce à cette double voie d'expédition desservie avec autant de zèle que d'intelligence, Marc Perez et ses amis inondèrent l'Espagne de leurs livres, lesquels n'étaient pas seulement: L'institution de la religion chrétienne, par Calvin, dont nous avons parlé tout à l'heure [annotation of Rahlenbeck: Les 30,000 exemplaires en espagnol furent suivis d'une édition en basque également expédiée d'Anvers], mais une foule de petits traités d'un format très-portatif, de brochures et de pamphlets. On les rencontre pour la plupart dans l'index expurgatoire, publié en Madrid, en 1583, par le cardinal Quiroga, et Dieu sait si la liste en est longue!

A Spanish translation printed at Saragossa of Calvin's *Christian Institutions* is mentioned in an anonymous article on archbishop Carranza in the *Documentos* inéd. t. 5. 1844, p. 400: La cosa llegó á punto que por aquel tiempo se imprimió en Zaragoza en idioma español el famoso libro de Calvino de las Instituciones christianas.

An Italian translation of Calvin's *Institution* had been printed already in 1557 at Geneva.

46) Maximilian II.

Calvin writes to Nidbruck, Maximilian's Counsellor, 20 March 1556: Quodsi eius opera et autoritate Christi regnum propagari contingat, iusta omnibus Dei filiis erit gratulationis causa. Quum ante annos quindecim agerem in Germania, præclaram eius indolem omnes laudabant. Postea virtutum maturitas celebrata fuit, ac inprimis studium pietatis, cuius fructum brevi emergere cupio, et mihi, simulac data fuerit facultas, abs te promitti libenter ominor. (Corp. Ref. 48, 446.) Melancthon writes to Maximilian on the 5. July 1556, he prayed, and many pious persons prayed and sighed, that His Majesty might become an instrument of God for the welfare of the church. (Horawitz' Beiträge, Sitzungsberichte der Phil.-hist. Classe der Akad. Wien 1874. Bd. 76, S. 311.) In a letter to Calvin, Pollanus

writes on February 8. 1556, that Zasius, a counsellor of king Ferdinand, lately reported that King Maximilian had publicly and aloud said to a Carmelite who had just descended from the pulpit: satis docte concionatus es, sed quod opera tantum extuleris, fidem vero parum, non probo. (Corp. Ref. 44, 20 sq.). In December 1557 Maximilian invited P. P. Vergerio, who stayed at Tübingen, to spend Christmas with him at Vienna, and from there Vergerio wrote in February 1558 to the duke of Wirtemberg, illum gubernari a Spiritu sancto. (Vergerio's Briefwechsel 1875, p. 156. 163). In 1558 Maximilian, in a letter to the same duke, expressed his joy on the Frankfort recess, in which the evangelical princes of Germany had declared their alliance in matters of religion; in this way, he says, one cuts the Pope's throat (sticht man dem Papst den Hals ab. *Le Bret, Magazin*, t. 9. Ulm 1785. p. 122). David Chytræus, the author of the History of the Augsburg confession, wrote to the Emperor in 1569 (12 Jan.): Nec multis seculis in Romana monarchia ullum Imperatorem tali pietatis exemplo ad laudatissimorum regum Davidis, Josaphati, Ezechie, Constantini Magni, Theodosii et paucorum aliorum imaginem propius accessisse et illustriorem in ecclesia sanctorum gloriam adeptum esse iudico; and a year later (20 Jan. 1570): Cæs. Maiestatis Vestre sapientiam et moderationem heroicam qua in his religionum dissidiis, a crudelibus consiliis abhorrens, iustis ac veris rationibus restituere ecclesiæ concordiam et simul gloriæ Christi et pulcherrimo ecclesiæ ordini et tranquillitati reipublicæ consulere conatur; in this same letter he states concerning His Majesty: quam ecclesiæ Romanæ ex professo coniunctam esse omnes cernunt, quamque Lutheranorum dissidiis plurimum offendi ex Cæs. M. V. sermone ipse cognovi. (Davidis Chytræi epistolæ. Hanovæ 1614, p. 41 sq. 643 sq.)

On Maximilian's religious position compare (besides my note in the *Life of the brothers Valdés* appended to the German translation of the *Hundred and ten Considerations* p. 363) *Maurenbrecher* in *Sybel's Historische Zeitschrift* 1874, Bd. 32, p. 221 f., also the periodical *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* 1873, p. 721 f., and *Bindseil's* collection: *Melanthonis epistolæ* 1874, p. 454. 489.

Official letters from Italy.

Two passages from two letters of the summer 1527
in *Llorente's History of the Inquisition*.

221. 1817.

French translation in *Llorente's Histoire de l'Inquisition d'Espagne*, t. 2. 1817, Chap. XXI. Art. II. P. 280.

B—r.

222. 1818.

Second edition of the same, 1818, t. 2, p. 280.

B—r.

I do not know whether the editions Bruxelles 1823 and Bruxelles 1838, which I only found noticed in an antiquarian catalogue, are reprints of the above large work or an abridgment of it.

223. 1820.

German from the French: Geschichte der spanischen Inquisition. Uebersetzt von J. K. Höck. Zweiter Band. Gmünd 1820. P. 339.

GETTINGEN Univ.

224. 1820.

Italian from the French: Storia critica della inquisizione di Spagna scritta dal sig. Llorente compendiata dal sig. Stef. Ticozzi. Milano 1820, t. 3, p. 81. 82.

VIENNA Court.

225. 1854.

Seconda ediz. Milanese, riscontrata sul testo Francese e coll' aggiunta di nuove note. T. 3, p. 230. 231.

VIENNA Court.

226. 1860.

Nuova ed. fatta su quella del 1820. Milano.

PALERMO Comunale.

These three Italian editions are not the only existing.

227. 1822.

Historia critica de la Inquisicion de España. Obra original conforme á lo que resulta de los Archivos del Consejo de la Suprema, y de los tribunales de provincias. Su autor Don Juan Antonio Llorente. Tomo cuarto. Madrid, en la imprenta del censor. 1822. Capit. XXI. Art. II. P. 266. 267.

VIENNA Court.

Vincent Salvá in his Catalogue of Spanish and Portuguese books, London 1826, p. 128 subjoins Paris in Italics and bracketed, after Madrid, meaning that this town is not the real printing-place.

228. 1835.

Barcelona edition of the same Historia. Quoted Rf. Esp. V, Apénd. p. 1.

229. 1848.

The same two extracts, almost entire, but not literally, from the Spanish edition of Llorente, in Wiffen's Noticia previa to Perez's Epistola consolatoria 1848 (see below here n° 269), p. [III]. IV.

230. 1848.

The same two extracts, almost entire, in English, in Wiffen's Notice prefixed to his reprint of that Epistola consolatoria p. IX. X.

231. 1871.

The same translation of Wiffen reprinted with the English translation of the Epistola consolatoria 1871, p. 4. 5 (see below here n° 275).

Several letters.

232. 1854.

In the Coleccion de documentos inéditos para la Historia de España, por Los Sres. Marqués de Pidal y D. Miguel Salvá. Tomo XXIV. Madrid 1854.

*Many letters and parts of such.***233. 1875.***First leaf:* Asalto y saqueo de Roma. *Verso:* Es propiedad del autor.

Second leaf: Memorias | para la historia del | asalto y saqueo de Roma | en 1527 por el ejército imperial | formadas con documentos originales, cifrados ó inéditos en su mayor parte | por | Don Antonio Rodriguez Villa | individuo del Cuerpo facultativo de archiveros-bibliotecarios. | Omnis salus in ferro est. | (Divisa del Duque de Borbon.) | Madrid | imprenta de la biblioteca de instruccion y recreo, | Calle del Rubio; num. 25. |

Pages 462, title-leaves included. Octavo. On the cover: 1875.*B—r.*

Many letters of Juan Perez are among Dr. Bergenroth's transcripts, now in the British Museum, and registered among other papers in the Catalogue of the manuscripts in the Spanish language in the British Museum by Don Pascual de Gayangos. Vol. II. London 1877. The Perez letters are registered on p. 559—570.

The following is a chronological list of all letters of Juan Perez registered by Gayangos, together with those known from the above mentioned volume of the Documentos inéditos and from Rodriguez Villa. Those, on which I have not noted: not BM, are in the British Museum. All those, which are found in the book of Rodriguez Villa, have in my list got the notice RV; likewise all those found in the Documentos inéditos, have the notice: Doc. Also the passages extracted by Llorente are referred to. All letters seem to be written in Spanish; the only Latin document seems to be the Instrumentum publicum of 12 Dec. 1526 found also among the London transcripts, but printed already in 1527. I also have inserted in the list the letters of the Emperor to Perez contained in the Bergenroth collection registered by Gayangos. By saying that certain letters are partly printed, I do not mean to say that the others are printed without omissions.

All letters are to the Emperor, except three, viz. two to Lope de Soria (March 2 and 18. 1527), one probably to Alonso Sanchez (3 May 1527).

From Rome.

- | | |
|-----------|---|
| 1526 July | 3. |
| | 9. RV. |
| | 20. |
| | 31. RV partly. |
| August | 17. |
| | 26. |
| | 31. RV. Not BM. |
| Sept. | 9. RV. |
| | 23. Doc 453 f. RV partly. Not BM. |
| | 24. |
| | 30. Two letters. Doc 457 f. parts of one. RV parts of both. One not BM. |
| Oct. | 22. RV. |
| Nov. | 5. Two letters. One RV. |
| | 16. RV. — The Emperor to Perez; RV. |

- 1526 Nov. 22. RV.
28. RV.
- Dec. 4. *Two letters. One RV.*
12. *Public instrument containing an account of what took place when the Emperor's letter was shown to the Pope and the Cardinals. In Latin. Compare above here p. 57 note 3.*
15. *Three letters. RV.*
24. RV.
- 1527 Jan. 10. RV. [= BM p. 562 n° 18 of *Gayangos' Cat.*?]
15. *Perez sends a letter of Alonso Sanchez. RV. Not BM.*
26. RV.
- Febr. 1. RV.
11. *The Emperor to Perez. RV.*
14. *Two letters. RV (a letter with a cedula).*
23.
25. RV.
- March 2. *To Lope de Soria.*
8.
16. RV. Not BM.
18. *Two letters, one to Lope de Soria.*
20.
22. RV. Not BM.
29. RV.
- April 7. RV.
26. RV.
30. RV.
- May 3. *Gayangos: "To the Emperor?" Probably to Alonso Sanchez; a letter to this one of this date has RV.*
13. *The Emperor to Perez. RV.*
18. RV.
30.
- June 11. RV.
17. *The Emperor to Perez.*
26. RV. *Llor. has a passage.*
- July 1. Doc. 460 partly. RV partly. Not BM.
2. *The Emperor to Perez and to the Abbot of Najera.*
11. Doc. 461 partly. RV partly.
12. RV.
- Aug. 1. RV. Doc. 462 partly. *Llor. has a passage. In the same time with this letter Perez sent a Papal Breve to Alf. Valdés.*
4.
18. RV.
- Sept. 2. RV.
middle. The Emperor to Perez. RV. Not BM.
24. RV.
- Oct. 12. RV.
23. RV. Not BM.
- Nov. 1-30. Doc. 474 f. partly. RV.
13. *The Emperor to Perez.*

- 1527 Dec. 6. RV.
 11. *Two letters. One RV.*
 31. RV.
 1528 Jan. 4. RV. *Not BM.*
 16. RV.
 17. RV. *Not BM.*
 21. RV. *Not BM.*
 28-29. RV. *Not BM.*
 Febr. 3. RV.
 8. RV.
 12. RV.
 20. *The Emperor to Secretary [Perez].*
 From Neaples.
 March 6. RV. *Not BM.*
 26. Doc. 494 f. *partly. RV partly. Not BM.*
 April 30. *Two letters. Doc. 495 f. One not BM.*
 May 12. RV. *Not BM.*
 June 3. RV. *Not BM.*
 8.
 July 15.
 October 29. RV. *Not BM.*
-

Sundorcal, Carlos V., 2ª parte, Valladolid 1606 [reprint], p. 808: [Mandó el Emperador] año 1550. a veynte y quatro de Mayo, que no pudiessen traduzir la Biblia en lengua vulgar, ni Francesa, ni los Evangelios, Epistolas de los Apostoles, ni otro libro sagrado, ni comprar, ni tener los que desta manera huviesse.

Edition of Juan Valdés' translation and commentary upon the epistle to the Romans and upon the first epistle to the Corinthians.

234. 1556. *See n° 84.*

Juan Perez Al Christiano lector, p. 14—26, preface to Juan Valdés' commentary on St. Paul's epistle to the Romans.

235. 1557. *See n° 85.*

Juan Perez's dedication to king Maximilian of Juan Valdés' commentary on St. Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians, and preface Al Christiano lector.

236. 1856. *See n° 86.*

Reprint of n° 84 and 85.

New Testament.

The Valladolid catalogue of 1559 with mandate of August 17 prohibits: Testamento nuevo, en qlquier lengua vulgar: y especial los Testamentos impressos

en Venecia, en casa de Ioan Philadelfo, año de 1556. sin nùbre del traductor. *By los Testamentos are meant the copies of the N. T. Llorente seems to have thought that there were meant the Old Testament and the New Testament, for he reports in the Historia t. 4, p. 266, that the prohibitory edict of 17 August 1559 (compare ib. p. 263 f.) was registered la Biblia sagrada, traducida en lengua castellana by Juan Perez.*

237. 1556.

El testamen | to nvevo de nves | tro senor y salva- | dor Iesu Christo. | Nueua y fielmente traduzido del original Grie | go en romance Castellano. [*These two lines in Italics*] | Derive the Y of numbers 84. 85. 86 above. | En Venecia, en casa de | Iuan Philadelpho. | M. D. LVI. | *Small Octavo.*

On the back of the title-leaf: El orden delos libros. del nueuo Testaméto con el numero delos Capítulos. *Leaf ii* Al todo proderoso rey de cielos y tierra Iesu Christo . . , *running to leaf iiiii, and called in the column title:* Epistola dedicatoria. *Leaf iiiii, front page:* Epistola en qve se declara qve cosa sea nvevo testamento, y las cavsas que vuo de traduzirlo en romance. *Ends leaf 12 (including title leaf).* *New Testament p. 1—746.* *Besides, at the end, a leaf with Aviso al lector, where this is said to be la primera impression of this translation, and with Correccion de algunas faltas dela impression; last page blank.*

LEIPZIG Univ. STUTTGART Royal. VIENNA Court. WERNIGERODE. WOLFENBÜTTEL. REUSS. BODLEIAN. *Wissen's copy in Wadham college, OXFORD. John T. BETTS, Pembury. MADRID Nacional, according to Menendez.*

The above is given according to the copies of Vienna and of Reuss. They have beside the device: y es ancho, and so has the Stuttgart copy. Other copies have y ancho without es; so Riederer's copy (compare below n° 239), Betts' copy, the Catálogo de la bibliot. de Salvá. 1872. t. 2, p. 818, and a copy in Madrid Nacional libr. according to Menendez 459, and so, if I am not mistaken, has the Leipzig copy; I am still more uncertain about the others. Nor do I know whether all copies here mentioned have the index on the back of the title-page; the Stuttgart one and that of Betts have it.

De la Serna Santander says in the catalogue of his collection, Catalogue des livres de la bibliotheque de M. C. de la Serna Santander, t. 1, Bruxelles, an XI (1803), p. 20: Edition très-rare et la seule qui ait été faite de cette version.

A copy of this N. T., ancient calf, gilt edges, from the Bathurst library, was offered for £ 3. 3s. in Quaritch's Catalogue, London, February 1873, p. 968, n° 11700. In the same bookseller's catalogue n° 297, London, June 1875, p. 485, n° 6167: fine copy in blue morocco extra, gilt edges, £ 3. 10s.*

Juan Philadelpho is a pseudonym of Jean Crespin at Geneva, compare above n° 84. 85.

238. About 1570.

Collectio | judiciorum | de novis erroribus, || Operâ & Studio Caroli Du Plessis d'Argentré, Sorbonici Doctoris, | & Episcopi Tutelensis. | Tomus secundus; || Lutetiae Parisiorum, || M. DCC. XXVIII. || P. 420 f. *Under the year 1574: Circa hunc*

annum missa est a Senatu Parisiensi ad sacram Facultatem interpretatio novi Testamenti Hispanica lingua, cum scholiis juxta Genovensem editionem, sed in qua multi errores sparsi erant circa præsentiam realem Corporis Christi in sacra Eucharistia, & alia Calvinianæ hæreseos capita. Facta fuit hujus versionis translatio in linguam latinam a viris Hispanicæ linguæ peritis, & a viris selectis videtur facta censura plurium propositionum, cujus authographum manu M. Ruette apparitoris videtur obsignatum & oblitteratum, & in Lib. 5. sacræ Facultatis eadem propositiones censura notatæ reperiuntur, ut sequitur, fol. 185. at non habetur illius censuræ subscriptio, nec illo satis firmo momento videtur constare eam censuram fuisse a sacra Facultate probatam.

Extractæ propositiones ex interpretationibus Novi Testamenti Lingua Hispanica expressi, sine translatoris & typographi nomine, sicut constitit sacræ Facultati Theologiæ per viros ejusdem Linguae Hispanicæ peritos qui in sermonem Latinum converterunt, missa ad eandem Facultatem a supremo Senatu Parisiensis, ut videret si quid fidei ac Religioni Christianæ adversatur & contraveniret. *Follow p. 421—425 thirty one propositions, each with a censura. No quotations in Spanish.* Quantum ex supradictis propositionibus colligere licet, hoc novum Testament. cum suis annotationibus, Hispanice versum, confectum est ut introducatur in Hispaniam Calvinismus. Est enim prope ad verbum, cum suis Scholiis desumptum ex Bibliis Genevensibus Gallice scriptis, & ideoque ejusmodi novum Testamentum propter tam perniciosas, & pestiferas annotationes quam citissime est suppressendum. Lib. 5. S. Fac. fol. 183.

In the Index, in the second part of this second tome of Du Plessis d'Argentré's Collectio judiciorum, p. 377, this Censura Propositionum novi Testamenti Hispanici has the date 1574. 2 Augusti.

Nobody since is known to have seen a copy of this New Testament.

According to a letter of Casiodoro de Reina dated 27 Septembre 1567, at that time a Spanish New Testament was printing in France; and in April of the next year king Philip II of Spain ordered his representative in France to try to get the Spanish Bible manuscript and whatever was printed from it. When publishing that letter of Reina, I pointed out this passage of Philip's letter and the article of Du Plessis d'Argentré, and I expressed my opinion that the New Testament in question was a revision of the translation of Juan Perez, enriched by annotations (see my Romanische Studien. Heft XV. Bonn 1880. P. 483 f.).

239. 1764.

Extracts from the epistola en que se declara que cosa sea Nuevo Testamento, in Nachrichten zur Kirchen- Gelehrten- und Bücher-Geschichte; von Johann Bartholomäus Riederer. Zweyter Band. Altdorf 1765. Sechstes Stück. 1764 [sic]. p. 147—149. Some verses of the translation are given p. 150. 151, the end of the Aviso al lector p. 152.

240. 1880.

Some lines of the Prologo, in Menendez Hist. 460.

241. 1829.

Extracts from a Preface by Juan Perez in his Spanish Translation of the New Testament. Translated from the original Spanish, as given by Riederer, Nachrichten zur Kirchen- Gelehrten und Bücher-Geschichte, vol. II. p. 147—149. Altdorf, 1765.

Nº II of the Appendix of the History of the reformation in Spain by M'Crie 1829. P. 405—7.

242. 1856.

The same in the new edition of M'Crie's Ref. in Spain, Edinburgh and London 1856 p. 195—6.

243. 1835.

Auszüge aus einer Vorrede von Juan Perez zu seiner spanischen Uebersetzung des neuen Testaments. *Translated into German from M'Crie's English translation. P. 418—9 of the translation of M'Crie's History of the reformation in Spain, by Plöninger. Stuttgart 1835.*

244. 1839.

The same extracts in Dutch, translated from Plöninger's German, in: Munting's translation of M'Crie's Ref. in Sp. Amsterdam, t. 2. 1839. P. 225—7.

Catechism.

245. 1556.

Svmario bre | ve de la doctri | na Christiana he | cho por via de pregunta, y respuesta, en | manera de coloquio, para que assi la apren | dan los niños con mas facilidad, y saquen | della mayor fructo. Enque tambien se en | seña como se han de aprouechar della | los que la leyeren. | Compuesto por el Doctor Iuan Percz. | Fve impresso en | Venecia | en casa de Pietro Daniel. | M. D. LVI. | Con privilegio. | *Italics only in the word Venecia.*

On the back of the title: Fue visto y aprouado este li- | brico por los muy reueren | dos Señores de la inquisi- | cion d'España.

A ii, p. 3: Al Christiano lector salvd enel Señor Iesu Christo. Mvy grãde fue el cuidado, y la diligencia (christiano Lector) que enel tiempo passado tuuieron los Padres . . . Ends p. 8: vean el cumplimiento dellos para gloria de su Sancto nombre. Amen. *Column-title p. 4—7: Epistola.*

P. 8: Loqueste catecismo y doctrina contiene es lo siguiente ensuma. 1 La declaracion de los articulos de la fe. 2 La declaracion de los diez mandamientos de la ley. 3 La declaracion del Pater noster. 4 El uso de los Sanctos Sacramentos. 5 Oraciones para antes y despues de comer, y dormir. 6 Algunas autoridades tomadas de la Sancta Escripura para enseañança y doctrina del Christiano.

P. 9: El maestro pregvnta por orden. y el niño responde por el mismo orden. De que religion soys? . . . P. 10—116 *column-title left side* Catechismo or catecismo, *right side* Christiano. *The coloquio ends p. 111, where begin prayers.* P. 116: Fin del catecismo, o do- | ctrina christiana. — P. 117: Sigvense algvnas avtoridades dela sancta escriptura. *which end p. 128, where after them:* A solo dios sea | gloria y honrra | sempiterna. Amen. *This last line in Italics. Instead of 126 of the pagination is printed 128, but the following two numbers are right.*

Small octavo.

VIENNA Court. No other copy has been discovered.

The ornamented initials D and P p. 9 and 117 are identical with those which in Perez's New Testament begin the epistola dedicatoria and the epistola en que se declara &c. Both are printed by Crespin at Geneva.

The autoridades de la sancta escritura are taken from Perez's N. T., with unimportant changements.

This catechism is not independent from Calvin's, but is not a translation of it. The prayers p. 111 — 116 are essentially the same as some in Calvin's catechism (compare above here p. 43, note 2).

The inquisitorial indices prohibit this publication as well under the title Sumario as under that of Catechismo. The Valladolid index of 1559 prohibits among the books en Romance: Catechismo compuesto por el Doctor Juan perez. Impreso en Venecia, en casa de Pedro Daniel, año de .1556. aunque dize falsamente, visto por los Inquisidores de España. and afterwards in the same section: Sumario de doctrina Christiana, compuesto por el doctor Juā Perez. Impreso en Venecia, por Pedro Daniel. Both notices are repeated in the Antwerp index of 1570; ed. of 108 pgs [VIENNA Court], p. 97 and 105. The Madrid index of 1583 has the Catechismo compuesto por el doctor Juan Perez, aunque falsamente dize que fué visto por los inquisidores de España, and Summario de doctrina Christiana, compuesto por el doctor Juan Perez, and besides: Juan Perez, doctor, un su cathecismo y psalmos traduzidos y sumarios de doctrina christiana; according to de Castro's Hist. d. l. Prot. Esp. p. 436. 445. 441. Sandoval y Royas index 1612, Palermo reprint 1628, Prohib. p. 59: Doctor Juan Perez, Catechismo, que falsamente dize fue visto por los Inquisidores de España, Psalms, and Sumario de Doctrina Christiana.

Llorente, Historia t. 4, p. 266, registering four works of Perez prohibited in 1559, has under n° 2 the Catecismo, under n° 4 the Sumario de la doctrina cristiana; he evidently took them for two different works. In Llorente's Spanish text the Sumario is said impreso en la misma imprenta, which means at Pedro Daniel's in Venice, for he gives this printing-place as that of n° 2, saying also on n° 3, the Psalms: impresos allí. In the French translation of Llorente's History there is said: Ces deux derniers ouvrages (viz. n° 3 and 4) sortirent des mêmes presses que le premier, no press nor place, however, being mentioned under n° 1, which, besides, according to the Valladolid catalogue was printed by Joan Philadelpho at Venice, as really is read on the title; premier is therefore a mistake of the translator or of the printer for deuxième.

Menendez 463: El Sumario de doctrina christiana que allí [en los Índices] tambien se veda, no debe de ser obra distinta del Breve Tratado. Llorente cita una edicion de Venecia, por Pedro Daniel, 1556, y otra sin lugar, de 1559, que será, segun conjeturamos, la de 1560. But Llorente does not say anything about different editions of any of the works of Perez, nor does he give any year for the edition of the Sumario, prohibited, as he relates, in 1559; nor is the Sumario identical with the Breve Tratado.

Psalms.

246. 1557.

[Ornament] | Los | psalmos de | David con sv̄s sv̄- | marios en qve
se de- | clara con breuedad lo con- | tenido en cada | Psalmo, agora

nueua y fielmente traduzidos en | romance Castellano por el doctor
 Iuan Pe- | rez, conforme ala verdad dela lengua | Sancta. | Salmo
 LXXXV. | Muestranos Señor tu misericordia, y danos tu Salud. |
 [Three stars] | En Venecia en casa de Pedro Daniel. | M. D. LVII. |
 Octavo.

Title [A I]. Last leaf [R VIII]. Title-leaf; 7 leaves A ii — [VIII] dedicatory epistle to Donna Maria de Austria, . . Reyna de Hungria, y de Bohemia, &c., 7 leaves Declaracion del fructo y vtilidad de los Psalmos, on the last page verses from the N. T., all 14 leaves unnumbered. Psalmos beginning B VIII, leaves 1—118, numbered. Tabla de los psalmos (alphabetical, according to the first words of the Spanish) 2 leaves unnumbered, aviso on the word Sela one page, verso blank.

The psalter is divided in five books as in Hebrew. Each psalm has the number of the Latin Vulgata and that of the Hebrew text; the first words of the psalm are also given in Latin; the verses are numbered; each psalm has a summary; marginal notes.

BERNE City. FRANKFORT o. M. City. GÖTTINGEN Univ. STUTTGART Royal. ZÜRICH City.

In the copy in VIENNA Court, on the title Psalm, oagora.

In Wiffen's copy in Wadham college, OXFORD, the title-leaf, the epistola and at the end the aviso are wanting und are supplied by facsimile.

Le Long, Bibliotheca sacra, Paris 1723, t. 1, p. 364 on the Psalm by Perez, Venet. 1557: Asserit hic interpres initio præfationis suæ „Se anno proximè elapso Novum Testamentum Castellanum, ipso quoque translate evulgasse“. Pellicer, Ensayo, p. 122: En la edicion que hemos visto [B^c R¹] no hay mas principios que la dedicatoria y la declaracion, en donde nada se dice. Acaso en el exemplar que tuvo a mano le Long, habia algun Prologo que falta en el nuestro. The typographical signatures prove, on the contrary, that the copies, which, between the title and the translation, only have the dedication and the declaration, are complete. In fact, there is nothing found there on Perez's translation of the N. T. Le Long made some confusion; see another one of his in our article on Reina.

Pedro Daniel is a pseudonym for Jean Crespin at Geneva, compare under n° 251.

Prohibited Valladolid 1559: Psalmos de Daud en Romance, con sus sūmarios, traduzidos por el Doctor Ioā Perez: Impressos en Venecia, en casa de Pedro Daniel, año de .1557. Antwerp index 1570, p. 104 f.: Impress. en Venecia, en casa de Pedro Daniel, año de 1557. with the additional notice: donde quiera. Index of 1583, de Castro's Hist. de los Prot. Esp. p. 441. 444.

247. 1880.

Some passages from the dedicatoria and from the declaracion, and fifteen verses of ps. 103 (= Hebrew 104) in Menendez, Hist. p. 459.

248. 1881.

Fourteen verses of the same psalm repeated for a comparison with the translation of Juan de Valdés, in an article of Menendez Pelayo in the Revista de Madrid. Mayo 1881. Madrid. P. 438—439.

Letter to king Philip.

249. 1557.

Carta | embiada a | nvestro avgv- | stissimo senor | principe
don | Philippe, Rey | De España, de Inglaterra, de Napoles, y
delas | Indias del Peru, &c. en que se declaran las | causas delas
guerras y calamidades presētes, y | se descubrē los medios y artes
cō que son roba | dos los Españoles, y las mas vezes muertos |
quanto al cuerpo, y quanto al anima: y contra | estos daños se
ponen juntamente algunos re- | medios que son propios y eficazes,
delos qua | les puede vsar su Majestad para conserua- | cion de sus
Republicas, y cada vno de sus vas- | sallos en particular para poder
los euitar, y ser | preservados en vida, y enriquecidos de todo | bien
temporal y eterno. | Pues os deleytays con las sillas y çeptros, o
Reyes del pue- | blo, amad la sabiduria, paraque reyneys perpetua-
mente. | amad la luz dela sabiduria todos los que presidis en los |
pueblos. Sabidu. VI. |

Text begins on the back of the title. 92 pages, title included. Octaro.

S. l. e. a. Printed at Genera by Jean Crespin. Compare Rf. Esp. t. III, p. I.

FRANKFURT o. M. City. GÖTTINGEN Univ. (bound together with the Dos informaciones of 1559). VIENNA Court. Usóz's copy (see above here vol. 1, p. 37) most likely is now in MADRID National. B—r.

Prohibited in the Valladolid Index of 1559 among the books en Romance; Carta embiada a nuestro Augustissimo señor Pincipe [sic] Don Phelippe Rey de España, sin nombre de autor ni impressor. Antwerp Index 1570, p. 97: Carta embiada a nuestro Augustissimo señor Principe, Don Phelippe Rey de España, sin nombre de Autor ni Impressor. Item in the Madrid Index of 1583, see de Castro, Hist. de los Protest. Españ. p. 436.

250. 1849.

Imajen del Antecristo. | I | Carta a don Felipe II. | Ahora fielmente
reimpresas. | A. 1849. | S. l. Small octaro. Editor's preface p. [I]—XXXXVII.
*On the next page a passage from Puigblanch. P. [1]—15 Spanish translation
of a letter of William Penn, and remarks on it. Erratas of the Epistola Consola-
toria reprinted in 1848, and of the edition of 1560, Erratas of the reprint of
Carrascon, Erratas de esto volumen, total 3 leaves. Follows Imajen, see below here
nº 277. Then Carta | enviada a | nuestro augu- | stisimo señor | principe don |
Philippe, Rei | De España, &c. as on the title of the old edition, but modernized
in orthograph. Under the quotation from Wisdom 6 a note on it. Text
p. 1—172.*

Tome III of the Reformistas Españoles antiguos, according to the list in t. VIII f., but this third tome itself has no such series-title nor series-number.

VIENNA Court. B—r.

Biblioth. Witten. II.

Two charges by Sleidanus.

251. 1559.

Dos | informa- | ciones muy | viles, | la vna dirigida | a la Magestad del Emperador | Carlo quinto deste | nombre: | y | la otra, a los esta- | dos del Imperio. Y agora presentadas | al Catholico Rey don Philipe su hijo. | Que contiene muy necesarios auisos pa- | ra ser instruydo todo Principe Chri- | stiano en la causa del Euangelio. | Con vna suplicacion a la Magestad del | Rey, donde se declara el officio de los | juezes y Magistrados, y a lo que es o- | bligado todo fiel Christiano, para ser | saluo. | Fve impresso, | Año de | 1559. | *Title [a I], Suplicacion a II — c [I]; the informaciones p. 1 — 205. P. 206—208 a chapter and a half from the New Testament (according to Perez's translation of 1556). Last page blank. Ociavo. S. l.*

Instead of p. 54. 55. 57. 58. 59. &c.

is printed 57. 58. 90. 61. 62. &c. (56 is right).

The ornament at the end of the first informacion p. „113“ is identical with that in the same place in the French separate edition published by Jean Crespin of this work of Sleidan (see p. 283 of my publication registered here below n° 261) and with that at the head of the title of the Psalms of Perez 1557; and the initial A of the second informacion is that of p. 6 of the Oeuvres de I. Sleidan. Chez Jean Crespin. 1566.

GETTINGEN Univ. LEIPZIG Univ. VIENNA Court. My own copy I ceded in 1861 to Wiffen who probably sent it to Usóz.

De la Serna Santander in his Catalogue de la bibliotheque d. M. C. de la Serna Santander t. 1, Bruxelles, an XI (1803). p. 244: Petit traité fort rare et peu connu.

Joannes Sleidanus is a first class prohibited author in the Roman Index of 1558, also under the name Baptista Lasdemius (sic, instead of Lasdenius), which figures together with the other name without a hint to the personal identity. I think, in this Index is found an article which I only copied from the Roman Index of January 1559 [FRANKFORT o. M. City], fol. D 3, among incertorum auctorum libri prohibiti: liber inscrip. Capo finto. This is an Italian translation of the first form of Sleidanus' oration to the German States. In the Valladolid Index of 1559: Joannis Sleidani orationes duę: altera ad Carolu. V. Imp. altera ad principes Germaniæ. Antwerp Index 1570, p. 79: Iehan Caluin, Iehan Sleidan, & tous les auteurs condamnés & inutiles . . sont aussi defendus en toutes langues. — The Dos informaciones seem to have been expressly prohibited only in 1603. Wiffen noted that they are registered in the Roman Index of 1607; W. J. Knapp copied for me the passage, p. 732: Dos Informaciones muy viles, la vna dirigida alla M. dell' Emperor Carlos Quinto, sine loco impressionis 1599. omnino prohibentur. This date 1599 recurs in the reprints. Dos informaciones muy viles, la vna dirigida alla M. dell' Emperor Carlos V. sine loco impressionis 1599. omnino prohibentur. In the Editto del Maestro del Sacro Palazzo 7th Aug. 1603 in Indicis librorum expurgandorum . . tomvs primvs . . Per F. Jo. Mariam Brasichell[en]. Sacri Palatii Apost. Magistrum . . Romæ Primo, Deinde Bergomi . . 1608. Pag. 601, and in the

reprint Pedeponti 1745 p. 732, as well as at the end of the Index Alexandri VII. Juxta Exemplar excusum Romæ 1667, p. 197. The same year 1599, *ib.* p. 39. and in the Index .. Juxta exemplar Romanum. Recusus Pragæ .. 1726 p. 111. This date 1599 for the Dos informaciones is, in all probability, only a misprint faithfully reprinted for 1559.

Wiffen notes from Bentley and Walford's auction catalogue, London 1687, p. 60: Dos informaciones del Principe Christiano en la causa del Evangelio. 1552. Octavo. Probably the same work is meant and the same edition of 1559.

252. 1857.

First leaf blank. Second leaf: Reformistas antiguos | Españoles. | On the verso the list of the preceding (eleven) volumes. Third leaf:

Dos Informaciones: | una dirigida al Emperador Carlos V., | i otra, a los Estados del Imperio; | obra, al parezer, de Franzisco de Enzinas. | Prezede una Suplicazion a D. Felipe II. | obra, al parezér, del Dr. Juan Perez. | Ahora fielmente reimpresas, | i seguidas de vários Apéndizes. | «Parezióme que haria lo que debo, si por ventura | con lo que Dios me ha dado a entender, pudiese | aprovechar i servir a nuestra común patria, de tal | manera, que en esto nada dejase de hazer de lo | que es en mi mano: porque a ello me inzita i | mueve la mesma naturaleza, la cual nos enco- | mienda el bien de todo el jénero humano, i de | todas las jentes, donde quiera que estén, pero | prinzipalmente el de aquellos, de los cuales des- | zen- demos, i habemos sido criados» — [Véanse los | renglones 11—21, en la página 196.] | Año de 1857. |

Verso some lines of Guerrero.

Fourth leaf the ancient title. On the verso reproduction of the stamp of the library of Göttingen.

Suplicazion and Informaciones p. [1]—326. The pages of the first edition are noted on the margin, but the erroneous paging (see above n° 251) is corrected, so that about three fourth of the numbers do not agree with the former ones.

Next page (which would be 327): Apéndice. The signature of the preceding part is continued in the appendix to the end of the volume, the last signature being 41, but the paging is several times begun afresh.

Sgn. 21⁵ f. P. 1—57 various documents: Erasmus, Melchor Cano, Zurita, declaration of the Emperor against Luther.

Sgn. 25² f. P. 1—29. Counsel of Cardinals presented to Paul III on church-reform.

Sgn. 27¹ f. P. 1—76 Guerrero: Tractado de la forma que se ha de tener on la celebracion del jeneral Conzilio i azerca de la reformation de la Iglesia. 1536.

Sgn. 31⁸ f. P. 1—104. The editor's notes to Suplicazion and Informaciones.

P. 104—151. The editor's notes to his Appendix.

P. [152] Contents of the volume.

P. [153] Fú de erratas. *Verso and last leaf blank.*

Octavo.

Edited by Luis de Usóz i Rio, who signs p. 151 of the appendix; Informaciones with Suplicacion from a manuscript copy made by Wiffen. Printed at San Sebastian by Ignazio Ramon Baroja, 212 copies, according to Wiffen's papers.

HALLE Univ. STRASSBURG Univ. VIENNA Court. B—r.

Extracts.

253. 1822.

A page and a half from p. 22—23 of the Informacion al emperador, in Llorente's Historia de la Inq. de Esp., Madrid 1822, cap. XVIII, art. II, t. 4, p. 120—122.

The same in the translations:

254. 1835.

Barcelona edition of Llorente's Historia.

255. 1817.

French, t. 2, p. 170—171.

256. 1818.

French, t. 2, p. 170—171.

257. 1820.

German, t. 2.

258. 1820.

Italian, t. 2, p. 192—193. Abridged.

259. 1854.

Italian, t. 3, p. 128—129.

260. 1860.

Italian.

261. 1879.

Some extracts of the Spanish translation are reprinted from the edition of 1559 in my edition of the two addresses in German and Latin: Zwei Reden an Kaiser und Reich von Johannes Sleidanus. Neu herausgegeben von Eduard Böhmner. Gedruckt für den litterarischen verein in Stuttgart nach beschluss des ausschusses vom november 1878 Tübingen 1879.

The old and the new doctrine.

262. 1560.

Breve | tratado de la doctrina An | tigua de Dios, y de la
nue | ua de los hombres, vtil y | necessario para todo fiel | Christiano.
| Ieremias capit. 6. | Esto dize el Señor, Estad en los cami- | nos, y

mirad, y preguntad por los ca- | minos antiguos, y sabed qual es
el | buen camino, y andad por el: y halla- | reys refrigerio para
vuestras animas. | S. Iuan capit. 14. | Yo soy el camino, la verdad,
y la vida. Nin- | guno viene al Padre sino por mi, dize | el Señor
Todopoderoso. | Fue impresso Año de | 1560. | *Small octavo.*

A ii. p. 3: Prologo del autor. *Ends* p. 22. *The work* p. 23—400. *Printed by Jean Crespin at Geneva, see Wiffen in Ref. Esp. XVIII, p. 41 f.*

In the library of Professor Charles SCHMIDT of Strassburg University. (In 1879 the antiquarian bookseller Ludwig Rosenthal of Munich sold another complete copy of it in Paris, I could not learn to whom. It does not appear in his printed catalogues). In Usó's copy, at present probably in MADRID National libr., the leaf A ii. is wanting. Wiffen's copy in Wadham coll., OXFORD, wants the title-leaf and the first two leaves of the Prologo, which three leaves Wiffen replaced by reprinted ones.

Prohibited, see Rf. Esp. t. VII, p. XIV and Apéndice p. 3; t. XVIII, p. 45 f.

Of the Latin original I know the following editions: Nova do- | ctrina. Per Vrba- | nvm Regivm. | [Ornament] | M. D. XXVI. | Eme, Lege, Iudica. | S. l. Octavo. On the reverse of the title-leaf begins. Vrbans Regivs evidam Amico. The work begins on a 3 recto, and runs to o 6 recto. No paging. A copy at STRASSBURG in the Wihelmitana. — Nova | doctrina. Per | Vrbnum Re- | gium. | [Ornament] | M. D. XXVI. | Eme, Lege, Iudica. | This title in an orna- mented frame. S. l. Octavo. On the reverse of the title-leaf begins: Vrbans Regivs evidam amico. The work begins on A 3 recto, paged: 1, and runs to p. 76 which has no number, the last number being 75. HALLE Ponickau. St. GALL City. B—r. — Novae | doctrinae ad vete- | rem collatio per Vrbnu Regium. | M. D. XXVI. | Eme, Lege, Iudica. | S. l. Octavo. On the reverse of the title-leaf: Contenta. P. 3: Vrbans Regivs evidam amico. Conclusion p. 78. HALLE Ponickau. This description agrees with a copy in the ZURICH City library. — Nova doctrina | per Vrbnum Regivm. | Beginning with folio XVII, ending with the first page of folio XXX in Opera Vrbani Regii latine edita. Noribergae M. D. LXII. Folio. HALLE University. Title of the columns of the said treatise: de nova et | veteri doctrina.

Urbanus Regius is a first class prohibited writer in the Roman Index of 1558. The Doctrina vetus & nova is registered there amongst Incertorum auctorum libri prohibiti.

Italian from the Latin: Opera vtilissima | intitolata | Dottrina uecchia | & nuoua. S. l. c. a. Most probably Venice about 1540. (On 24 May 1548, Francesco Spiera, domandato se lui ha libri della Scrittura Santa, says: . . . credo haver visto el beneficio di Cristo, et la doctrina nova et vecchia. Comba: Fr. Spiera. 1872. p. 111). Small Quarto (compare this Bth. Wiff. I, p. XIV). Roman letters. After the title-leaf three unnumbered leaves with Regius' preface. Then text fol. 1—LVI. On this last leaf Tavola, fol. LV. p. 2. Errori. WOLFENBÜTTEL Ducal (Theol. 1112, second piece of the vol. The first piece is Opera divina della christiana vita, printed with just the same letters in the same size, prohibited in Pius' IV. Index, Dilingæ 1564, fol. 35; compare the appendix of Valdés Betrachtungen 1869, p. 351. The third one: I principii de la theologia di Ippofilo da Terra negra. Con gratia, et privilegio. viz. Melancthon's Hypotyposes. Both s. l. c. a., most likely Venice).

It is a translation, not, as Perez's work, a remodeling, of Regius' tract. Also the succession of the chapters is the same as in Latin; the chapters de divorum cultu and de cona domini are forgotten in the index, not left out in the work.

A copy of this work in the Bibliotheca Angelica di ROMA has been reprinted by Benrath in La Rivista Cristiana. Anno III. Firenze 1875. p. 139—158. 185—207. In the Tavola, which is found on fol. 56 as is the case in the Wolfenbüttel copy, the two chapters just mentioned are not left out. If they are not supplied by the editor, the copy at Rome perhaps belongs to a different edition. Benrath gives no title-copy.

I did not examine whether the Spaniard worked upon the Latin or upon the Italian.

There seems to have been made an Italian translation from the Spanish. See Rf. Esp. XVIII, p. 46.

French:

La Doctrine nouvelle & ancienne was already in 1542/3 qualified by the Sorbonne, which in 1551 condemned among writings ab incertis Authoribus: La doctrine nouvelle & ancienne, lesquelles arguent ensemble, pour donner à connoître par la verité evangelique, les abus qui sont amenez en l'Eglise de Dieu. (D'Argentré's Collectio t. II, p. 134. 135. 175). In 1561 La doctrine nouvelle et ancienne was sold in Guibray (Cp. Rf. 46, 669). The Antwerp Index of 1570 has the Doctrina vetus et nova and p. 77: La doctrine nouvelle & ancienne; which both appear also in Sandoval y Rojas Index 1612, Palermo reprint 1628, Prohib. p. 31. 32. I do not know whether those French publications contain the work of Regius. It certainly seems to have been translated into French, and even from the French again into Latin; I conclude this from an old notice by a librarian in my above mentioned copy of the Nova doctrina: R 656 (the book under this signature in the same library) est hujus libelli versio Latina e versione Gallica.

On an English version 1538 and 1548 see Rf. Esp. t. VII, Apéndice p. 2.

263. 1852.

Breve | tratado de doctrina, | util | para todo Cristiano. | [Dis-
puesto, al parezer, por el Dr. | Juan Perez. Año de 1560.] | Ahora
fielmente reimpresso. | Año de 1852. | Octavo.

Title leaf. Preface á B. B. Wiffen by the unnamed editor, who is Usóz, dated 15. 11° m. 1852, p. I—XX. The work, including ancient title, p. 1—354.

Leaf A ii, the first leaf of the Prologo, was wanting in the copy, then the only one known, from which the reprint was made. Therefore p. 3 of the reprint is without text, only with the number of the page, and framed with lines showing the size of the printed column and of the leaf; p. 4 contains a notice on the defect. In 1860 the wanting leaf was reprinted by Wiffen from Prof. Schmidt's copy and was, together with a label containing a printed note of Wiffen, sent to some possessors of the volume of 1852. Afterwards Usóz printed the same wanting hoja, with the marginal note that Wiffen la ha reimpresso conforme al antiguo: i ahora se reimprime con ligeras variantes; the only change, on which a special notice is made, is that of nos, p. 4, l. 3. into no; the orthography is changed into that of Usóz.

Indices and Notes by editor 11 unnumbered leaves. Apéndice on Urbanus Regius p. 1—6. Errata and list of reprinted Reformistas, one leaf. This volume

forms the seventh volume of that series, but no general title, stating this, was printed.

Printed at San Sebastian by Ignazio Ramon Baroja, 457 copies, according to Wiffen's papers.

VIENNA Court. B—r. My copy has the original leaf A ii of this edition with the first page blank, and Wiffen's reprint with his label (containing also autograph remarks by Wiffen), it has not Usó's reprint. The Vienna copy has neither the original leaf with the blank page nor Wiffen's label, but both reprints, that of Wiffen and that of Usó.

264. 1871.

Previous title: Breve tratado. *Title-leaf:* Breve tratado | de | doctrina útil | para todo Cristiano | por el doctor Juan Perez. | Año de 1560. | Ahora fielmente reimpresso. | Madrid | librería de A. Duran | carrera de san Gerónimo 2. | 1871. *Verso:* Es propiedad. | Madrid 1871. — Imprenta de la viuda é hijos de Galiano, Ministerios, 2. | Octavo.

Advertencia p. [V]—VIII, including an extract on Perez from Wiffen's Noticia prévia to the reprint of 1848 of the Epistola consolatoria. P. [1] ancient title. Prólogo del autor p. [3]—13. The work p. [15]—240. To the references to chapters of the Bible the editor has added the numbers of the verses; among the other annotations some are taken from the edition of 1852. P. [241—245] Glosario de las voces y formas anticuadas, larger list than that of 1852 and with the present forms or words. P. 246 blank. P. 247 Indice. P. 248 blank.

In the Public Library of BOSTON, U. S.: A presentation copy from the editor, W. I. Knapp, see Whitney's catalogue of the Ticknor collection, Boston 1879, p. 458. In my copy the editor's autograph under the Advertencia. The text was taken from the edition of Usó, as Professor W. I. Knapp wrote me. He said besides: I printed 2000 copies, and Mrs Rew with some friends in England paid the cost of manufacture.

Parts of it.

265. 1858.

Nº. 6. 1858. | El Alba. | Periodico de instruccion y recreo. | *At the end of the number:* Imprenta Anglo-Hispana de Carlos Wood . . Publicado por Jackson y Walford . . London. 18º.

The first article is inscribed: La doctrina nueva y la antigua. (Continuacion.) I do not know the preceding numbers, nor the following ones. The article begins: Hay un libro muy precioso, y muy escaso, que tiene por título: Breve Tratado de Doctrina útil para todo cristiano. Dió á luz esta obra El Dr. Juan Perez en el año de 1560, y en su página 65, leemos como sigue, verbatim et literatim: De la satisfaccion. La doctrina nueva de los hombres enseña: Que and so on, not from the edition of 1560, where the chapter begins p. 72, but from the reprint of 1852, where it runs p. 65—81. This is reprinted in the Alba p. 181—193, verbatim, as far as I have compared, but with the common orthography, not with that of Usó.

B—r.

266. 1869?

On the coloured cover: No. II. | Porciones escogidas | de las obras de | autores Españoles. | De la confesion. | Juan Perez, | doctor en teologia. | „El Breve Tratado de Doctrina“, impreso 1560. | This title is framed by a double line. On p. [2]: N° II.] with such a bracket. | Porciones escogidas | de las obras de | autores Españoles. | Juan Perez, | doctor en teologia. | Then begins on the same page an extract of the Noticia previa to the edition of 1848 of the Epistola consolatoria; it ends p. 3. P. 4—22 the chapter of the Breve tratado on the confession, from the words: La doctrina antigua, with omissions on two places marked by stars; the Amonestacion is reprinted, without its title. Last leaf blank. One sheet in duodecimo.

S. l. e. a. It seems to be printed in England.

That this edition is prior to that described in the next number, I know from Mrs Rew, the widow of the editor.

In Professor W. I. KNAPP's library, Yale College, New Haven, U. S. of North America. Professor Knapp kindly sent me his copy from America, where it was returned. He knew no other n^{os} of these Porciones.

To be sure, No I. contained the same as N° I of our following article.

267. 1870?

Porciones escogidas | de las obras de | autores Españoles. | Juan Perez, doctor en teologia. | Follows on the same page an extract of the Noticia previa to the Epist. consol. 1848. And the notice: Ademas de las obras indudablemente escritas por Perez se cree generalmente que el „Breve Tratado de Doctrina util para Todo Cristiano“ es tambien de su pluma. La porcion que sigue . . . All this on the first page of each of the five small publications, numbered at the head: No. 1.] to N. 5.], each of which contains a part of the Breve tratado. No. 1: que la doctrina de la Santa escritura es la unica verdadera y antigua doctrina. From the Prologo and different places of the Tratado. 4 pages. No. 2: Confesion. 7 pgs, reprint of the first edition of this number of the Porciones, with the addition of the passage Ademas &c. No. 3: Satisfaccion 7 pgs. No. 4: Fe y obras. 6 pgs, one leaf blank. No. 5: Merito. 6 pgs, one leaf blank. Height of the full column 16 ctm. S. l. e. a. Printed in England, to judge from the appearance.

I owe the copy in my possession to the kindness of Mrs Rew, the editor's widow, Beresford Terrace, Highbury, London.

Epistle of consolation.

268. 1560.

Epistola pa- | ra consolar a los | fieles de Jesu Christo, que | padecen persecucion por la | confession de su Nombre. | En que se declara el proposito y buc- | na voluntad de Dios para con ellos, y | son confirmados contra las tentacio- | nes y horror de la muerte,

y enseña- | dos como se han de regir en todo | tiempo prospero y
aduerso. ! Marcos XIII. | Sereys aborrecidos de todos por mi Nombre
(dize | Jesu Christo) mas el que perseuerare hasta | la fin, sera saluo. |
De | M. D. LX. | Años. | *Small octavo.*

P. 1—224, title included. The work begins: A todos los fieles amados de Dios, y perseguidos por su Evangelio, Juan Perez salud en el mismo S.

Printed by Jean Crespín at Genera. see Wiffen in Ref. Esp. XVIII, p. 41 f. Wiffen's copy in Wudham College, OXFORD.

269. 1848.

Facsimile reprint, page for page, line for line, without changing the orthography, not even dissolving the abbreviations.

With two prefaces, each with a general title of the book:

Epistola consolatoria. | By | Juan Perez, | one of the Spanish reformers in | the sixteenth century. | Now reprinted | page for page from the original, with | a notice of the author in English | and in Spanish. | MDCCCXLVIII. | *On the verso of this leaf.* London: | S. & J. Bentley, Wilson, and Fley, | Bangor House, Shoe Lane. | *The Notice p. III—XXXII, signed Benjamin B. Wiffen.*

Epistola consolatoria. | Por | Juan Perez, | reformador en el siglo XVI. | Segunda vez impresa, | pajina por pajina, del orijinal; con | una noticia prévia sobre su autor | en Espanol [*sic*] y en Ingles. | Año de 1848. | *The Noticia prévia p. III—XXVII, signed B. B. W. is translated from the English Notice, but shortened, and on the other hand with additions (see Spanish p. IX). P. XXVIII—XXXII: Una lista de algunas obras por Españoles reformados (this list is only appended to the Spanish preface). Small octavo.*

Edited by Wiffen. The impression was limited to 150 copies (see the prefaces). When my correspondence with Wiffen began, he had no more copies left. It was only in 1881 that I got one by the kindness of Mr. Alfred Watts.

Afterwards there was printed: a list of Erratas de la Epistola Consolatoria reimpressa el. a. 1848. with Erratas en la Edicion de 1560, que debieron corregirse) en esta de 1848; together three pages; on the fourth: Dos Erratas notables en la Edicion moderna de Carrascon. Published with Imagen del Antecristo, i carta a don Felipe II. reimpresas. 1849.*

And a series-title: Obras antiguas | de los | Españoles reformados. | Tomo.. The number II is added by the pen. On the reverse the titles of the six first volumes of those Obras.

This title and the Erratas are found in the copy of the reprint of 1848 of the Epistola consolatoria which is in ZURICH City. The copy in VIENNA Court library has the Erratas, but not the series-title. In the same copies the Spanish preface with the corresponding title-leaf is placed before the English.

*) Not all those corrections are necessary.

I have got from Wiffen himself a copy of the Noticia previa (with the Spanish title-leaf), where on p. XXV (corresponding to p. 17 of the reprint of 1874 of the Epistola) he has struck out the sentence beginning Sobretudo and ending otros, and has in the next sentence changed 1556, el mismo año into 1555, el año antes; and has made some corrections and additions in the lista p. XXVIII f. In the copy of the Epistola consolatoria in Vienna Court library are likewise autograph notes by Wiffen in the Noticia previa: p. XXV the same corrections as in my copy; in the lista some of his manuscript notes are identical with those in my copy, some are not in mine, whilst others of my copy are wanting there. I made in my copy a conspectus of both.

270. 1866. Third edition.

Epistola consolatoria. | Por | Juan Perez, | reformador en el siglo XVI. | London: | 56, Paternoster Row; 164, Piccadilly. | 1866. | On the second leaf, p. 1, begins Perez's text: A todos los fieles, which ends p. 183. Where below: G. M. Watts, Crown Court, Temple Bar.

"This edition, printed by the Religious Tract Society, was edited by Frederic Rew from the edition of 1848." Wiffen.

Those marginals which are not references to the bible, are omitted. No preface. The list of erratas of the edition of 1848 (see above n° 269) has not been carefully made use of; I noticed p. 145, l. 19 the tenemos of 1848 instead of the tememos of 1560 as noted in those erratas. P. 1 in the inscription the S of 1560 and 1848 has been taken for Salvador, being no doubt Señor.

B—r.

271. 1874. Fourth edition.

On a coloured covering leaf, in a frame: Epístola consolatoria | por | Juan Perez, | reformador en el siglo XVI. | Fielmente reimpresso. | Madrid, 1874. | Librería nacional y extranjera | Jacometrezo 59. | Title-leaf: Epístola consolatoria | por | Juan Perez | reformador en el siglo XVI. | Fielmente reimpresso. | 1874 | Madrid | Librería nacional y extranjera | Jacometrezo 59. | Sedecimo.

Second-leaf:

Epístola | para | consolar á los fieles de Jesu Christo, | que padecen persecucion por la confesion de su nombre; | En que se declara el propósito | y buena voluntad de Dios para con ellos, y son confirmados | contra las tentaciones y horror de la muerte, | y enseñados como se han de regir en todo tiempo | próspero y adverso. | Márcos XIII | «Sereis aborrecidos de todos por mi Nombre | (dice Jesucristo), mas el que perseverare hasta | el fin, será salvo». | De | M. D. LX. | Años. |

P. 5, 6, 7: Prólogo. Begins: Oportúnísimo nos parece al reimprimir este libro de Juan Perez, poner á su frente, por via de prólogo, las importantes palabras que puso tambien en su prólogo al Carrascon el Sr. D. Luis Usoz i Rio, que tiene la gran gloria de haber salvado del naufragio, en que suelen perecer las obras de la antigüedad, algunos escritos de los primitivos Reformistas españoles.

Follows what Usóz says in the Observaciones previas to Carrascon p. V—VIII from the words el objeto de reimprimirle to como este volumen contiene, with some quite unimportant changes of expression.

P. 8—17: Datos biográficos. They are Wiffen's Noticia previa (without the Lista), somewhat abridged. P. 18 blank.

P. 19 Text of the Epistola. Not without changes. In the place quoted above where the edition of 1866 has tenemos, this one has tememos, but por qué t. instead of de que t. of 1848 (and 1866). P. 170 reducirnos, where 1848 acordarnos by mistake for acorrernos which is restored from 1560 in the Erratas and received also in 1866. Those marginals, which are not references to the bible, are left out, but part of them is used for introducing inscriptions of chapters (which are not numbered). P. 177: Fin. P. 178 blank.

P. 179 a new Índice. And below: Madrid 1874: Tip. de G. Estrada, Dr. Fourquet (antes Yedra), 7.

Edited by Rev^d Fritz Fliedner at Madrid.

B—r.

272. 1849.

Extracts from the reprint of 1848 in the periodical El catolicismo neto 1849.

Coloured cover: No 2º. El 29 de Septiembre de 1849. Pure catholicism. (El catolicismo neto.) Periódico religioso . . . Londres: en casa de Partridge y Oakley. Octavo. At the end of the number: Editor y redactor, D. Juan Calderon, profesor de literatura española. P. 74—83 an article inscribed Epístola consolatoria, containing p. 76—82 extracts corresponding to what is read in the reprint of 1848 on p. 30 from Queda de aquí excluyo to p. 53 confession de su sancto nombre (p. 39—55 of the edition of 1874). The marginal quotations are incorporated into the text, the orthography is modernized; dots indicate an omission.

B—r.

273. 1880.

Some lines from the Epistola consolatoria in Menendez's Historia de los heterodoxos t. 2, p. 464.

274. 1570.

An excelent com- | fort to all Christians, | against all kinde
of | calamities: | No lesse comfortable, | then pleasant, pithy, and pro-
fita- | ble: Compendiously compiled by | John Perez, a faithfull seruant
of god, | a Spaniard (in Spanish) and now tran- | slated into English
by John Daniel, | of Clements Inne, with diuers ad- | ditions by
him collected and | therevnto annexed. | Marke .XIII. | ¶ All men
shall abhorre you for my names sake | (sayth Christ) but he that
endureth to the | ende shall be saued. | Perused and alowed. | At
London. | Printed by Thomas | East, for Abraham Vele: The .IX. |
day of August, An. Do. 1576. |

This title in a border. The Italics here correspond to Gothic in the original. 1—167 leaves, the last three misnumbered. Small octavo.

So Wiffen's copy in Wadham college, OXFORD; compare Wiffen in Ref. Esp. XVIII, p. 26 f. In the BODLEIAN copy on the title instead of Abraham Vele is read William Norton.

275. 1871.

First leaf: Epistola consolatoria. |

On the back: Printed by Ballantyne and company | Edinburgh and London. |

Second leaf: Epistola consolatoria. | By | Juan Perez, | one of the Spanish reformers in the | sixteenth century. | Now | translated from a reprint of the edition | published by | Don Luis de Usoz y Rio, | in 1848. | With notice of the author, | by the late Benjamin B. Wiffen. | «Ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake; but he that shall | endure unto the end, the same shall be saved.» — Mark XIII. 13. | London: | James Nisbet & co., 21 Berners street. | 1871. | Octavo.

P. V—VII: Contents. P. VIII blank.

P. 1—26: Life of the author. Reprinted from the edition of 1848. Several passages of the text and almost all the notes are omitted; the omissions in the text are marked by dots.

P. 27 Translation of the title-page of 1560. Verso blank.

P. 29—232 the Epistola.

B—r.

101 OF
100000

ALONSO DE PEÑAFUERTE.

70 7000
ANNO 1900

AN Italian sermon of Bernardino Ochino on the image of the Antichrist was translated from a French translation into Spanish, and was printed in Geneva, with an appendix and a preface, both probably by the translator. The Spanish *Imagen* was published a short time after Durant's *Antithesis Christi et Papæ* of 1557, with which it has some cuts in common. A copy of this *Imagen* gave occasion to Julianillo's imprisonment in the same year 1557.¹ In the Inquisitors' catalogue of Valladolid of 1559 this Spanish translation is prohibited together with the original.

We do not know whether Alonso de Peñafuente, as the translator is called on the title, is his real name or a fictitious one.²

1) see above p. 77.

Usóz thought it printed in 1558, Wiffen was not certain about this date, see my article on Perez, note 15.

2) Usóz took this name as a pseudonym of Juan Perez de Montilla, admitting, however, the possibility that Perez was only the revisor and Alonso de Peñafuente another person. *Ref. Esp.* III, preface. In the Index of the *Reformistas* prefixed to vol. 20 he says of the *Imagen*: *al parecer, por Juan Perez*, compare in the first vol. of this *Bth. Wiff.* p. 35 f. *Peña fuerte* i. e. hard rock, said Usóz, could hint at *Perez* i. e. son of Peter, this name taken in its well known biblical signification. But why Alonso instead of Juan? Besides, Perez treated, three years afterwards, in his *Breve tratado*, the same antithesis of Christ and Antichrist, in a different way, and with his own name. And in all his publications, as far as we can ascertain, he either presented himself with this his real name or had them published anonymously. Nor is it likely that Perez, who knew Italian, having lived at the Court of Rome, should have translated an Italian sermon from a French translation, whilst he certainly could get the original.

I should rather have thought Alonso de Peñafuente identical with Alonso Bautista de Canaria, if this fugitive did appear earlier at Geneva than 1558. — Nuñez de la Peña, natif of Teneriffa, edited in 1676: *Conquista y antigüedades de las islas de la gran Canaria*. From *Pinna fortis* comes also *Pennaforte*. *Raimundus de Pennaforte* is a theological writer, *ord. Præd.*

The two verses at the end from the Gospel of S. John do not agree *verbatim* with Perez's N. T. Perez has 8, 12: *lumbre de vida*, not *la lumbre de la vida*, and 3, 19 *los hombres han mas amado a las tinieblas*, not *han amado mas los h. las t.*

276. [1557].

Imagen del | Antechristo | compuesta prime- | ro en Italiano y
despues tradu- | zida en Romance por Alonso de | peña fuerte. |
Estos batallaran cōtra el Cordero, y el Cordero los | vençera: porque
es el Señor de los señores, y | el Rey de los reyes. | Apocalypsi
cap. XVII. | s. l. e. a. *One sheet octavo without paging. On the back of the
title leaf a woodcut, representing the Pope receiving the law from the Devil, and
an Aviso. Text of the Imagen A II to A VI verso. On the same p. begins the
Generacion of Antichrist, which ends A VII verso. On the same page a verse
beginning Recuerda, ending callando, and two verses from the gospel of John,
one from ch. 8, the second from ch. 3. A VIII two cuts, above Christ's ascen-
sion, below Antichrist hurled down to hell. A VIII verso blank. No paging.
In the later lists of the series Reformistas Españoles numbered as t. 3.*

ZURICH City. In Usóz's copy, now probably in MADRID National,
from which the reprint of 1849 was made, the order of the printed columns is
disturbed, see the notice on it in the reprint. The copy is part of a volume
containing, besides the Imagen, the Carta embiada a Don Phelippe (here n° 249)
and Juan Valdés' Commentaries Venecia 1556. 1557 (here n° 84. 85), all del
mismo tipo i tamaño de letra, according to Usóz, Imagen p. I, therefore printed
by Crespín at Geneva.

On the copy which first got into the hands of the Inquisitors at Serille, a
relacion manuscrita in possession of Menendez Pelayo (p. 444) says: Al principio
traia estampado al Papa arrodillado á los piés del demonio: y decia ser impreso con
licencia de los Sres. Inquisidores. This notice on the Inquisitors license may
have been added at Genera to a certain number of copies, especially of those
destined for Spain. Other copies of heretical books seem to have been sent to
Spain without title (Menendez 366).

Prohibited in the Valladolid Index of 1559: Image del Aantechristo [sic],
cōpuesta primerameto en Italiano, y despues traduzida en romãce. por Alũso de
Pena fuerte. [not Peña]. The same in the Antwerp Index 1570, p. 102, but
Peña fuerte. In the Madrid Index 1583 (according to de Castro Hist. d. l. Prot.
Esp. p. 440): Imágen del Antichristo: traduzido de Toscano en Romance por
Alonso de Peña-Fuerte. Sandoval y Rojas Index 1612, Palermo reprint 1628,
Prohib. p. 61, third class: Imagen del Antichristo, traduzido de Toscano en
Castellano por Alonso de Peñafuerte.

277. 1849.

Imajen del Antecristo. | I | Carta a don Felipe II. | Ahora
fielmente reimpresas. | A. 1849. | S. l. Small octavo. After the pieces
registered above here n° 250, title-leaf of the Imajen; text of Imajen with three
woodcuts p. [1]—26; orden que tienen las planas en la antigua impresion, 1 leaf.
Then Carta a Philippe. Printed at San Sebastian by Ignacio Ramon Baroja,
1000 copies, according to Wiffen's papers.

VIENNA Court. B—r.

Usóz, the editor, says in the preface to the reprint p. V f.: puede tambien
ser, en vez de traduccion de una obra sola del toscano; una recopilacion, de lo que,

sobre el asunto, se halla en los sermones i demas escritos del célebre Senés fr. B. Ochini, religioso i docto capuchino. — Si es traduccion de obra determinada, es probable que esta sea tambien traduccion, o deba su origen a un libro en latin, impreso en Jinebra el año de 1557 en un vol. en 8vo. de 88 pájinas, cuyo título es: „Antithesis . . ., reprinted in 1558 and in 1578, in each edition with 36 cuts, of which three are stated by Usóz to be identical with those of the Imagen. Wiffen notes to his title-copy of the Imagen: It is a translation of the 65th predica of Ochino.

We separately treat the different parts of that Spanish composition, which are the Imagen, the cuts, the Generacion and the Aviso.

I. *The Imagen is indeed a sermon of Ochino.*

Bernardinus Ochinus Senes is a first class prohibited author in the Roman Index of 1558; also the Valladolid Index of 1559 prohibits his opera omnia, and again his sermons en qualquier lengua. Antwerp Index 1570, p. 104: Predicas de Bernardino Ochino, en qualquier lengua. Among the Libros en castellano prohibidos in the Madrid Index of 1583, are found (de Castro p. 444); Predicas de fray Bernardino Ochino ó Onichino.

I know two editions of Ochino's Imagen d'Antechristo, in two editions of his sermons. La seconda | parte delle Prediche, di Mess. | Bernardino Ochino Senese, | accuratamente castigata. | Con la sua Tavola | in fine. | S. l. e. a. Octavo. The last piece before the Tavola, and also registered in this same tavola, is Ochino's letter doue rende la ragione della partita sua d'Italia, dated Geneua, al septimo d'Aprile, M. D. XLIII. The last sermon of this seconda parte is: L'IMAGINE | D'ANTECHRISTO. | Predica LXV. In the same place it occurs in: La | seconda par- | te delle predi- | che, di M. Bernardino | Ochino Senesc, diligente- | mente corrette. | Con la sua tavola in fine. | Octavo, s. l. e. a. On the table of the second part follows the table della terza parte. Ebert in his Bibliogr. Lex., thinks this edition anterior to the other one of the second part. I have examined both of them in FLORENCE in the collection of count Guicciardini, who possessed two copies of the Prediche castigata. The castigate are also in VIENNA Court. Ebert says that the 64th sermon of both these editions of the seconda parte delle prediche was the last one of the fifth volume, dated 15 March 1544, of the first collection, and that the sixth and last volume of that first collection, likewise printed in 1544, only contains sermons of the third volume of the later edition. At all events in 1544 must have existed an edition of Ochino's Image of Antichrist in Italian.

For in this year appeared a French translation: L'image | de l'Antechrist, | compose [without accent] en langve | Italiene par Bernardin Ochin | de Siene, translaté en francoys. | [A hand holding a sword] | L'Agneau qui a esté occiz | vaincra. | 1544 [without stop]. One sheet octavo. P. 3—16 numbered, the title-leaf would be 1 and 2. Ends: qu'vn chascun le congnoisse. Ainsi soit il. Fin. ZURICH City. This description is applicable to a reprint, except these changes: Italiene and uaincra. | 1545. The sword has in this reprint on three sides (not below) the words: Non veni pa- | cem mittere, | sed gladium. The reprint of 1545 coincides page for page with that of 1544. The differences, as far as I compared, are only typographical. VIENNA Court. Guicciardini's copy at FLORENCE, which I only could look at for a few moments, has the words Non veni &c., divided as I have just related, and most likely belongs to this later edition.

Evidently (*I had the copies of Zurich and Vienna at the same time under my eye*) both editions came from the same printing office. And the emblem proves that it was that of Jean Girard at Geneva. The sword of the Image with the words *Non veni &c.* is found on the title of three other publications without the printer's name, in the same volume with the Zurich copy of the Image, viz.: Viret's *traicte de l'vsage de la salutation angelique &c.*; Excuse de I. Calvin, a messieurs les Nicodemites; *Advertissement svr la censvre qv'ont faicte les Bestes de Sorbonne, touchant les liures qu'ilz appellent heretiques*; all three titles dated 1544; the *Advertissement* has the same capital I as the Image. Two other works in the same volume have that sword with that inscription, only with other types, and below: A Geneve, par Iehan Girard. 1543. viz.: *Vne Epistre de Maistre Pierre Caroly . . à Maistre Guillaume Farel (the first cipher of the year is wanting), and La seconde Epistre enuyée au Docteur Caroly par Guill. Farel. Also on the title of Pierre Viret's: De la source & de la difference & conuenance de la vieille & nouvelle idolatrie is the sword of the Image with the inscription: Non veni &c. Luc. XII. and below: A Geneve par Iean Girard. 1551. [VIENNA Court]. On this mark of Girard compare Gaullieur Typogr. Genevoise, 1855, p. 132. and: Le catéchisme français de Calvin publié en 1537. Avec deux notices par Albert Rilliet & Théophile Dufour. Genève, Paris 1878. Besides this sword presented by a hand, with or without inscription, Girard used also other marks.*

In the catalogue of books censured by the theological Faculty of Paris in 1551 occur (*d'Argentré t. 2, p. 178*): *L'Image de l'Antechrist*, composée en langue Italienne, par Bernardin Ochino de Sienne, translätée en François. and *Ochino's Sermons, three parts.*

The Imagen is translated from the Image, not from the Imagine. — *It. has 1. Joan. 4. Fr. I Jeh. 2. 4. Span. 1. Joh. 2. 4. Which of course means chapters 2 and 4 of the first epistle of S. John, and not, as Usóz p. 4. took it, verses 2 and 4 of the first chapter of the gospel. — It.: vorrà che infino l'Imperatore gli baci el pie. Fr.: cōtraindra chascun à luy baiser les piedz, voire l'Empereur mesme. Sp.: constriñirá, a cada uno, a que le bese los pies; hasta [a] el Emperador mesmo, Usóz p. 9: A cada uno, es probablemente un italianismo: a ciascuno, q. d. en italiano, lo que en español, a cualesquiera; o mejor, a todos. — It.: dicendo che le riccheze & non l'anime, sonno il patrimonio di Christo. Et doue l'auritia fu in Simon Mago publicamente condannata, in Giuda sospesa, & in Anania occisa, in lui regnarà gloriosa. Fr.: disant, que les richesses temporelles sont le patrimoine de Christ, & non les ames: en sorte que cōbien que Simon magus par son auarice ait esté publiquement condamné, Judas par icelle se soit pendu, & Ananie par la mesme auarice ait esté frappé demort, toutesfois elle regnera glorieusement en l'Antechrist. Sp., Usóz p. 10 f.: diziendo: que las riquezas temporales, son patrimonio de Cristo, i no las animas: de suerte, que aunque Simon Mago fué condenado por su avaricia publicamente; i Judas, por ella, fué ahorcado; i Ananias, por la mesma avarizia, fué herido de muerte. No obstante esto, ella reinará gloriosamente en el Antecristo. — It.: con le insopportabili estorsioni, imposte, decime & graueze. Fr.: par ses extorsions intolerables, impositions, decimes & faix insupportables. Sp., Usóz p. 11: con sus robos intolerables, imposiciones, diezmos, i leyes insoportables. — It.: se quelli giorni non fusseno abreuati, non si saluarebbe alcuno, in the margin: Mat. 24. Fr.: si ces iours là n'oussent esté abrezés, nul ne seroit sauué, in the margin: Luc. 18. Sp.: si estos dias no fuesen (como dize S. Lucas cap. 18) abreviados i acelerados, ni aun quedaria*

hombre que seria salvo, *Usóz p. 16 added the words* aun quedaria, and noted: la cita de Luc. cap. 18, está, sin duda, trocada por: Mateo cap. 24. v. 22. — *It.*: quello che è scritto (*in the margin*: Apoc. 14.), E cascata, è cascata la gran Babilonia. & quello che scrisse Paulo. *Fr.*: ce, que a esté predit en l'Apocalypse (*in the margin*: Apoc. 17.). Elle est tombée, elle est tombée, celle grande Babilon. Afin aussi que ce, que Paul a predit. *Sp.*, *Usóz p. 19*: lo que está profetizado en el Apocali. Cap. 17.º „Caído ha, caído ha la grande Babilonia, madre de las fornicaciones i abominaciones de la tierra:“ i a fin, ansimesmo, que lo que S. Pablo profetizó. *Usóz says on the quotation, in the Imagen, from the Apocalypse*: las cuatro primeras voces, son del Cap. 18. v. 2: i las otras, del 17. v. 5. *From the above extracts, however, it is clear, that the Italian quotes ch. 14, v. 8, that the French has the erratum ch. 17, and that the Spaniard added some words from ch. 17.* — *The Imagen, from Frequentemente* hazen mençion to paraque cada vno le conozca [A VI verso] fully agrees with the French Image, with rare and unimportant variations.

A German translation of the same Italian sermon: Bildnus | des Ante- | christ. | Aus Italianischen | vertentscht. | Anno XLIIII. | *In a frame.* A ij: Bildnus des Antechrists. Man list in der Heyligen Schrift, das der Antechrist . . . *Ends [A viij] recto*: das Er der welt souil liechts geb, das jn meniglich erkenn. Amen. *One sheet in octavo. S. l. [VIENNA Court].*

The same sermon in Latin, in

Antithesis | De praeclaris Christi | et indignis | Papae facinoribus, | * * | Cum Dei decalogis mandatis, Antichristi op- | positis, cumq; vtriusq; moru descriptione: | quemadmodum sancta Scriptura tradit. | [*A cut, representing a light on a candlestick with inscription at the left, on the top and at the right:*] Non accenditur lucerna vt sub | modio, sed vt in candelabro | ponatur. Matth. V. | [*Below:*] Per Zachariam Dyrantivm. | 1557. | *On the back of the title-page* Simonis Rosarii | tetrastichon. *On A II*: . . Joanni Steghel . . vrbis Bernae, Quaestori, & Hieronymo Manuoli Lausanae Praefecto Simon Rosarius. *On A III and IIII*: Zacharias Dyrantivs typographvs lectori. *On the second page of A IIII the numeration of the pages begins.* P. 1—72 text in verses with 36 woodcuts, of which see an index in Unschuldige Nachrichten, Leipzig 1716, p. 578—580. *That index agrees with the copies of the Antithesis in the Royal library at Munich and in the Ponickau library.* P. 73 (last of sheet E) is blank. P. 74: De praestan- | tissimis Christi, et | indignissimis Antichristi moribus | viri fidelis declaratio lectori. | *Begins*: Qvvm mecum vnà cogitarem, *ends p. 88*: regnet, floreat, & imperet. Amen. P. 89 (last of sheet F) is blank. *Octavo. FRANKFORT o. M. City. MUNICH Royal. VIENNA Court.* *In the copy of the Ponickau library at HALLE the treatise De Christi et Antichristi moribus is wanting.* Brunet 5th ed. t. 1. 1860. p. 323 says on this Antithesis of 1557: édition . . . selon toute apparence, la première. *The title-cut is reproduced in Silvestre's Marques typographiques, 2^{me} partie, Paris 1867, n° 1075, with the remark*: Durant (Zacharie), imprim. à Genève. 1557—1563. *The viri fidelis declaratio is the same work with the Image and the Imagen, which are both not taken from this Latin. The vir fidelis is not named.*

The edition of 1558 has only got a new title-leaf, in which the year has been changed and the words after the three stars run thus: Cum decalogis vtriusque oppositis, cumque | amborum morum descriptione: quemad- | modum sancta Scriptura tradit. *All other parts of the title agree with the edition of 1557 as described*

above. The book is not a reprint. The copy in VIENNA Court has p. 21 Squammigeri, whilst the copy of 1557 in the same library has Squamigeri, but on the same page verò has a fuding ò in both editions; the double mm had not been corrected in all copies. — Kuczyński Thesaurus libellorum, Lpzg, Weigel 1870, n° 90 offered a copy of 48 leaves of the edition of 1558 for five thalers, although it was nicht ganz sauber; Albert Cohn, CVIII Catalog, containing part of AFH Schneider's library, Berlin 1875, p. 55 n° 837, offered a copy for marks 45.

In the Antwerp Index of 1570, in the Tertia Classis: Antithesis De praeclaris Christi, & indignis papae facinoribus. The same in Sandoval y Rojas Index 1612, Palermo reprint 1628, Prohib. p. 13.

Antithesis Christi et Antichristi, ... Recons aucta & recognita. [J. Crespin's anchor] Genevæ, apud Eusthatium Vignon. M. D. LXXVIII. With figures. P. 81 De praestantissimis Christi, et spveissimis Antichristi moribus Declaratio. Runs to p. 95. Octavo. BASLE Univ. STUTTGART Royal. FLORENCE Guicciardini — Albert Cohn in the just mentioned catalogue l. c. has, together with the edition of 1558 mit den 36 merkwürdigen Holzschn., the edition of 1578 Mit denselben Holzschnitten, the latter one (n° 838) priced marks 42. — Usóz says in the Preface to the Imagen of 1849 that Vignon published the Antithesis in 1578 en un vol. en 8vo de 79 pájinas, i no de 147 como asegura Brunet en su Manuel. But the copy which Usóz compared was incomplete. Gaullieur, Études sur la typographie Genevoise, Genève 1855, p. 144—145: .. Vignon qui imprima vers le même temps (1578), l'Antithesis Christi et Ante-Christi, qui contient des gravures sur bois d'un bon maitre (probablement le Petit Bernard), dont nous donnons deux specimens. With the note: Nous les devons à l'obligeance de M. J.-G. Fick, qui possède les bois originaux de plusieurs graveurs du seizième siècle.

Antithese des faicts de Jesvs Christ et dv pape: Mise en vers François ... reuen de nouveau [J. Crespin's anchor with two hands from clouds and a serpent] ... M. D. LXXXIII. With figures. P. 80 Description de l'image de l'Antechrist selon l'Ecriture sainte. Prose, beginning with a quotation from 1 Jean 29; ending p. 91, after quotation from Apocal. 17, with these words: que chacun le puisse bien cognoistre, afin de le pouoir fuir, & se garder de luy. Ainsi soit-il. Octavo. BERNE City.

In Sandoval y Rojas Index, Palermo reprint, Prohib. p. 14: Antithese des faicts de Iesus Christ & du Pape.

Antithese des faicts de Jesvs Christ et dv Pape: Mise en vers François ... Item la description de la vraye Image de l'Antechrist, avec la Genealogie ... Le tout augmenté & reuen de nouveau. × Imprimé à Rome l'An du grand Jubilé, M. DC. The figures which I compared, are identical with those of the Latin of 1578. L'image de l'Antechrist p. 80—91. Ends: Ainsi soit-il. Is essentially the Latin text of 1578. Octavo. BASLE Univ.

Joh. Wolfi J. C. lectionvm memorabilivm et reconditorvm tomvs secvndvs. Lauingæ 1600. Folio. P. 711: Antitheses de praeclaris Christi & indignis Antichristi facinoribus: hoc est, descriptio veri pastoris Christi et econtra mercenarii et Inpi. [Some Bible-verses]. a Simone Rosario circa hoc tempus editus est hic libellus [inserted in Wolf's collection under the year 1557] cum imaginibus sequentibus [Wolf's cuts are not those of 1557]. P. 748—751 De praeclarissimis Christi, & indignissimis Antichristi Moribus, viri fidelis declaratio. Second edition of the Lectiones, vol. 2, Hemipoli 1672. p. 712 f. Antithesis without cuts, p. 731—734 De praestantissimis &c. Both editions in STRASSBURG Univ. VIENNA Court.

Antithese de nostre seignevr Iesvs-Christ et du Pape de Rome, . . . Imprimé l'an de Grace M.D.CXIX. *Octavo. French verses without cuts. GENEVA City; on the title of the copy is noticed in handwriting: par François de Lancluse.*

T. 1 of the Catalogus librorum doctoris d. Joach. Gomez de la Cortina, march. de Morante. Matriti 1854. n° 232: Antithese de nostre Seigneur Jesus-Christ, et du Pape de Rome, trad. par François Lancluse. 1620. 12°. *with the reference: Boletín del Bibliófilo, serie III, núm. 1502. and the notice: A este ejemplar han unido dos figuras grotescas y ridículas contra Julio III. This copy is certainly the same which is registered in the auction catalogue of books from the marquis' library, Paris 1872, n° 146.*

German translation from the Latin:

Antithesis. | VOn des Herrn | Christi herrlichen thaten, vnd | des schentlichen Pabets vnd | Antichrists schedlichen schanden | vnd lastern. | Sambt einer beschreibung Gottes | gebot, vn des Gotlosen Pabets giftigen men- | schē satzungen, darausz ein Christ leichtlich verstehn | wirdt, wie felschlich sich der Pabst ein nachfol- | ger Christi nennet. Auch eines jeden des Herrn | Christi vnd des Pabsts sitten vnd leben, | wie es die heylig Schrift darthut, | kurzlich beschriben. | Ausz dem Latein allen Christen zu gut in | Teitsche sprach transferiert, vor | niemals teitsch im Truck | auszgangen. | Math. 5. | Man zündet nicht ein liecht an, vnd setzet es vnter | ein Scheffel, sunder auff einen Leichter, so leich- | tet es den allen die im hause sein. | *S. l. e. a. Octavo. Title black and red. Durant's preface to the reader is modified into a translator's preface, finishing A iij recto. The verso is paged: 1, where the first cut. All the cuts of the original are imitated well. End of the verses p. 144. Next page begins the translation of de moribus, which ends [L VII] recto. Two pages verses inscribed: Beschlus. Last page blank. VIENNA Court.*

II. *The cuts. In the French Image there are none (except the title-emblem). The three cuts of the Imagen are identical with three of the Antithesis of 1557; Imagen [A I] with cut 36 of Antithesis, Imagen [A VIII] with the two cuts of Antithesis XVII.*

Usóz says in the Preface to the Imagen of 1849, p. VI f.: La edicion del a. 1578 [of the Antithesis] tiene, como las anteriores [the two of 1557 and 1558], 36 láminas, o grabados en madera, i tres de estos grabados, son idénticos, a los que puso aquí Peñafuerte en su obra, en la cual son laminas, 1.ª 2.ª i 3.ª las que son 36.ª 34.ª i 33.ª en la edic. de Vignon. Como esta reimpression nuestra [of 1849], es copia fiel de la obra de Peñafuerte, en cuanto al testo; así lo es, en cuanto a los grabados. Moreover Usóz points to Lucas Cranach's figures in the Passional Christi vnd Antichristi with text by Martin Luther, and even to earlier producciones del Arte, alusivas al Antecristo. In fact, the representations of the two cuts at the end of the Imagen are most likely varied from the two last of Cranach's 26 drawings in that Passional. It is, however, certainly very much less probable that the three cuts of the Imagen were anterior to, than that they were borrowed from Durant's series. I, therefore, abstain from tracing the history of those representations before the Antithesis of 1557. I only state that the cuts of the Imagen are not found in two undated editions I know of Les faitz de Jesus Christ et du Pape. The initial cut of the Imagen is wanting entirely in those Faitz, and the two cuts, corresponding there to the other two of the Imagen, keep closer to Cranach than these. I know two editions of the Faitz. Les faitz de Jesus Christ i du Pape, par lesquelz chascun pourra facilement congnoistre la grande difference detre eulx: nouuellemēt

reueuz, corrigez, & augmētez . . . p le lecteur du saint Palais. *Title-cut.* Cum priuilegio Apostolico. *Folio verso:* Eusebius ad Lectorem in Antithesin Christi & Antichristi. Quam male convenient cum Christi pectore Jesu . . . *Colophon* [M 4] Imprime a Rome, au chasteau saint Ange. Cum priuilegio Apostolico. Fin. Gothic. Quarto. [COLMAR, Consistorial library]. *Text in prose with 32 cuts.* The first of the series is repeated on the title-page, and also another cut is used twice, F 2 and [G 4]. In the cut H 1 is read on a sac the German inscription vmb gelt ein sack vol ablasz, with French translation. From the circumstance that Clement VII is the last Pope against whom there is said something in the prefatory Epistre, one must conclude with probability that this was written during his reign. A reprint [St. GALL City libr.] in Roman letters with the same title (also nouvellement reueuz corrigez & augmentés) and with the same colophon has the identical 32 cuts, also the repetition of the one of them; the title-cut, however, is not the same with the first of the series, but has been imitated from it in a smaller form. The passage on pope Clement is found also here, without additions on later popes. Both editions are without the Genealogie and without Ochino's sermon. The theological Faculty of Paris censured in the catalogue of 1551 (d'Argentré t. 2, p. 176): Les faits de Jesus-Christ & du Pape, par les quels chacun pourra facilement connoitre la grande difference d'entre eux. The Supplément to the Manuel of Brunet, par Deschamps et G. Brunet, t. 1. 1878, col. 46. 47 has: Antithesis Christi et Papæ. Les Faictz de Jésus-Christ et du Pape, par lesquels chascun pourra facilement congnoistre la grāde différence de entre eulx: nouvellement reueuz, corrigez et augmentez selon la vérité de la sainte Escripture et des droicts canons par le lecteur du Saint Palais. (A la fin:) Imprimé à Rome par Clément de Medicis, au Chasteau Saint Ange. Cum priuilegio Apostolico, s. d. (Genève, 1530?), pet. in-fol., goth., avec 32 grandes grav. en bois. Ce vol. infiniment rare (nous n'en connaissons qu'un seul exempl.) est tout autre chose que l'Antithesis Christi et Antichristi (Voy. Brunet, vol. 1, col. 324). C'est une traduction non citée jusqu'ici d'une violente diatribe dont l'original latin est attribué à Martin Luther. This edition may be earlier than the two first described. The mention of Clément de Medicis in the colophon confirms my conclusion concerning the time.

III. The Generacion appended to the Spanish Imagen is not contained in any of the works of which we have treated except the Antithese, Rome 1600 (see above p. 108). Le livre de la generation du désolateur Antechrist fils du diable, p. 96 f. of that Antithese, is on the whole identical with the Spanish Generacion, which, however, at the end has some lines more than the French, and differs from this in some particulars. Perhaps both are derived from a Latin original. Where the French has amour de soy-mesme, the Spaniard has philaphtia viz. φιλαυτία. John T. Betts reminds me of some likeness between the Generacion and Francesco Negro's Libero arbitrio, 2^d ed. 1550.

IV. The Aviso I have not met with elsewhere. It refers to the cuts at the end.

REGINALDUS GONSALVIUS, MONTANUS.

In the year 1567 a Latin work upon the Spanish Inquisition appeared at Heidelberg. The preface treats of the origin of that so called Holy Office. Discussing the principle upon which that tribunal was founded, the writer says: true and saving faith will never be brought forth by violence, neither will heresies be extirpated by the death of heretics; the most appropriate means for both effects is the word of God.¹ The history of the Spanish Inquisition is, to the author's mind, a convincing proof of the baneful nature of such an institution. Possibly in former times the Aragonese might, he says, have been blamed for not receiving without tumult and bloodshed the Inquisition disguised with that beautiful and recent mask of sanctity, when it did not rave and rage against all, but only against Jews and Moors, and from plausible motives; at present, however, as during all these seventyfive years it never ceased to bring such fruits as we are describing here, it does indeed appear that they are not to be held to be wholly fools who strive, as they best may, to eject it out of their country. On the contrary, insanity it must be thought, if they would admit knowingly and willingly the wildest enemies of religion.² In the work itself the author relates the proceedings of the Inquisitors in detecting and arresting delinquents, in examining them and in extorting confessions, he exposes some other Inquisitorial practices, and at last describes the autos-de-fe. The instances produced in this treatise as also in an additional collection are taken from the period between 1557 or 58 and 1564,³ and especially from what took place in the jurisdiction of Seville, where the authors had, as

1) Fol. **I.

2) Last page of Preface. — Even Sleidanus in his Information to the Emperor, which was translated into Spanish by Juan Perez (see above here p. 67), had approved of the Inquisition proceeding against Christians who fell into Judaism (p. 162 of my edition, Spanish in *Rf. Esp.* t. 12, p. 74).

3) p. 175. According to Llor. c. XXVIII. art. I. § 7 (French 3, 29), also on p. 184 of the *Artes* the right date would be 1564 instead of 1563.

they say, experienced in their own persons the greater deal of the mysteries of the Holy Office.⁴ From this passage it is evident that more than one person worked at this treatise and the examples, interwoven and additional, and that at least one of them had not left Spain before 1564. An appendix gives some lives of Sevillian evangelical martyrs of 1559 and 1560. Here the writer shows himself as a very near friend of Juan Ponce de Leon⁵ who was burnt in 1559; he has seen Dr. Gil in the prison, he listened there to the history of his life, and he has read his apology;⁶ he is occupied with preparing for print some commentaries of Dr. Constantino,⁷ whose death was told him by the young monk who closed the eyes of that sufferer.⁸ One should suppose the writer to have been a witness of both those autos, and there is no reason to think him a different person from those who composed the preceding treatise and examples. The title of the book names as author: Reginaldus Gonsalvius Montanus, in which name the patronymic is Gonsalvius, in Spanish Gonzalez, the word Montanus referring to his native place.⁹ The notice on the authorship is in most copies

4) P. 174: *unius modo ex Inquisitoriis tribunalibus, nempe Hispalensis, sunt, cuius solius mysteria cognoscere, et maiori ex parte in se ipsis experiri traductoribus est datum.* The *traductores* are those by whom the *Inquisitionis artes* are, as the title-page says, *palam traductæ*, exposed to ignominy. Compare *traducere* p. 173. 205. The passage has not been understood by the French translator in the *Hist. des martyrs* 1582, fol. 494: *celuy de Seville, duquel les secrets mysteres ne sont bien cogneus que de ceux qui l'experimentent en leurs propres personnes*, nor by the Spanish: *del de Sevilla, del cual, unicamente fué dado al que esto escribe, conozer los misterios, i aun experimentarlos, en su mayor parte, en si mismo*, with the note: *El orij. está oscuro, i aun quizá haya errata*, nor is the correction *dado á los . . escriben and mismos, Rf. Esp. XIII, appdx p. 31*, sufficient; *traducere* is not simply *escribir*, it means: to hold up to contempt.

5) p. 200.

6) p. 272. 256 f. The words p. 272 *haud aliunde quam ex ipsius [Ægidii] ore, atque etiam in ipso carcere didicimus* do not necessarily imply that Gons. himself was incarcerated, as Llorente has interpreted them c. XVIII. art. I. § 8 and 16 (French 17).

7) p. 284.

8) p. 291.

9) The words REGINALDO GONSALVIO are thus printed in capitals, whilst of Montano only the initial letter is a capital. The prohibitory indices only speak of Reginaldus Gonsalvius, not adding Montanus. — Valera says in the *exhortacion* of his Bible fol. *3: *Benito Arias natural de Frexenal de la Sierra (y por esso se llama Montano, al qual yo conocí . .)*. Valera's explication of the name Montano has been contradicted by José Rodríguez de Castro, *Biblioteca Española*, t. 1, Madrid 1781,

placed so closely¹⁰ together with the lines concerning the appendix, that it seems to refer exclusively to this, not to the preceding two articles of the title; one copy, however, is known in which it is separated from all three paragraphs by a verse of the psalms, so that one must think Gonzalez the author of the whole book. Such a general meaning is not contradicted by the fact that several hands contributed to the work. For doubtless the redaction has been performed by one person. The whole book from beginning to end is written in the same Latin style. Most likely the editor, who certainly was a Spaniard, has translated from Spanish¹¹ the materials

p. 660: *Fue hijo de Benito Arias Montano, Notario ó Escribano. No se llamaba Montano con alusion á las sierras ó montes en que está situado Frexenal, como dice Valera*; and also by the biographer of Benito Arias the theologian, in t. 7 of the *Memorias de la acad. de la hist.* Nevertheless one should think that Valera must have known it better; he may have meant: B. A. M. called himself Montano on account of those Estremadura mountains, as his father had already done. At all events, Valera took the name Montano as indicative of place, and so he furnishes a parallel for Regin. Gonsalvius, Montanus. Of course, the mountains might be others than in the case of Arias. Montano might also mean *montañés*, such as was Antonio del Corro by origin.

10) closer still than in the reproduction added to the reprint of 1857.

11) Joachim Ursinus or Beringer says in the preface to his edition of this book in German, that it was written in the Spanish language by a pious and distinguished man, Reginaldus Gonsalvius who had observed with his own eyes and had been informed by trustworthy witnesses. Quoted by Usóz *Rf. Esp.* XIII, appd. p. 13, Wiffen p. XI in the Preface to Betts' translation of Constantino's Confession. It must be this passage, of which Rahlenbeck, *Bulletin du bibliophile belge*, 1865, t. XXI, p. 159 has made *la déclaration de Joachim Beringer dit Ursinus, qui dit avoir vu le manuscrit espagnol*; Ursinus does not say any such a thing. The combination of Usóz, *Rf. Esp.* V, appdx. p. 14, according to which Ursinus was at Heidelberg when the *Artes* were printing, is erroneous. this Joachim Ursinus not being a son of Zacharia Ursinus, but of Salmuth, a Protestant Superintendent at Leipzig, who died in 1576, see Adelung's continuation of Jöcher's *Gelehrten-Lexicon*, vol. 1. 1784, col. 1725, cf. Jöcher vol. 4. 1751, col. 69 f. As Ursinus gives extracts of letters from Spain on the first Valladolid auto, Usóz thought it most natural to suppose that he was a personal friend of Gonzalez; but those extracts and the whole article on that auto are simply translated from the German *Martyrbuch* of Crocius 1606, who translated it from the Geneva martyrology, which French text is founded on a German separate publication of 1559. The above passage of this Ursinus, written more than forty years after the publication of the *Artes*, has no authority. The bookseller's dedication, dated March 28. 1569, of the German translation published by him in this year in Heidelberg, where the Latin *Artes* had appeared two years before, only says that a faithful servant of God had been moved to write that book in the Latin language. — Nor is it probable that he who wrote the book in Latin had first

furnished him by a friend or some friends, and has made additions from his own knowledge and experience.

We cannot connect the name Reginaldus Gonsalvius Montanus, with any facts upon record, except what is concluded, concerning his person, from his book. In the Antwerp Index 1570 he is placed among the uncertain authors. Only Llorente, who calls him Reinaldo (and by inadvertence: Raimundo and Ramon) Gonzalez de Montes, says, that he escaped from the prisons of the Holy Office of Seville in 1558 and was burnt in effigy as a Lutheran, but he does not say when;¹² and Adolfo de Castro calls Reinaldo Gonzalez de Montes a Sevillian, and mentions that he fled from the prison in 1558, and went to London and from there to Germany.¹³ Neither of these authors gives an authority for his statements. I cannot help thinking Llorente's and de Castro's statements mere suppositions without any other foundation than the book in question.

Nor do I doubt that that name on the title is a pseudonym. Perhaps it alludes to several persons.

The hope to solve the riddle of the authorship of this important work, and so to discover, in the cooperators, evangelical Spaniards hitherto unknown, or to enliven some traditional bare name with the merit of contribution to the *Artes*, or to recognize good old friends disguised, is not yet to be given up.

The secretary and historian of the Inquisition declares this book trustworthy where party-spirit did not blind the author.¹⁴ On the evangelical movement in Seville at that time, this series of biographies is an unexceptionable witness, and of unique instructiveness for many details.

written it in Spanish. The supposition, however, of Spanish materials seems to be highly commendable in order to explain the sameness of the Latin style of a book composed materially by several persons. For it seems he got written contributions and not oral ones only. — Did Cipriano de Valera take from a Spanish paper, not exhausted by Gonsalvius, what we have (above p. 7) seen him adding to Gonsalvius in Dr. Gil's life?

12) Llorente c. XIV. art. II. § 21, c. XVIII. art. I. § 8 *Raimundo*, (French 2, 23. 4, 321. 475 *Raymond*, 2, 139 *Raynald*); c. XLVII under the year 1567: *Ramon*; c. XXI. art. I. § 4 *Reynaldo* (Fr. *Reynald*), c. XXVIII. art. I. § 7 *Reinaldo*.

13) *Hist.* p. 307 f.

14) Llorente c. XXI. art. I. § 4; French 2, 256 f. — De Thou mentions *Gonsalvus Montanus* among the *auctores* he used for book 23 of his *Historiæ*; in the

relation of the Seville auto of 1559 he evidently follows the *Artes*. — Limborch *Historia Inquisitionis*. Amstelodami 1692. In the *Præfatio*: *Credidi hac ratione me maxime inscrivere publico, si ostendum, quale, testibus ipsis Pontificiis ac Inquisitoribus, tribunal Inquisitionis sit. Unicus inter omnes autores est Reginaldus Gonsalvius Montanus, quem Reformatum fuisse liquet, et, quantum ex libelli ipsius lectione colligere licet, ex illorum numero unum, qui circa obitum Cæsaris Caroli V. Hispali detectis in Ecclesiâ Romanâ gravibus erroribus ac superstitionibus, Ecclesiam Deum purius colentium instituerunt: Quæ sævissimâ illâ Inquisitione, cujus Actus Fidei anno quinquagesimo nono superioris sæculi Hispali et Pinciæ habiti sunt, dissipata est. Verum ex illo autore vix quicquam habeo, quin idem ab aliis autoribus affirmetur: solummodo varia suppeditat exempla, quibus quæ alii de Inquisitione, illius legibus, et procedendi ratione scribunt, egregie illustrantur*. According to Usó, *Artes* 1857, appd. p. 31, Limborch would have said that Gonsalvius had been a Dominican friar; I cannot find such a statement.

15) Usó, who in 1851 in the *Tabla of the Spanish translation of the Artes*, only said that the author might be a monk of S. Isidro, thinks in the appendix to his edition of the *Latin* 1857, p. 10. 31, that possibly two monks of that monastery composed the book, one writing it in Spanish, another translating it, the former perhaps being *Zafra*, the latter perhaps *Reina*.

Charles Rahlenbeck in the *Bulletin du bibliophile belge*, Bruxelles 1865, t. XXI, p. 157 f.: il est probable que l'auteur lui-même était luthérien et habitait Francfort, où l'on comptait un certain nombre d'Espagnols qui y étaient venus de Paris, de Londres et de Genève. Si Montanus n'avait pas été le pseudonyme de l'un d'eux, nous aurions rencontré ce nom là. Mais nous n'avons pas été plus heureux que tant d'autres, et nous nous garderons bien de trancher la question aussi cavalièrement que l'a fait tout récemment M. Guardia dans la *Revue germanique* (vol. XVII, p. 543). Cet écrivain, qui prépare en ce moment une histoire de la réforme en Espagne, nous dit que l'on s'accorde généralement pour prendre pour un pseudonyme le nom de Réginald Gonsalve de Montès, et que le véritable auteur de l'histoire de l'inquisition imprimée à Heidelberg en 1567 était sans doute Francisco de Zafara, ancien curé à Séville, qui est bien connu pour s'être échappé à l'étranger après avoir été dans les cachots de l'inquisition le compagnon de captivité de Juan Gil.*) C'est possible, mais nous dirons à M. Guardia, comme à Llorente et à Adolfo de Castro: donnez-nous des preuves à l'appui de votre assertion. Nous connaissons aussi cet ancien curé de Séville, que Crespín d'Arras appelle *Cafra*,**) cependant nous aurions peine à croire qu'après avoir pris à l'étranger le nom de guerre que lui accorde M. Guardia, il se soit mis à écrire son propre éloge pour mieux dérouter les soupçons. Les bannis espagnols étaient généralement plus courageux et plus dignes que cela. Nous avons demandé à nos amis de l'étranger des renseignements, nous avons cherché nous-mêmes avec patience dans la poussière des bibliothèques et des archives un Montanus et un Zafara et nous n'avons rien rencontré. Deux bannis espagnols, dont on sait trop peu de chose, méritent peut-être d'être considérés comme des candidats sérieux au pseudonyme de Montanus. L'un d'eux, Jean Morell ou Murellius, avait obtenu à Francfort

*) Compare, however, our note 6.

**) See *Histoire des martyrs* 1582, fol. 484 verso. This is taken from *Artes* p. 49 f., where the person is called *Zafra*. Compare Skinner's appendix to his translation, and Llorente c. XXI. art. I. § 4. *Cafra* was burned in effigy in Sept. 1559.

le droit de bourgeoisie et y remplissait depuis 1562 les fonctions de ministre de la colonie franco-belge;*) l'autre, Pierre Ximenès, y vient aussi; il avait été longtemps l'agent de Marco Perez, un banquier espagnol établi à Anvers, et nous trouvons sur son compte la note suivante dans la correspondance du magistrat d'Anvers avec Marguerite de Parme: „Quant à maistre Pierre Ximenès, espagnol, logié icy chez Marco Perez, il est après pour faire imprimer un livre contre les trop rigoureuses poines à l'endroit des sectaires.“ (Lettre du 2 décembre 1566. Arch. du Roy^{me}. Conseil des Troubles v. XI.) On ne saurait dire plus clairement, ce nous semble, qu'il s'agit là d'un traité contre l'inquisition. Fut-il mis en vente? Nous croyons pouvoir affirmer le contraire par la bonne raison que, peu de semaines après le susdit avis, l'autorité du roi Philippe d'Espagne fut rétablie à Anvers et les protestants chassés. Il se pourrait que Pedro Ximenès, de même que Jean Morell, fût originaire de quelque bourgade espagnole perdue dans ces montagnes dont leur belle patrie est hérissée, et qu'aussi bien qu'à Benito Arias, cité par Cyprien de Valéra, le droit leur appartint de prendre le pseudonyme latin de Montanus. . . . M. Usoz y Rio, de Madrid, dit dans les notes qu'il a ajoutées à sa réimpression toute récente de l'édition latine de 1567, que Montanus pourrait se rapporter à Cassiodore de Reyna réfugié alors à Francfort sur le Mein, et qui était originaire de Reyna, dans les Sierras de l'Estremadure; mais nous savons que Cassiodore n'avait aucun droit à la qualification de montagnard, étant né à Séville, comme il nous l'apprend lui-même.

Reina mentions the questionable book in a letter, discovered in 1879, written from Strassburg 27 September 1567 to a Spanish friend at Paris; he says: „The mysteries of the Inquisition are printed in Latin, I think they will see them there“ [viz. at Paris]. It is clear that from this mention of a new publication follows as little that he had had anything to do with that work as that he had not had. — On 10 June 1567 Oporinus writes to Hubert at Strassburg (I shall print the uncited passage among the Documents in the article on Reina), he wished to know whether the little work of Reina (whom he supposes to be at Strassburg) on the Spanish Inquisition in Belgium, was burnt, or, if not, whether Reina did not intend to get it printed, perhaps with an additional report on the horrible things which had occurred since. In the Artes &c. Belgium is touched upon only incidentally (p. 225. 226). — It is possible that Reina when writing in 1573 (in the dedication of his work on St. John's Gospel): Hinc (from the necessity of gaining his livelihood) factum est ut nonnulla scripta quæ usui ecclesiæ esse possent, tum mea, tum etiam aliena, cæterum fidei meæ commissa, apud me diutius delitescant, is meaning some works of Dr. Gil of which the Appendix of the Artes says (p. 273): ut singulares quædam ecclesiæ delitiæ in ipsius usum a fidis viris asservantur, or certain explications of Holy Scripture by Constantino, quas cum vulgaverimus, de summa viri eruditione certius judicari poterit, as is said in the same appendix (p. 284). But Reina might have got such writings after the publication of the Artes. It is perhaps more probable that he does not at all hint at Gil and Constantino, but that these writings entrusted to his care were some for the printing of which Juan Perez had left money (see above p. 70).

Wiffen, Preface to Betts' translation of Constantino's Confession of a sinner, 1869, p. Vf., supposed that Regin. Gonsalvius Montanus was the Inquisitor of

*) Joh. Murellus, D. Theol., and Ludov. Castellio are mentioned as Spaniards and as seniors of the Reformed church at Frankfort o. M. who were dissatisfied with Valerandus Polanus. Lehmann, von der Kirche in Antorff, Frkf. o. M. 1725, p. 124, from Lersner's Frankfort Chronicle. Compare here above p. 65.

whom Corranus speaks in a letter published in 1567. But that Inquisitor is certainly the Inquisitor Corranus of whom we read in the *Artes* p. 268, and this Corranus of the *Artes* is, as Usóz observed *Rf. Esp. t. 13, appd. p. 35*, Antonio del Corro. He died, aged 84 year, in 1556 at Seville, remaining Inquisitor to his end, and was eulogized by an epitaph still extant (see *Menendez* 482); he could not mention the Sevillian auto of 1559 (*Artes* p. 82). One rather could ask whether his relation, the fugitive *Ant. del Corro*, did not contribute to the Heidelberg publication, as he says in his letter of 1567 to the king of Spain, that he read the apology of Dr. Gil, written for the Inquisitors and of course accessible only to few persons, which the author of the appendix of the *Artes* likewise says he read. At all events, Corro, who already in 1558 was a fugitive from Spain, is not to be identified with that contributor to the *Artes* who appears to have remained there some years longer.

That the author was a professor at Heidelberg, is an untenable statement of the *Ticknor Catalogue*, Boston 1879, p. 184. He who started this opinion, probably thought of Zacharia Ursinus who in fact was at that time professor at Heidelberg, and whom Usóz erroneously (see our note 11) thought the father of that Ursinus-Beringer who reedited the Latin *Artes* and a German translation of them.

In the *Antwerp Index* 1570, p. 61 among *Primæ Classis auctores*: Gonsalinus Regnaldus (which means our Reginaldus Gonsalvius). *Sanctæ Inquisitionis Hispanicæ artes* are prohibited there p. 70 in the *Tertia Classis*, the class of uncertain authors. The *Index Sandoval y Rojas*, Madrid 1612, reprint Palermo 1628, has Gonsalvus Reginaldus in the *Index auctorum damnatorum primæ classis a cognominibus incipiens*.

On the title - copies compare: *Zur Bibliographie des Buches: „Sanctæ Inquisitionis Hispanicæ Artes aliquot detectæ ac palam traductæ.“* Von Dr. F. L. Hoffmann in Hamburg. in the *Serapeum*. hrsg. v. Rob. Naumann. Leipzig. 1866. N° 11. 15 Juni. p. 161—170. Octavo. The article concerns ten publications. Hoffmann says in general that he used the copies of the City library at Hamburg and of the Ducal library at Wolfenbüttel. My notices below on the respective possessions of both or either are taken from letters of the two librarians. Hoffmann's descriptions are in some particulars more minute than mine.

Latin.

278. 1567. First edition.

Sanctæ | inqvisitio- | nis Hispanicæ artes ali- | quot detectæ, ac
palam traductæ. | Exempla aliquot, prae- | ter ea quę suo quęq; loco
in ipso opere spar | sa sunt, seorsum reposita, in quibus easdem |
Inquisitorias artes veluti in tabulis | quibusdam in ipso porro exer- |
citio intueri licet. | Addidimus appendicis vice | piorum quorundam
martyrum Christi elogia, qui | cum mortis supplicii ob fidei confessio-
nem Christia- | na constantia tulerint, Inquisitores eos suis ar- | tibus
perfidie ac defectionis infamarint. | Reginaldo Gonsalvio | Montano

authore. | * * | Exurge Deus, iudica causam tuam Psal. 74. | Heidelbergæ | M. D. LXVII. | Colophon: Heydelbergæ excudebat Michael | Schirat, M. D. LXVII. | On the last page an emblem with inscription: ferrvm ferro acvitvr. | *Small octavo.*

After the title leaf, *Rerum capita quæ in primi libelli huius parte continentur*, one page. *Præfatio* 14 leaves, two blank leaves. The work p. 1—297. The second part *Exempla* begins with p. 173, the Appendix of which the title speaks, begins with p. 198 and runs to the end of the book.

ERLANGEN Univ. FRANKFORT o. M. City. HALLE o. S. Orphan-house. ULM City. VIENNA Court. ZURICH City.

In a copy of this edition which from J. Mendham's collection went in possession of Wiffen, the quotation on the title: *Exurge Deus, iudica causam tuam Psal. 74.* is not placed under the three stars, but immediately above the name Reginaldo Gonsalvio; the word *supplicium* is written out with m; and Heidelbergæ has æ, not æ. Compare the statement *Ref. Esp. vol. V, p. VIII. IX.*

As well vol. V. as vol. XIII. of the *Reformistas antiguos españoles* (our nos 321 and 280) gives two typographical facsimiles, each on a whole page, one facsimile of the title of the Mendham copy, the second facsimile representing the different title of other copies. But neither the two Mendham copy facsimiles agree with each other, nor is the one facsimile of the other copies congruent to the other facsimile of the same. Vol. V. in both facsimiles l. 6 quæq, vol. XIII in both quæque. The words from *piorum* unto *infamarint* (both these words included) in both facsimiles of vol. V. in four lines, of vol. XIII. in five. And in these same four or five lines each of the four similes, or rather dissimiles, has its own way of misprinting. L. 6 all four have quæ, which is an error, perhaps also as for the Mendham copy, certainly for the others.

Hoffmann places a comma in the colophon before *excudebat*, and writes *ferrvm* in the device with u.

In the paging in my complete copy, for 32 is misprinted 23; for 49 is misprinted 50, and this fault has had the consequence that the following numbers are wrong, so that instead of 64 is printed 65, but, this number being repeated in its proper place, the following are in order; 90 and 94 are at the right hand of the column-title; for 96 is read 16; 110. 138. 158 are right hand of the column-title; numbers 167 and 203 on the left side of the column-title; instead of 175 is printed 185, but 176 f. are in order; instead of 233: 823. All these mistakes likewise in an incomplete copy I possess (wanting title, index and p. 289—90. 293—96). The same in the Vienna Court copy; except that 233 is right, not inverted.

My complete copy has p. 54 (properly 53), line 4. 5: *agen | tis*, my incomplete copy and the Vienna copy have *agen | ti is*, and so (only *agen- | ti is*) has the reprint of Usóz who has put a hand at the margin. The preface to the Spanish translation p. IX says that one copy has *agentis* and another *agenti is*. In Hoffmann's description of the book, we read that the copy in the Hamburg city library has *agen | tiis*. Besides, in the Vienna copy and in my incomplete one, on the same page 54, line 14, the r of the word *reus* is lost. Nevertheless the page with this variety is evidently of one identical composition.

Charles Ruhlbeck, in the *Bulletin du bibliophile belge*, Bruxelles 1865, t. XXI, p. 157, finding it extraordinary that the Dutch translation of the Artes

Inquisitionis, which has a preface of Petrus Dathenus, who according to Rahlenbeck was living at that time at Heidelberg, has not been made from the original published a year ago in this town, but from the French translation, says: Ce qui servirait peut-être à expliquer ce fait, c'est que Michel Schirat, l'imprimeur de l'édition latine de 1567, n'aura sans doute jamais fait rouler ses presses ailleurs qu'à Francfort sur le Mein, où il avait droit de bourgeoisie, mais qu'il avait été conduit à indiquer un faux lieu d'impression par suite des précautions que le sénat de la ville libre de Francfort jugeait à propos de prendre. En outre il est probable que l'auteur lui-même était luthérien et habitait Francfort, où l'on comptait un certain nombre d'Espagnols. Hoffmann observes that in Schwetschke's Codex nundinarius Schirat is not once named at Frankfurt, once 1575 at Heidelberg. I must leave the Schirat question unsettled.

Llorente Hist. de la Inq. C. XIV. Art. II. § 21: Obra ya muy rara. The Artes of Gonsalvius, Hdlb. 1567, Édition originale, presque introuvable, in the Auction Catalogue of books from the bibliothèque de feu M. le marquis de Morante, Paris 1872, n° 123. In 1882, T. O. Weigel at Leipzig offered a copy [which had the psalm-verse below the stars] for marks 16. 50, Verzeichniss, Neue Folge, No. 4, p. 39.

Reginaldi Gonsalvi Detectio & traductio artium Hispanicæ inquisitionis, & exempla quædam seorsum reposita, in quibus easdem artes inquisitorias velut in tabulis intueri licet. Addita sunt piorum aliquot martyrum Elogia. Heidelb. 1567. A. in 8. From Nic. Bassæi Collectio in unum corpus 1592, part 1, p. 80.

Raym. Gonsalvi Montani Inquisitionis Hispanicæ artes detectæ, Heidelb. 1576. In: Catalogus Rariorum . . . Librorum . . . collectorum a . . . Joh. Henr. Eggelingio . . . Bremæ . . . 1713. Octavo. P. 91, N° 281 among octavo-volumes. The year 1576 in this Catalogus is certainly a misprint for 1567.

279. 1611. Second edition.

Hispanicæ inqui- | sitionis & carnificinæ | secretiora. | Ubi, præter
illius origi- | nem; processus tyranni- | cus, in Fidelium religionis |
reformatæ confessorum, | Comprehensione: | Bonorum Sequestratione: |
Audientiis varii generis: | Testium publicatione, & confutatione: |
Artibus inquirendi aliis, etiam Secretioribus: | Captivorum victu, &
reliquis vitæ subsidiis: | Carcerum visitatione: | Sententiarum deniq;
publicatione & interpretatio- | ne, describitur. | Exemplis illustrioribus
tum Martyrum, tum Articulo- | rum & Regularum Inquisitoriarū, in
fine adjectis. | Per | Joachimum Ursinum, Anti-Jesuitam, | de Jesuitis,
qvi inqvisitio- | nem Hispanicam in Germaniam & Bohemi- | am
vicinam introducere moliantur, | præfantem. | × | Ambergæ, | Apud
Johannem Schönfeldium. | MDCXI. |

Octavo. Title with the contents on the reverse. The preface by Ursinus 11 unnumbered leaves; on the tenth: testem produco Reginaldum Gonsalvium Montanum, Hispanum, partem maximam libelli (quem iterum in lucem producimus, non tamen sine fœnore,) autorem. Then Exemplum Literarum Gerardi Busdragi in Episcopatu

PataVino Suffraganei ad Franc. Cardin. Pisanum 1558. p. 1—10. *Preface and work of Gons.* p. 11—270. P. 270: Quæ hactenus commemoravimus, ea omnia ex Reginaldo Gonsalva deprompta sunt. Quæ autem deinceps sequuntur, aliunde autor desumsit. *For the contents of p. 271—334, where Finis, see the Spanish translation of the Artes, appd. p. 12—14, and compare above here p. 115.*

GETTINGEN Univ. HALLE o. S., St. Mary's libr. WOLFENBÜTTEL Ducal. B—r.

Usóz, Spanish translation of the Artes, p. X: Ursino, dividió en párrafos el texto (division que he adoptado), enmendó algunas erratas, i nada suprimió, ni alteró, de la Ed. orijinal.

Dan. Gerdesius in Miscellanea Groningana, t. III, fasc. 1, Groningæ 1740, p. 116: inter rarissimos libros recenseri meretur, quique in instructissimis quoque bibliothecis vix reperitur. *Usóz i Rio, Spanish translation of the Artes, p. X:* hoi, es tan rara, sinó mas, la reimpresion hecha en Amberga el año de 1611 como la Edizion orijinal de Heidelberg de a. 1567. Catalogue de livres rares et curieux en vente à la librairie Bachelin-Deflorenne. Paris 1872. n° 2424. a copy, demi-rel. (Aux armes de Morante.) offered for 15 francs.

280. 1857. *Third edition.*

Inquisitionis hispanicæ | artes aliquot jam olim detectæ | á Reginaldo Gonsalvio Montano hispano. | Et | quod auctor exegit foris monumentum, | nunc primum in Hispania | quidam omnigenæ libertatis christianæ studiosus | accuratissime edit. | En testem produco Reginaldum | Gonsalvium Montanum, Hispanum, | partem maximam libelli (quem ite- | rum in lucem producimus, non ta- | men sine fœnore) autorem. Hic | igitur prodeat, et artes Inquisito- | rum secretiores nobis exponat. Quas | qui legerit, mirum, ni in lacrymas | protinus resolvatur! mirum, ni pro- | tinus obstupescat! | (Joach. Ursino in Præfat.) | «Obdurescat ergo, humanitatisque | teneritudinem tantisper deponat ne- | cesse est humanum cor, si quæ se- | quuntur siccis oculis audire velit.» | (Montanus pág. 63.) | Matriti. In AEdibus Letitiæ | opus mœstissimum excusum. | A. D. MDCCCLVII. | *Octavo.* *Fore-title:* Reformistas antiguos españoles. | Tomo XIII. *On the reverse list of 12 Obras ya reimpresas. Follows title as above reproduced. The two ancient Latin titles, each one leaf. Rerum capita one leaf. Author's Præfatio 14 leaves. Two leaves blank. The work p. 1—297, reprinted page for page, as is the Præfatio. Erratas two leaves. Notes by the editor [Usóz] in Spanish p. 1—48. Erratas and Notas one leaf.*

VIENNA Court. B—r.

*The Errata are incomplete. There are left uncorrected as well errors of the ancient edition (for instance p. 12, 5 quaque; 24, 12 a. i. ab; 50, 3 a. i. deliciis for deliriis; 102, 8 a. i. persuasserunt; 134 ult. splendissimum; 186, 11 Zelotypyæ) as also new errors of this reprint (for instance: **111^b, l. 5 quantus, l. 5 a. i. thelogos; p. 16, 7 cædunt; 102, 6 a. i. sevissima; 262, 3 oburgabat).*

281. 1603. *Abridged.*

De | Inquisitione | Hispanica, | Oratiunculæ septem | Ex narra-
tionibus | Reginaldi Con- | salvi Montani | ante XXVIII annos |
divulgatis collectæ, et | publicè in Auditorio Philosophi- | co recitatæ
Haidelbergæ. | Epigramma. | Inquisitio quid sit Iberica, quidve Papa-
tus, | Si nescis, chartas has lege, certus eris. | × | Haidelbergæ |
Typis Voegelinianis. | CIO IO CIII |

Small octavo and 164 pages.

After the title-leaf one leaf Epigramma Simonis Stenii Lomacensis ad Illustres Belgii ordines, & fortissimum Copiarum militarium ductorem Mauricium comitem Nassovium &c. *Then the orations p. 1 f. The first begins:* Quia series annorum in historiarum expositione deduxit nos ad id tempus quo Hispanica inquisitio & introducta & confirmata fuit, non ingratum me facturum arbitror adolescentibus, si oratiunculis aliquot carnificinæ illius execrabilis & inauditæ sævitiam aliquo modo demonstravero . . P. 160: Absolvimus adolescentes optimi σύννομον carnificinæ Hispanicæ . . P. 161: Concludo igitur Epigrammatibus. *These in Latin and Greek, end p. 164, where still Errata.*

GEETTINGEN Univ. VIENNA Court.

An error committed in the abridgment is noticed by Usóz, appd. to the Spanish Artes p. 72.

Simon Stenius, born in 1540 at Lommatsch in Misnia, was Professor at Heidelberg. The above volume is registered among his writings in Zedler's Universal-Lexicon (1744).

282. 1755. *Only the Exempla.*

Reginaldi Gonsalvi | relatio | De martyribus | Protestantium in
Hispania. |

In Scrinium antiquarium. | Sive | miscellanea | Groningana || Tomi IV. pars II. || × | Groningæ & Bremæ ||| A. 1755. | *Quarto. Page 581 (misnumbered 681) the above title. On the same page and the six following an introduction. P. 587 (misnumbered 687) to 662 the text, being the Exempla from p. 173 to the end of p. 297. of the Artes of 1567. With some few annotations of the new editor, Daniel Gerdesius. The inscription of p. 198 of the old edition has been placed by him after what is read there on p. 198 and 199, immediately before Joannes Pontius, and has been changed thus: Relatio ipsa continens piorum quorundam martyrum Hispaniæ Elogia.*

HALLE Univ. B—r.

Translations.**English.**283. 1568. *First edition.*

A discovery | and playne Declaration of | sundry subtile practises
of the | holy inquisition | of Spayne. | Certaine speciall examples set
aparte by | them selues, besides other that are here | and there

dispersed in their most conueni- | ent places, wherein a man may see
 the for- | said practises of the Inquisition, as they be | practised
 and exercised, very liuely des- | cribed. Set forth in Latine, by
 Re- | ginaldus Gonsaluius Montanus, | and newly Tran- | slated: |
 Psalm. 74. | Arise O Lord, and iudge thine owne cause. | Imprinted
 at London, by | Jhon Day, dwelling ouer Aldersgate, | beneath
 S. Martines. | And are to be solde at his shop | vnder the gate. | 1568. |
*This title in a border of metal flowers; the first i haue observed to be used in
 forming a compartment, as W. Herbert says (Typogr. Antiquities by Ames, augmented
 by Herbert, vol. 1. London 1785, p. 643. The same in Dibdin's edition, vol. IV.
 1819). On the reverse contents. Title, prefaces of the translator and of the author,
 faulces, 12 leaves. Text fol. 1—99, on the whole Gothic. Colophon under a device:
 Imprinted at | London by John Day, | dwelling ouer Aldersgate be- | neath Saint
 Martines. | Cum gratia & priuilegio | Regiae Maiestatis. | Quarto.*

*GÆTTINGEN Univ. Wiffen's copy in OXFORD, Wadham college. In
 the BODLEIAN copy the first sheet with the title is wanting.*

*The Stationers' license for printing a Discovery and playne Declaration of
 sundry pollyces practysed in the Spanyshe inquesision was given to master Daye
 in summer 1568 (Arber 1, 364).*

284. 1569. *Second edition.*

A Discovery | and playne Declaration of | sundry subtyll practises
 of the | holy inquisition | of Spayne. | Certaine speciall examples set
 aparte by | themselues, besides other that are here | and there
 dispersed in their most conueni- | ent places, wherein a man may
 see the for- | said practises of the Inquisition, as they be | practised
 and exercised, very liuely des- | cribed. Set forth in Latine, by
 Re- | ginaldus Gonsaluius Montanus, | and lately Tran- | slated. |
 Psalm. 74. Arise O Lord, and iudge thine owne cause. | Imprinted
 at London by | John Day, dwelling ouer Aldersgate, | beneath
 S. Martines. | And are to be solde at his shop | vnder the gate. |
 1569. |

*The title is inclosed in a figured border. Title-leaf, Dedication by the
 translator V. Skinner to Mathew Archbyshop of Caunterbury, translatour to the reader,
 table, one blank leaf, author's preface, total 16 leaves. Text 99 numbered leaves.
 Registers, faulces, John Day's emblem on fol. 99 verso and on 5 leaves. Colophon
 under the device: Imprinted at London by John Daye | dwelling ouer Aldersgate
 beneath | S. Martyns. | Cum gratia & Priuilegio Regiae Maiestatis | per decennium. | × |
 Quarto.*

*Typographical antiquities by Ames, augmented by Herbert, vol. I, London 1785,
 p. 645 after speaking of the dedication: The rest page for page as the former
 edition, but the errors thereof corrected; and at the end are added Registers of such*

persons as were burned at Seville in 1559, 1560, 1563. Also, of such as were executed, or otherwise punished at Valladolid, in 1559. After these «A declaration by Alphabet of the particularities containd in the figure following»: a wood-cut of «The solemne procession» &c. of which my copy has only a fragment left. Lastly Day's device of the resurrection, and colophon. . . W. H[erbert]. *The same in Dibdin's edition vol. IV.*

Wiffen's copy in Wadham college, OXFORD.

285. 1625. *Third edition.*

A | fvll, ample and | pvnetvall disco- | very of the Barbarous,
Bloudy, | and inhumane practises of the | Spanish Inquisition, |
against Protestants: | With the originall thereof. | Manifested in their
proceedings against | sundry particular persons, aswell English | as
others, upon whom they have | executed their Diabolicall | Tyrannie. |
A Worke fit for these times, serving to with- | draw the affections
of all good Christians from | that Religion, which cannot be main-
tayned | without those Props of Hell. | First written in Latin by
Reginaldus Gonsalvius | Montanus, and after translated into English. |
Psal. 74. | Arise O Lord, and judge thine owne cause. | London, |
Printed for John Bellamy, and are to be sold at the three | golden
Lions in Corne-hill, neere the Royall | Exchange. 1625. |

Quarto. Title in black and red. Title, Index, Translator Vincent Skinner to the reader, Author's preface 16 leaves. The work p. 1—198.

BODLEIAN. Wiffen's copy in OXFORD, Wadham college (title wanting, imitated).

On Nov. 6. 1624 the London Stationers licensed Benjamin Fisher The Spanishe inquisition (Arber 4, 127), which was transferred to Master Young on March 27. 1637 (ib. p. 377. In 1638 Nov. 29 and Dec. 4. The history of the Inquisition by Paul Servita, translated into English. Ib. p. 446).

French.

286. 1568.

Histoire | de l'invisi- | tion d'Espagne. | Exposee par exemples
pour estre mieux en- | tendue en ces derniers temps. | > | Pseavme 14. |
Tous ceux qui sont ouriers d'iniquité, n'ont-ils | point cognoissance
qu'ils mangent mon peu- | ple, comme s'ils mangeoyët du pain? &c. |
Esaie chap. 59. vers. 6. 7. | Oeuure violëte est en leurs mains: leurs
pieds cou- | rent pour nuire, & se hastent pour espandre | le sang
innoent: leurs pensées sont pensees | iniques, fourragement & degast
est en leurs | voyes. 8. Ils ne cognoissent point la voye de | paix:

& n'y a point de jugement en leurs | trains. | 15. Celuy qui est retiré du mal, a esté exposé au | pillage. | M. D. LXVIII. |

Follow 5 leaves Sommaire, 2 leaves preface, the work p. 1—255. Octavo.

Last leaf would be r. VIII.

FRANKFORT o. M. city. ZURICH City.

Hoffmann's description of the WOLFENBÜTTEL copy has line 5 deniers. Is derniers a mistake of mine?

A copy belonging to the antiquarian Butsch at Augsburg which I examined in 1875 (afterwards bought by the STRASSBURG University library?) had iugement and qui s'est, 5th and 3^d line from the end. In a copy in possession of Professor Charles Schmidt at Strassburg, likewise iugement, but in the last mentioned place only est, not s'est. The title-leaf is in both these copies an integral part of the first sheet, and the rest of my above description is valid for both.

In Bachelin-Deflorenne's Catalogue de livres rares, Paris 1872, p. 78, n° 1032: Très-bel exemplaire de ce livre rarissime qui paraît avoir été imprimé à Genève, offered for 85 francs. This certainly was the copy of the marquis Morante, registered, with this same notice Très-b. ex. &c., under n° 1516 of the auction catalogue of part of his books, Paris, Bachelin-Deflorenne 1872. In Quaritch's catalogue, London 1874, n° 38, p. 57: fine copy, dark morocco, gilt edges, by Duru, very rare, £ 2. 2s. It is probably the same copy which with this description (to which is added: from the library of the Ven. Archdeacon Robinson, Master of the Temple) and for the same price, appears in Quaritch's new catalogue n° 295, march 1875, p. 266, n° 3183.

Usóz in his reprint of the Latin, appd. p. 11: rehecha i mutilada. Hoffmann: Ich habe den Anfang eines jeden Kapitels mit dem lateinischen Texte verglichen und dieselben, von einer ausgelassenen Stelle im Abschnitte von der Tortur abgesehen, nicht ungetreu gefunden; doch mögen Kürzungen vorkommen.

Dutch from French.

287. 1569.

Historie | van de Spaensche | Inquisitie: | Wtgesteldt door Exempe-
len, op datmen die te | beter in dese laetste tijden verstaen mach. |
Wt het Françoys in onser Nederduytscher | Talen ouergesett, | Door
J. D. R. | Psalm 14. | Alle die daer Aerbeyders der boosheyt zijn,
Weten sy niet datse myn volck als broodt opeten? | Esaie, Cap. 59.
Vers 6. 7. | Wercken des gheweldts zijn in haer handen: | Haer
Voeten loopen om se beschuldighen, ende | haesten hem om het
onnoosel Bloedt te stortene: | Haer ghedachten zijn boose ghedachten:
Roouin- | ghe ende verderf is haer weghe. | 8. Sy en kennen den
wech des vreedts niet: en- | de in haren doen en is gheen Gherech-

ticheyt | 15. De ghene die vanden Quaede wijckt, die | moet alle mans Roof zijn. | M. D. LXIX. | *At the end the same year.*

S. l. Text on the whole Gothic, in the title only the here italicized lines.

Small octavo.

After the title-leaf, p. 3: Den Christelicken Leser, wenschet Petrus Dathenus eenen daghelickschen voortganck &c., *ends p. 6, s. l.:* Den 16. Decemb. 1568. *Page 5:* in onse Nederlantsche sprake, wt den Franchoyse, door eenen goethertighen broeder, trouwelick ouerghesett, ende aen den dach ghegheuen.

The work p. 7—301, numbered. Index ten unnumbered pages.

HALLE a. S., Orphanhouse. BRUSSELS Royal libr., according to Rahlenbeck, Bulletin du bibliophile belge 1865, t. XXI, p. 156.

Petrus Dathenus is a first class heretical writer, in the Antwerp Index 1570 p. 68.

Il était alors [1568] à Heidelberg en qualité de pasteur d'une colonie de bannis flamands. Rahlenbeck ib. 157.

Rahlenbeck ib. p. 156: traduction d'origine calviniste. *P. 159:* Il suffit de lire dans sa préface que le traducteur est son assistant et son „frère dévoué“, pour deviner aussitôt, grâce aux trois lettres initiales indiquées sur le titre du volume, qu'il s'agit de Joris De Raedt, ancien messenger, originaire des environs d'Ypre en Flandre. devenu membre du consistoire de l'église flamande de Heidelberg. Ce Joris De Raedt remplit plus tard les fonctions de ministre réformé. On a de lui une traduction flamande de l'Institution chrétienne de Calvin, dédiée au magistrat de la ville de Flessingue et sur le titre de laquelle il se nomme tout au long: Joris De Raedt van Nieukerke.

Dutch from Latin.

Dutch London translation.

288. 1569.

De heylighe | Spaensche in- | quisitie, met haer loosheyt, | valscheyt ende arghelisten ontdeect, | wtgestelt ende int licht gebracht. | Voorts met veel Exempelen wter oeffeninghe | en exercitie der seluen genomen, als | in eenen spiegel vertoont. | Ende eyndelijck | By een cleyn Martelaren boecxken (welcke | god vruchtighe personen stantvastelijck om | de Christelijcke waerheyt alle versmaetheyt, | schande en doot gheleden hebben, ende noch- | tans van de Inquisiteurs als verlooehens, | trouweloose ende afvallighe gescholden, ghe- | lastert ende verdoemt worden) also clae be- | wesen als den dach. | Alles door Reynaldo Gonsalvo | Montan. eerstelijck int Latijne ghe | schreuen. Ende nv eerst in onser Ne- | derlantscher sprake door M. Mavlym- | pertvm Taphaea, | (een liefhebber der | waerheyt) ouergheset. | Item, het veruolch ende principale stucken | hier

inbegrepen, vindy hier achter op | de naeste syde van det blat. |
Staet op Heere, oordeelt dyn sake. Psal. 74. |

*Colophon under a device: Ghedruct tot London, by | Ian Day. Int
laer ons Heeren | 1569. |*

Small octavo. 23 leares preliminary and 175 leares, total 198 leares, not numbered. Black letter, the here interspaced words of the title in Latin letters.

BODLEIAN. J. Mendham's, afterwards Wiffen's copy is now in Wadham college, OXFORD.

The above is Wiffen's title copy, revised by me.

Dibdin's enlargement of Ames' Antiquities augmented by Herbert, vol. IV, p. 111: Contains Aa 7, in eights, half sheets. Herbert has some remarks on the emblematical device. — In the title-copy, which does not divide the lines of the original, are some differences from ours: en exercitie der selen . . cyndelijck, no cleyn; these and eersterlijck I should think mistakes in the Antiquities, whilst I feel less safe as for verlooehene and Taphæa, which readings both recur in Hoffmann.

Hoffmann's title-copy from the HAMBURG copy has many differences. There is probably some inaccuracy on both sides. Hoffmann writes Spannsche; line 4 vntdeckt; Voorts is according to him the only word in a line; he has Bv where we have By; he puts a comma after personen; he writes ver moetheyt instead of versmaetheyt; verlooehene; trouveloose; verdaemt; gha- | schreuen; Taphæa; heer achter. — Hoffmann remarks: on fol. 175^b a woodcut with the inscription: Desen Egidius beenderen werden ontgrauen, ende verbrant; fol. 199^b colophon; fol. 200 blank; his numeration includes the title. He copies two passages from the text.

Tross in Paris, Catalogue de livres anciens, année 1868, n° 1, p. 44, n° 406 offered a copy of this translation at twohundred francs (the title is given abbreviated, but in seven lines), London, Day 1569, sm. 8., Goth, 208 ff., avec une grande grav. en bois.

Dutch Continental translation.

289. 1569. *First edition.*

Der heyliger Hispanischer Inquisitie, etlicke listighe secrete Consten ende Pratycken, ontdeckt ende int licht ghebracht. Item, eenighe bysondere Exempelen, behalven de ghene die hier ende daer int Boeck ghestelt zyn, wt de welcke men als in eenighe gheschilderde Tafelen, der Inquisiteuren practycken, int gebruyck ende oeffeninghe selfs insien ende speuren mag. Wy hebben oock hier by gevoecht de getuyghenissen van eenighe godsaligne Martelaren, de welcke de Inquisiteuren met hare practycken van ontrou ende afval beschuldicht ende ghediffameert hebben, als sy om de belydenisse des Gheloofs, met eene Christelycke stantachticheyt de Straffe des doots gheleden

hadden. Eerst int latyn beschreven door Reginaldum Gonsalvium Montanum, ende nu nieuwelick in onse Nederlantsche sprake overgheset. Psalm LXXIV. v. 22: Maect dy op God, ende voert wt dyn Sake. Anno 1569.

This is the title given by Charles Rahlenbeck in the Bulletin du bibliophile belge, Bruxelles 1865, t. XXI, p. 156. The same says there: „C'est un in-16 de 143 feuillets, sans compter 8 pages de préface et une postface d'une page en vers flamands intitulée: De Drucker aen den goetwilligen Leser. Le lieu d'impression n'est point indiqué, mais la préface nous a fait reconnaître que la traduction était due à un chaud partisan du prince d'Orange et que ce partisan était un luthérien. En un mot, le style de la préface est bien celui de Jacques van Wesembeke, l'ancien pensionnaire de la ville d'Anvers. Quant à savoir où le livre a été imprimé, c'est plus difficile. Dillenbourg, Idstein, Francfort sur le Mein, Wesel et peut-être même Solingen, sont les lieux où Wesembeke a séjourné en 1569. Nous avons comparé notre exemplaire avec d'autres impressions clandestines attribuées à Wesembeke sans arriver à un résultat satisfaisant.“

Wiffen in the Preface to Betts' translation of Dr. Constantino's Confession p. XII says of this edition: „12 mo., Amsterdam.“ And in his ms. notes: „Small octavo. 4 preliminary leaves and 143 leaves or 286 pages and one at the end. On a comparison of the text this is evidently a different translation from the London edition printed by John Day of the same year. This edition has 4 leaves of translator's preface, but not the author's preface of 21 leaves.“

290. 1620 — 21. Second edition.

Den Grovwel | Der Verwoestinghe | Oft | Grondich bericht ende ontdeckinghe, van | de Gronden der Spaensche | Inquisitie. | Tot | Waerschouwinghe van alle goede ende oprechte | Nederlanders ende Evangelische Gheloofs ghen- | ten, wtghegheren door een vriendt ende Lief- | hebber der selver. | Hier is oock noch by ghevoecht de Spaensche Inquisitie, | beschreven door | Reginaldvm Gonsalvium Montanvm. | Comt ick sal u toonen uwen Vyandt. | [Ornament.] In s' Graven-Haghe. | By Aert Meuris, Boeckvercooper inde Papestraet, in | den Bybel, Anno 1621. Met Privilegie. Quarto. On the verso a privilege. 13 unnumbered leaves, 212 numbered pages. This according to Hoffmann. Is the misprint wtghegheren, line 10, already in the original? Wiffen, from a communication by Mr. Campbell, librarian of the Royal library at the Hague: „Privilege for 8 years, dated 10 April 1620. A dedication to Maurice of Nassau, signed N. N., treating at some length of the state of opinion in Teneriffe, the Canaries and Palma (Majorca) where the writer had resided. N. N. is Joan B. Avontrot who was burnt by the Inquisition at Toledo, aged 70, in the year 1632. After the dedication follows the Dutch translation of the Sanctæ Inquisitionis Hispanicæ artes.“

Der heyliger Hispanischer | Inquisitie. | Etljcke listighe secrete Consten en Practijc- | ken ontdeckt ende int licht ghebracht. | Daerinne

eenige bysonder Exempelen uyt de welc- | ke men als in eenighe
 geschilderde Tafelen, der Inqui- | siteuren practijcken, int ghebruyck
 ende oeffenin- | ghe selfs insien ende speuren mach. | Wy hebben
 oock hier by ghevoecht de ghetuygenissen | van eenighe Godtsalighe
 Martelaren, dewelcke de Inquisiteuren | van ontrouw ende afval
 beschuldicht ende ghediffameert hebben, | als sy om de belijdenisse
 des Gheloofs, met eene Christe- | lijcke stantachticheyt de straffe des
 doots ghe- | leden hadden | Eerst in Latijn beschreven | Door |
 Reginaldvm Gonsalviwm Montanvm, | Ende nu van nieuws over-
 ghesien ende wtghegheven in onse Ne-derlandsche sprake. | Psalm. 47.
 vers. 22. | Maeckt dy op Godt, ende voert uyt dijne saecke. |
 [Ornament.] In s' Graven Hage. | By Aert Mauris, Bockevercooper
 inde Papestraet | inden Bybel, Anno 1620. Met Privilegie.

Hoffmann, who gives this title, adds: On the verso Matth. 10, 24—28. Two leaves the preface of the Dutch Lutheran translation of 1569. Contents on the recto of the third leaf; on the verso begins the text, 155 numbered pages. One leaf verses: Den Drucker aen den goetwillign Leser. 2 Tim. 3, 12. Psalm 43, 1. — P. 149 Apocal. 6, 9. 10. P. 150—155 on the Valladolid auto of May 21. 1558 [sic].

Rahlenbeck, Bibliophile belge, ib. 160: C'est un in-quarto, de 156 pages, sans la préface.

A copy is said to be in the HAGUE, Royal libr.

Rahlenbeck ib.: quoique calviniste lui-même, il [Avontrot] n'hésita point à donner la préférence à la traduction luthérienne. This was translated from the original, whilst Joris de Raedt had translated from the French translation. I do not know, however, whether A. knew another Dutch translation besides that which he reprinted.

German from Latin. Heidelberg translation.

First edition.

291^a. 1569.

Der Heiligen Hispanischen | Inquisition, etliche ent- | deckte, vnd
 offentliche an tag ge- | brachte rânck vnd Practicken. | Item, | Etliche
 bsonders gsetzte Exempeln, vber | diejenigen, so hin vnd wider im
 büchlein sind ange- | zogen worden, in denen gemelte Inquisitorische
 rânck | gleichsam in offnen tafeln, vnd in der vbung selbst | mögen
 angeschawet werden. | Hinden haben wir etlicher gottseliger mârterer |
 Christi herrliche zeugntissen hinzugethan, welche von | den Inquisi-
 toren, durch jre falsche Practicken als meineidige vnd | abtrünnige

sind verleumbdet vnd auszgeschriehen worden, | so sie doch von wegen der bekantnusz des waren | glaubens mit Christlicher standthafftig- | keit den todt gelitten haben. | Alles newlich durch Reginaldum Gonsalvium Mon- | tanum in Latein beschrieben, vnd jetzt erst der | hochgelobten Teutschen Nation zu | gutem verteutschet. | Psal. 74. | Mach dich auff Herr, vnd richte deine sach. | *Black and red. Colophon:* Getruckt in der Churfürstlichen Stadt Hei- | delberg durch Johannem | Mayer, Anno | 1569. | *Under the dedication:* Heidelberg den acht vnd zwanzigsten Martii, Anno 1569. E. F. G. Vnderthenigster diener Matheus harnisch, Buchhandler. *Quarto.*

On the reverse of the title-leaf some verses from Apocalypse 17. Dedication to the Count Palatine Johann Casimir, 2 leaves. Author's preface 6 leaves. Contents 1 leaf. Text p. 1—228. On this last page Errata and colophon. At the end one leaf blank [Gg IV].

COLMAR City. HALLE Univ. VIENNA Court (the blank leaf at the end is wanting). ZURICH City. As far as my notices allow to conclude, the copies in ERLANGEN Univ. and ULM City do not differ.

Hoffmann, who used the copies at HAMBURG and WOLFENBÜTTEL, has offenen and puts no stop after angeschawet werden.

In the dedication:

So ist ein trewer Eckhard, wie man pflegt zusagen, ausz Christlichem wohlmeinendem gemüt, ein Büchlein, genandt die Hispanische Inquisition in Lateinischer sprachen zuschreiben . . . bewegt worden. *And:* . . . vielfoltigs nachfragen von obbertürtem büchlein erfolget, obs nicht auch in gemeiner Teutschen sprach gefunden werde. Weil es denn dazumal, meins wissens, noch nicht im truck war, wendte ich allen müglichen fleisz an . . . Vnd derwegen, als ich in orfarung kommen, das ein Studiosus Theologie der hochgelobten Teutschen Nation zu nutz vnd ehren es vor- teutschet hette, hab ich . . . bey jhm darumb angesucht, vnnd souil erlangt, das mirs in truck zuuerfertigen ist vergönnet worden.

291^b. 1569.

Etliche entdeckte, vnnd | öffentliche an tag gebrachte Ränck | vnd Practicken der heiligen Hi- | spanischen | Inqvisition. | Item, | Etliche besonders gesetzte Exempeln, vber diejeni- | gen, so hin vnd wider im Büchlein sind angezogen worden, | in denen gemelte Inquisitorische Ränck gleichsam in | offenen Taffeln, vnd in der vbung selbst | mögen angeschawet | werden. | Hinden haben wir etlicher Gottseliger Märterer Christi herr- | liche Zeugnissen hinzugethan, welche von den Inquisitoren, durch | jre falsche Practicken als Meineidige vnnd Abtrünnige sind verleumbdet vnd | auszgeschrieben worden, so sie doch von wegen der Bekantnusz des | waren Glaubens mit Christlicher standhaff- | tigkeits den Todt gelitten | haben. | Alles newlich durch

Reginaldum Gonsalvium Montanum | in Latein beschrieben | vnd ietz
erst der hochgelobten Teutschen Na- | tion zu gutem verteutschet. |
Psalm. 74. | Mach dich auff Herr, vnd richte deine sach. |

Colophon: Getruckt in der Churfürstlichen Stadt Hei- | delberg
durch Johannem | Mayer, Anno | 1569. | *Quarto.*

Title, Dedication of Mattheus Harnisch, bookseller at Heidelberg, 28 March 1569, Preface, Table: — total ten leaves. Text p. 1—228.

Most likely differing only in the title from n° 291^a, and no other edition than that.

Wiffen's copy, now in OXFORD, Wadham college.

291^c. 1574.

Hispanischer Inquisition etliche entdeckte vnd offentlich an tag gebrachte Renck
vnnd Pracktick, Heydelberg, 1569. 1574. in 4. Matth. Harnisch.

Catalogi librorvm Germanicorvm alphabetici . . . secvnda para . . . Franckfort
am Meyn . . . in Vorlegung Petri Kopffen. M. DC. II. [*HALLE Univ.*] P. 55.
From this notice one should conclude that in 1574 Harnisch made a new edition. If this was the case, it probably was only a so called title-edition.

292. 1611—12. *Second edition.*

Der Tyrannischen ! Hispanischen Inquisition | Heimlichkeiten, |
Durch Gottes sonderbare schi- | ckung offenbaret, vnd zu diesen
letz- | ten zeiten, der Welt entdeckt. ! Darinn zu befinden, wie
grawsam vnd erschreck- | lich die Ketzermeister, mit den genanten
Lutherischen, | wegen der bekantnusz desz H. Evangelii, durch
gefänglichen | angriff: hemmung vnd einziehung der Güter; partheyische
verhör: vor- | schützung der Zeugen; abschewliche folterung: So wol
mit Speisz, | Tranck, vnd anderer Leibsnotdurfft: vnnd besuchung
der | Kercker: Dann mit dem Vrtheil vnnd dessen vollzie- | hung,
vmbzugehen vnnd zu handeln | pflegen. | Mit etlichen glaub- vnd
denckwürdigen Exempeln vnd | Historien bewiesen vnd erkläret. |
Ohne heisse Threnen, vnd Christliches erbarmendes | Mitleiden, wegen
der armen verfolgten Mitchri- | sten, nicht zu lesen. Von Joachim
Beringer | In Deutsche Sprach, durch offenen Druck dem | guthertzigen
Leser mitgetheilt. | Damit doch desz Antichristischen Bapsthumbs
grewli- | cher Mord vnd Tyranny darbey erkant, vnd abschewli- |
cher gemacht werden möge. | Amberg bei Johann Schönfeld. 1611. |
Title black and red, the word Inquisition in Roman letters. After title-leaf seven leaves Vorrede, signed 31 Oct. 1611 Joachim Beringer. Fol.)(VIII verso contents.

The work p. 1—341. *Octavo. Colophon* p. 342: Gedruckt zu | Amberg, durch Johann | Schönfeld. | *Emblem: a burning phenix* | MDCXII. |

Chapter 1 is arranged from the preface of the original. Chapters 2—15 are the Heidelberg 1569 translation of chapters 1 f. of the original. Chap. 16, the last of the book, corresponds to ch. 16 of Hispanica inquisitionis secretiora, published in the same year by the same Beringer-Ursinus [n^o 279 here]; as the Latin is translated from the Martyrbuch of Crocius of 1606, probably Beringer's German is only reprinted from Crocius.

FRANKFORT o. M. City.

Eisleben translation.

293^a. 1569.

Inquisitio Hispanica. | Schreckliher [sic] Process | vnd erbermliche Exempel, Wie man in | Hispanien vnd anderswo mit den ar- | men Christen vmbgehet, vnd vmb | der Warheit willen Mar- | tert vnd Tödtet. | Aus dem Latein Verdeutschet | Durch | Wolffgangum Kauffman | Psalm 44. | Vmb deinen willen werden wir teglich Erwür- | get, Vnd sind geacht wie Schlachtschafe. | Gedruckt zu Eisleben durch | Andream Petri. | M. D. LXIX. | *Black and red; red the lines 2. 3. 9. 11. 14. 16. On the back of the title page Inhalt dieses buchs. Then two leaves M. Cyriacus Spangenberg, An den Christlichen Leser, dated zu Mansfeld im Thal den 18. Junij. im 1569. Jar. Follow ten leaves Den Gestrengen, Edlen vnd Ehrnuesten Heinrich von der Assenburg, Andres von Meiendorff, Ludolph von Joachim von Aluensleben, Johan von Hildesheim meinen grossgunstigen lieben Herren vnd Junckern, signed Mansfeld vorm Schloss am 19. Junij im 1569. Jhar . . . Wolfgang Kauffman Predicant daselbst. Thirteen leaves Vorrede of the author. Text 159 numbered leaves. Fol. 159 recto under the text: Gedruckt zu Eisleben durch | Andream Petri. | Octavo.*

WERNIGERODE Ducal.

Kaufman says in his preface fol. V: The Latin book of Reg. Gons. Mont. ist .. von vns so gut wirs mit Gottes hülffe vermochten verdeutscht worden, fol. VIII: hat mich .. diese arbeit für meine Person so ich daran gewand, den ersten Theil dieses Büchleins aus dem Latein ins Deutsch zubringen nicht gerewet, . . . der wolgelarte mein freunlicher lieber Schwager Benedictus Thaurer, welcher dergleichen fleis an das ander Theil gewendet. This second part certainly is that beginning fol. 90: Folgen etliche besondere Exempel . . . Benedict Taurer was in 1574 Cantor at Mansfeld (Krumhaar: Die Grafschaft Mansfeld. 1855. S. 383—4).

293^b. 1569.

Another copy in the same library at WERNIGERODE varies in the first sheet. Title:

Inquisitio Hispanica. | Schrecklicher Process | vnd erbermliche Exempel, wie man in | Hispanien vnd anderswo mit den ar- | men

Christen vmbgehet, vnd vmb | der Warheit willen Mar- | tert vnd
Tödtet. | Aus dem Latein Verdeutsch | Durch | Wolffgangum Kauffman. |

A woodcut representing tortures and executions. Below: Anno M. D. LXIX. | Black und red; red l. 2. 3 and last one as in n° 293^a, but, instead of the other lines in the above described copy, here 8 and 10. Here wie, there Wie. On the back Inhalt dieses buchs; the first s of dieses is inverted. Custos at the end of the first sheet (under Kauffman's signature): Es wird, in the other copy by mistake: Es war. The leaves are evidently printed in the same printing office as the other copy. Probably for some copies of the same edition those changes on leaves 1 and 8 were introduced, the woodcut was added, line 2 of the title and the custos corrected, and a new mistake (in dieses) happened.

Other copies with the wood-cut title black and red:

GOETTINGEN Univ. HAMBURG City (according to Hoffmann: with autograph dedication of Bened. Thaurer 1574). I sent Wiffen a copy in which the two wanting last leaves were replaced by manuscript; it probably now is in Wadham college, OXFORD. I did not notice which lines are red in the titles of these copies.

In and from the Geneva martyrology

(see above here n° 126. 189 f. 196 f.).

French, German, Dutch, English, Latin.

French from the separate edition of 1568.

294. 1570.

Histoire des vrays Tesmoins de la verite de l'evangile. Iean Crespin. M. D. LXX.

The Septieme liure begins fol. 540 recto with an article De l'Acte Inquisitorial executé à Souille. After an introduction, most of which is taken from the Artos, follows fol. 541 recto — 544 verso the history of the Sevillian martyrs related in the Latin p. 206 — 236. Without notice about the source. The translation of 1568 is somewhat remodelled. The articles on Iean Ponce de Leon, Iean Gonzalvo, the women and Ferdinand de Saintivan are each dated M. D. LIX, Ivlien Hernandes and the following are without date.

295. 1582.

Histoire des martyrs. M. D. LXXXII.

Book 7, fol. 479 verso f.: Notable discovrs des pratiques et tragiqvcs deportemens de l'Inquisition d'Espagne . . . dressé par vn personnage digne de foy, pour auoir veu les choses de ses yeux vne longue espace d'annees. [fol. 480:] A quoy sont adioustez les plus notables martyrs . . . Fol. 480 introduction abridged from the Latin preface. 480 verso — 496 recto translation of Artes p. 1 — 197. Book 8, fol. 500 verso — 503 recto reprinted from 1570 fol. 541 recto — 544 verso, to which is added in the edition of 1582 fol. 503 verso — 597 verso the history of Garsias Arias, of Jean Egidius, of Constantin l'once, from the French Gonzalez, corresponding to the Latin p. 200 — end. The above mentioned personnago is not named nor is any notice given on his work; the compiler does not even say that the discours in book 7 and the history of the Sevillian martyrs in book 8 are taken from the same work. The column-date M. D. LIX is continued to the article on Garsias Arias;

and also in the Confession of Constantino one column is dated M. D. LXXI by misprint for M. D. LIX.

296. 1597.

Histoire des martyrs.

297. 1608.

Histoire des martyrs.

The same, livre 7 fol. 476 recto — 491 verso and livre 8 fol. 495 verso — 502 verso. All column-dates, including Constantino: M. D. LIX.

298. 1619.

Histoire des martyrs.

The same, fol. 521 verso — 539. 543 verso — 551.

German extracts from the French martyrology.

299. 1590.

Märtyrbuch. Herborn.

Extract des sibenden Buchs. P. 583—591 from Histoire des martyrs 1582 fol. 494—496.

Extract des achten Buchs. P. 602—606: Julianus Ferdinand and Garsias Arias. B—r.

300. 1591.

Märtyrbuch. Herborn.

The same on the same pages.

B—r.

301. 1595.

Märtyrbuch. Herborn.

The same, p. 643—652. 663—667.

FRANKFORT o. M. City, according to a communication by the librarian. B—r.

302. 1597.

Märtyrbuch. Basel.

The same, p. 593—601. 611—615.

B—r.

303. 1597.

Märtyrbuch. Sigen.

304. 1603.

Märtyrbuch. Herborn.

In one of the public libraries at HALLE a. S.

305. 1608.

Märtyrbuch. Herborn.

Christen vmbgehet, vnd vmb | der Warheit willen Mar- | tert vnd
Tödtet. | Aus dem Latein Verdeutsch | Durch | Wolffgangum Kauffman. |

A woodcut representing tortures and executions. Below: Anno M. D. LXIX. | Black and red; red l. 2. 3 and last one as in n° 293^a, but, instead of the other lines in the above described copy, here 8 and 10. Here wie, there Wie. On the back Inhalt dieses buchs; the first s of dieses is inverted. Custos at the end of the first sheet (under Kauffman's signature): Es wird, in the other copy by mistake: Es war. The leaves are evidently printed in the same printing office as the other copy. Probably for some copies of the same edition those changes on leaves 1 and 8 were introduced, the woodcut was added, line 2 of the title and the custos corrected, and a new mistake (in dieses) happened.

Other copies with the wood-cut title black and red:

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In and from the Geneva martyrology

(see above here n° 126. 189 f. 196 f.).

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French from the separate edition of 1568.

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and also in the Confession of Constantino one column is dated M. D. L.XI by misprint for M. D. LIX.

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Histoire des martyrs.

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Extract des sibenden Buchs. P. 583—591 from Histoire des martyrs 1582 fol. 494—496.

Extract des achten Buchs. P. 602—606: Julianus Ferdinand and Garsias Arias.

B—r.

300. 1591.

Märtyrbuch. Herborn.

The same on the same pages.

B—r.

301. 1595.

Märtyrbuch. Herborn.

The same, p. 643—652. 663—667.

FRANKFORT o. M. City, according to a communication by the librarian.

B—r.

302. 1597.

Märtyrbuch. Basel.

The same, p. 593—601. 611—615.

B—r.

303. 1597.

Märtyrbuch. Sigen.

304. 1603.

Märtyrbuch. Herborn.

In one of the public libraries at HALLE a. S.

305. 1608.

Märtyrbuch. Herborn.

306. 1682.

Martyrbuch. Schmalkalden.

In one of the public libraries at HALLE a. S.

Latin translation of these German extracts.

307. Martyrologium. Hanoviæ.

This Latin translation of the Herborn Märtyrbuch (see n° 126) contains the above passages p. 685 f.

German extract from the German extracts.

308. 1664.

Geschichten der Märtyrern durch Loonh. Meyern. Schaffhausen. P. 455—456: Julianus Ferdinand.

B—r.

German translation of the Geneva martyrology.

In the German translation of the Geneva martyrology (see above n° 126) the Inquisitionis artes are given according to the Heidelberg translation of 1569 (above n° 291), scarcely remodelled. The preface is translated from the French abridgment, and also in some other places Crocius follows the French. I noticed that the beginning of the article on Juan Ponce de Leon and of that on Julianillo is retouched according to the Geneva martyrology. Julianillo's Spanish copla related Artes p. 219 is not reprinted from the Heidelberg translation and not with the translation given there, but from the French and with the German translation given in the Herborn Martyrbuch 1590 f. (above n° 299 f.). No sources are named.

309. 1606.

Grosz Martyrbuch. P. 1043—44 translation of the French introduction. P. 1044—1090 and 1100—1126 the Heidelberg German.

310. 1617.

Grosz Martyrbuch. P. 985—986. 986—1033. 1041—1061.

311. 1682.

Das Grosse Martyr-Buch. P. 961—962. 962—1012. 1020—1043.

312. 1722.

Das Grosse Martyr-Buch. P. 961—962. 962—1012. 1020—1043.

Dutch from German.

313. 1671.

Dutch Martyrology. Amsterdam.

According to a communication favored to me by Dr. Christian Sepp (author of an article on De geschiedenis der Martelaren door A. C. van Haemstede in the Nasporingen. II. 1873), the Sevillian martyrs are entered into this edition.

314. 1747.

De Historie der Martelaren. Leyden 1747. *Preface of* Adrianus Haemstedius 1559. P. 509—515 *the Sevillian martyrs of 1559 and 1560. Julianillo's copla is translated from the German first printed in the small martyrology of 1590. The Dutch seems to have used that small martyrology, but generally it follows the large one, abridging.*

B—r.

I do not know the other editions.

English extracts.

315. 1702.

In Michael Geddes: Miscellaneous tracts. 3 vls. 1702—6.

316. 1714.

The same, second ed. 3 vls.

317. 1730.

The same, third ed. London. 3 vls.

My notice of nos 315—317 is taken from Lowndes, Bibliographer's Manual vol. II. 1864. I only know the translation of Mosheim (below n° 319). Geddes treats the Englishman Burton, and (after the Valladolid martyrs of which in Gonz. is nothing: Cazalla, Herezulo [sic Msh] &c.) Juan Ponce de Leon, Dr. Constantino, Juan Gonzalez, Julianillo, Fray Juan de Leon, Juan Fernandez (Msh.: Johanne Fernaidelio), Losada, Arellano (Msh.: Aurelius), Garcia Arias, Fern. de San Juan, Maria Bohorques. No mention of Regin. Gonsalvius or of the Inq. Artes.

318. About 1830?

Christian martyrology ... comprising, with additions, the entire matter of the .. Protestant martyrology of John Fox .. Edited by Adam Clarke ... Fisher, son, & co., London, Paris, and New York. *Without year. Folio. In the History of the Inquisition, p. 673, one passage is expressly cited from Gonsalvius where it is found p. 75 f. From the same source is derived most of what is read in The Spanish Protestant martyrology p. 618—621, not, however, from the original, but (if not from Mosheim) from Geddes' martyrology; the mistakes Herezulo, Fernaidel, Aurelio occur also here; neither Geddes nor R. Gonzalez are mentioned.*

B—r.

Latin from English.

319. 1733.

Mosheimii dissertation. ad hist. eccl. pertin. volumen. Accedit Mich. Goddesii martyrologium protestantium Hispanorum Latine versum ex Anglico. Altonaviae 1733. Octavo. *The translation (from the first vol. of the third ed.) p. 671—697, after an introduction by Mosheim who evidently did not know the work of Regin. Gonsalvius, not even any translation of it.*

An English ballad.

320. 1594.

A ballad intituled The Cruell handlinge of one Nicholas Burton merchant tailour of London, by the bloody Spaniardes in the Cittye of Cyvill, whoe was there

Biblioth. Witten. II.

burned for the testimony of Jesus Christ is licensed by the London Stationers on 8 August 1594 to John Danter. *Arber* 2, 657.

On *Nic. Burton* see *Artes* p. 175 f. Most likely *The ballad* is derived from the *Geneva martyrology* or from *Skinner* (n° 283 f.). I do not know whether a copy of the ballad is still extant.

Spanish from Latin.

321. 1851.

Artes | de la | Inquisizion Española. | Primer traducion Castellana, | de la obra escrita en Latin, | por el Español | Raimundo Gonzalez de Montes. | «En testem produco Reginaldum Gonsal- | vium Montanum, Hispanum, partem | maximam libelli (quem iterum in lucem | produci- mus, non tamen sine fœnore) | autorem. Hic igitur prodeat, et artes | Inquisitorum secretiore nobis exponat. | Quas qui legerit, mirum ni in laery - | mas protinus resolvatur! mirum, ni | protinus obstupescat!» | [J. Ursino, en el Prólogo]. | Año de MDCCCLI. | S. l. Octavo.

Title, preface of the editor, two ancient Latin titles with translation, contents by the author 14 leaves. The work 330 pages. Apéndize by the Spanish editor p. 1—96. Tabla and erratas 5 leaves.

Edited by Luis de Usóz i Río. Translated, as I understood, by his brother Santiago. Printed at San Sebastian by Ignazio Ramon Baroja, 512 copies, according to Wiffen's papers. In the fifth place in the list of reprinted Spanish Reformers at the end of Perez's Breve tratado de doctrina; numbered as vol. 5 in the lists in vol. 8 f.

HAMBURG City. VIENNA Court. B—r.

A sort of second appendix is the following publication (by Usóz):

Madrid. Año de 1855. Informazion rezibida a instancia del S. D. Luis de Usóz i Río, vezino de esta Corte, por la que so justifica ser totalmente falso lo que en el Periódico literario de Londres Notes and Queries, asegura el Sr. Lehmanowsky, desde los Estados Unidos, con referenzia a la Inquisicion en España. Juez Sr. Dominguez. Escribano del Número Antoñana. The Informazion leaf 2 f., p. 1—16. P. 17 contents. Usóz proves against Lehmanowsky the truth of his judgment, given p. 20 and 21 of the Apéndize of the Spanish Artes, contradicting a certain report as to the demolition of a supposed palace of the Madrid Inquisition in 1809.

HAMBURG City. B—r.

Nothing at all, except a confused and defigured reminiscence or rather echo of the name of the heroine, is derived from Gons. in the novel called Cornelia Bororquia, which fully deserves the criticism of Llorente Hist. de la Inq. c. XXI. art. 1. § 14. 15; compare Rf. Esp. V, Apénd. p. 20. It is a fiction from the beginning to the end. I possess two copies: Cornelia Bororquia. Tercera edicion, revista, corregida y aumentada. Paris. Año XII — 1804. and: Cornelia, ó la victima de la Inquisicion. Nueva edicion. Valencia: imprenta de Domingo y Mompie. Año 1821. The first edition seems to have been published in 1803 at Bayonne.

SUPPLICACION A LA REYNA DE FRANCIA.

IN 1567 a Spanish translation was published of a French work of Jean Dumont, D. D.: „A petition and information presented in 1561 to the Queen of France by persecuted Christians of her Kingdom, in which is treated of the Mess, of the Lord's Supper, of Purgatory, of the invocation of Saints, of images.“ The translator added his own exhortation to the reader, and a sermon on the cross, translated by him from the language in which it was delivered many years ago (he does not say what language this was). In opposition to those, who treated external things as indifferent, he not only requires faith, but also confession of faith. Nothing is known of the translator. His publication seems to have been printed at Basle, in the same office where, two years later, the Bible of Reina was finished. Reina himself certainly is not the translator, otherwise there would not be found here such differences from his translation, as well in the Old Testament as in the New Testament. Nor are the quotations (those which I compared) in the Exhortation taken from Perez's N. T. of 1556.

322. 1567.

Svplicacion | y informacion | que fue presentada à la Reyna de Francia por | los fieles Christianos de aquel Reyno: En | la qual se trata, | Del Sacrificio de la Missa | Del Sanctissimo Sacramento del Altar | Del Purgatorio | De la Inuocacion de los Sanctos | De la Veneracion y culto de las Imágenes. | Obra muy prouechosa para la salud de las animas contra | los errores destos tiempos. | Compuesto por el Maestro Ioan de Monte, Doctor | en sacra Theologia, | Trasladada de Frances en Romance Castellano, Con | vna Exhortacion del Interprete à Lector. | Item | Vn Sermon de la Cruz. | 1567.

Fol. (ij and)(iij El Interprete à Lector. *Begins:* La Informacion y suplicacion con tenuta en esto tratado, fue presentada en Francez el año de 1561. à la

Reyna de Francia, en nūbre de los que en aquel Reyno eran perseguidos por la Religion.

Prefacion of the French author 5 leaves. Informacion p. 1—94.

El interprete al Lector p. 94—119, *column-title*: exhortacion al lector.

P. 120 Sermon de la Cruz Traslado de la lengua original en que se predicó, *introduced by some words of the translator who also says* ha sido predicado muchos años há en vna congregaciō de Fieles por vn Sieruo de Dios. *The sermon ends* p. 146. *After* Fin the notice: Otro Sermon falta aqui sobre esta misma materia, que enseña como se han de gouernar los pios en la Cruz, que por no tener el original à mano, no se ha sacado esta vez. Mas saldrá presto plaziendo à Dios. Entre tanto el Lector goze y aprouechese de lo que aora le auemos dado, y dé à Dios las gracias.

Under this notice the colophon: En Cosmopoli por Christophoro Philaléto. | 1567.

Quarto, size of Reina's Bible of 1569. The only copy known to exist is in VIENNA Court, bound together with a copy of that Bible which has on the title the year 1569; the Suplicacion is appended there to the Bible. It was mentioned by Denis in his Cod. ms. theol. vl. 1. prs 2. col. 1993. From the signature written by the hand of the librarian Blotius and from the old catalogue it is certain that the volume, containing those two publications, belonged to the Vienna Court library already in 1576. The volume is richly bound, and throughout, in both pieces, framed with red ink lines; it was probably a dedication copy to the Emperor Maximilian II. — Another copy of the Suplicacion is registered in Bibliotheca Hulsiana, Hagæ-Comitum 1730, t. IV. p. 318. n° 1335, among quarto-volumes.

The paper on which the whole is printed is the same as that of the Bible, and the types of the Informacion are the same as those of Reina's Amonestacion prefixed to the Bible. I therefore think this work printed at Basle.

PEDRO NUÑEZ VELA.

PEDRO Nuñez Vela¹ of Ávila, a compatriot and contemporary of St. Theresa, travelled in a wholly different groove from that feminine leader of Roman mysticism.² He incidentally mentions, that, when still in Spain, he was interested in logical investigations;³ that he subsequently at Padua attended lectures of the Aristotelians;⁴ and that in Rome he was present at conferences where dialectics were discussed.⁵ He was upon intimate terms with the Canon Basilio Zanchi of Bergamo, the librarian of the Vatican, who died in 1560 (a cousin of Girolamo Zanchi who passed over into the Reformed Church), and with Lorenzo Gambara of Brescia, who, born in 1506, died a nonagenarian; these two friends of Nuñez were also mutually warm friends. Zanchi and Gambara were held by that great Italian Latinist Paulus Manutius as the men who wrote the best Latin verse of his time;⁶ Nuñez too praises them both for their verses,⁷ and doubtless he improved his own versification by studying their's.

1) *Vela* according to Nic. Antonio, *Bth. Hisp.* 1672. 1788. One should rather think *Velez*, as he calls himself in Latin *Velius*.

2) I wrote an article upon her in the periodical *Damaris*, Stettin 1865.

3) Below p. 155.

4) Below p. 157.

5) Below p. 156.

6) *Epistolar. Pauli Manutii libri IIII. Venet. 1560. Fol. 145. Laurentio Gambaræ, Patavium. Basilii Zanchi, poetæ summi, hominisque non vulgariter eruditi, miserabilis et indignissimus interitus hilaritatem mihi prorsus omnem eripuit, quem enim donare summis præmiis ob excellentem virtutem, decorare honoribus ob singularem integritatem atque innocentiam, æquum fuit, cum tam ignominiose vexatum, tam acerbè, tam crudeliter extinctum, quis non ferat iniquissime? equidem, ut uulvi, etiam dolore tuo maximopere dolui, nam et vicistis una semper coniunctissime, alter alteri egregie carus: et fuit uterque vestrum ad poeticam facultatem natura propensus, ac mire factus, ingenio vero ita pares, ut, cum nemo tam bonus poeta sit, quin vobis primas in componendis versibus partes tribuat, quam confessionem etiam ab invitis exprimit poematum comparatio, uter tamen utri præstet, nondum satis indicare quisquam possit. Vale. Venetiis. (This is not yet in his *Epistolæ et Præfationes* of 1558.)*

7) Below p. 157.

This Pedro Nuñez must be that Spaniard who is inscribed as *Pietro Giugnes* in the year 1564 in a list composed in the 17th century of the members of the Italian Church at Geneva.⁸

When the Bernese statesman Hieronymus Manuel⁹ visited Geneva, Beza availed himself of the opportunity to commend Nuñez to him. The result was that the government of Berne towards the close of the year 1565 granted him a pension at Lausanne and the prospect of a professorship at the Academy there.¹⁰ This High school was founded as soon as the Pays de Vaud was incorporated into the dominion of Berne, and its interests were so carefully developed that there were for several decades professors there who still rank among the most learned men of that age. Nuñez was proposed by Johann Haller, the Dean of the Diocese of Berne, to fill the chair of the Greek professorship at Lausanne.¹¹ This nomination was zealously supported by Benedict Aretius,¹² a professor at Berne, at first in 1553 of philosophy, and then in the same year of Greek, from 1563 until his death 1574 of theology; he had recently distinguished himself in a disputation held with Valentino Gentile, who was in 1566 condemned as a blasphemer and perjurer and beheaded at Berne; Aretius was also held in consideration as being well versed in the works of Pindar. The Greek professorship at Lausanne was at first held by Conrad Gesner who occupied it from 1537 to 1540; Theodore Beza held it from November 1549 until the autumn 1558, when he migrated to Geneva; in October 1567 Nuñez succeeded to Knechten-

8) See above p. 76, where I have also remarked that *Pierre Nunio* or *Niuno*, whom Galiffe has found in Genevese sources in the year 1567, must be the same. Nuñez may have been in Geneva in 1567 as a visitor from Lausanne. — Calvin, who died in 1564, is nowhere mentioned by Nuñez; in a poem Nuñez calls Beza, Enoch, *Portus tria lumina* of Geneva, below p. 159.

9) *Hieron. Manuelli Lausanæ Præfecto* Rosarius dedicated in 1557 the *Antithesis Christi et Antichristi*, see above p. 107. Hieron. Manuel, son of the Bernese painter, poet and statesman Niclaus M., was born in 1520, he became in 1553 Prefect (*Landrogt*) at Lausanne, in 1558 again member of the Counsel at Berne, 1559 *Venner*, 1565 *Welsch-Seckelmeister* = *Quæstor* (as Nuñez calls him) for the Pays de Vaud; he died 4 Febr. 1579. See on him Leu's *Helvetisches Lexicon* (1747—1795), vol. XII, p. 493, and Bæchtold's *Niklaus Manuel*, 1878, p. LVI. According to Leu he became *Seckelmeister* in 1563.

10) Below p. 157. 158. As for the date, see note 13.

11) Below p. 159.

12) Below p. 159. On Aretius compare Leu I, 335.

hofer,¹³ and filled that chair thirteen years; 1572 his stipend was increased, and raised to equality with that of the professor of Hebrew.¹⁴

In 1570 Nuñez published at Basle his *Dialectics* in Latin which he had previously written when in Italy, now however he had revised them; he annexed a Latin treatise of his own upon the modes of interpretation of an author. This work is dedicated to the Senate of Berne. Subjoined are a number of the author's Latin and Greek poems. They are dedicated to Nicholas Zer Kinden, a Bernese *General-Commissary*;¹⁵ Petermann von Wattenwyl, Governor of Lausanne;¹⁶ Louis Enoch, an author writing both on Greek and Latin classics, who succeeded Beza as Rector of the Academy at Geneva in 1563;¹⁷ Bartholomew Bubert, a medical man, to whom Nuñez owed, under God, his recovery from a disease that threatened his life; to an unknown friend; to David Delbene; to Hieronymus Manuel; to the Bernese Senate;¹⁸ to Johann Haller, — in this poem he also praises his colleague Marquard; to Benedict Aretius; and to Antoine La Faye,

13) The *Rathsmanual der Stadt Bern*, in the State's Archives at Berne, notes on the 2 October 1567: *Zum Griechischen professor an Knechtenhofers statt den Spanier, den min herren engeuerlich vor zweyen Jaren vngenomen, mitt gedingen, das er sich nur diser profession vnnd dheiner andren sich anemen soll, so lang es minen herren geuellig vnnd er sich fridlich vnnd woll haltenm wirtt.* On this Knechtenhofer I did not find anything, unless he be meant in a letter of the Frankfurt theologian Matthias Ritter written about 1585, where (on the same page already quoted by me p. 65) incidental mention is made *de quodam Knechthovero Bernate, qui Buceri fuerat discipulus, tandem etiam convictor.*

14) *Rathsmanual* n° 388, p. 33. 1572, Juli 23. *Petro Nonnio dem Griechischen Professor zu Losannu sin Besoldung gebessert in aller Form und Gestalt wie der Hebräisch hatt. Ime alhie X fl.* Communicated to me by Mr. M. von Stürler, State's Archiviste of Berne, who had kindly continued my researches.

15) *General-Commissari* since 1565; in 1570 he was deputed to conclude a league with the duke of Savoy. *Leu* XI, 108.

16) born 1531; *Landvogt* of Lausanne since 1564; in 1574 he reentered the Small Counsel, and became *Venner*, which place he got again in 1577; he died 1581. *Leu* XIX, 202 f.; Supplement VI, 311.

17) He had left Geneva in June 1566 in order to see his home in France, and did not return to Geneva. *Leu*, Suppl. II, 136. *Dictionn. biogr. des Genevois & des Vaudois par A. de Montel*, Lausanne, t. 1. 1877.

18) Gottl. Em. v. Haller's *Bibliothek der Schweizer-Geschichte*, 4^{ter} Theil, Bern 1786, p. 323 registers from Nuñez's *Dialectics* p. 190—201 (the latter number is not quite exact, see extracts below) *Ein griech. Gedicht neben der lat. Uebers. auch in Versen* (it is however in prose), with the remark: *beydes hat nicht viel zu bedeuten.*

who had emigrated from France to Geneva, had laboured there as Regent of the College and had in 1567 acquired his freedom of the City.¹⁹ Nuñez greets in these poems Consul Steiger;²⁰ Abraham Musculus, a preacher at Berne and afterwards the continuator of Johann Haller's Bernese chronicle; Abraham's brother Henry who also became a preacher;²¹ Hadrian Blauner, a member of a Bernese patrician family, a doctor of medicine;²² and the theologian Fetminger.

Nuñez quotes in this volume his Commentaries upon Lucretius²³ and upon Virgil,²⁴ and besides them his Latin poem upon the care that scholars should take of their health,²⁵ and his Latin dissertation upon logical sequence;²⁶ none of all these writings, it would seem, have ever been printed, and they are in all probability lost.

In his Dialectics he speaks out against those who believe in Aristotle as in a gospel, and states that only in theology and in grammar is authority decisive; that the word of God is a demonstration and is to be regarded as axiomatic.²⁷ He says of the Bible, in his dissertation on the art of interpretation, that we are to maintain it as a divine oracle; and that, when needed, it will be our duty to defend it, even should that defence involve our death. All other books are to be read as emanating from men, and we must never do as do they who almost regard Aristotle as a God.²⁸

Shortly after the publication of this volume, in the summer of that same year 1570, the celebrated Petrus Ramus paid a visit to Lausanne. He was entertained as a guest by an Englishman of the name of James, and was received by the professors of the Academy in the most friendly manner. We learn on this occasion, that at that time Samuel professed theology, Marquard²⁹ philosophy, Nuñez Greek,

19) Montel t. 2. 1878.

20) *Schultheiss* Johannes Steiger, who died in 1581. Leu XVII, 532 f.; Supplem. V, 610 f.

21) Abraham Musculus (*Müsli*) became in 1565 *Predicant* at Berne, 1586 Dean there, he died 1591; his brother Henry became minister at Zoffingen in 1577. Leu XIII, 436.

22) Leu IV, 137. He has also been *Stadt-Physicus* of Lausanne, Leu does not say when.

23) Below p. 157.

24) Below p. 157.

25) Below p. 156.

26) Below p. 156.

27) Below p. 156.

28) Below p. 156. 157.

29) Blasius Marquard, of a Bernese family, became, according to Leu XII, 520, in 1560 professor of Greek and of morals at Lausanne, 1572 of theology at the same

Hortin³⁰ Hebrew, Dives and Bos³¹ the *liberal arts*. It is presumable that those six professors only constituted the teaching body of the Academy.³² Ramus willingly sustained amicable relations with them all, and readily instructed them in his views of Logic, but what he most liked was to converse with Nuñez who thought very highly of the much combated doctrine of the French philosopher.³³ Some years later, Claude Aubery of Triaucourt (near Chalons sur Marne), who had succeeded Marquard in the professor's chair of philosophy, and

Academy, 1576 of theology at Berne, and died in 1577. Also XI, 481. 482 he is enlisted as professor at Lausanne of Greek and morals 1569, of theology 1572. It is however beyond doubt that from 1569—72 and earlier and later the Greek professorship was held by Nuñez.

30) Michael Hortin, of a family of the Bernese aristocracy. Leu says X, 299 that he became in 1574 Greek professor at Lausanne, but he does not name him XI, 481. 482 among the professors of Greek and morals. In this last quoted volume he only mentions him as professor of Hebrew at Lausanne 1576. From Freigius (see our note 33) we know that he held the Hebrew professorship already in 1570. He certainly had not to teach Greek, while it was taught by Nuñez.

31) Bos seems to be *Jean Bœuf*, who is mentioned in 1591, January 23, in the *Welsch Missivenbuch*, H 310, State's Archives of Berne, together with *Jean le Merle*, *ministres et professeurs de la parole de Dieu en l'esglise et eschole*, and *Claude Aubery*, *docteur en médecine et professeur en philosophie en la dite eschole de Lausanne*; the government expresses its satisfaction on the settlement of a dogmatical difference between the said three persons and some others at Lausanne. The notice from the Archives was given me by Mr. von Stürler.

32) It seems that the statements of Vulliemin on the number of professors and on their functions, *Der Kanton Waat*, 2^{ter} Bd, St. Gallen und Bern 1849, p. 111 f., must refer to an earlier period of the Academy. According to him, it had four chairs, and the ordinary or regular disciplines were Greek, Hebrew, arts, and theology. The Greek professor taught also politics and morals and explained some of Plato's dialogues; the *prof. artium* had the extensive task of rhetoric, Aristotle's *Organon*, arithmetic, geography, astronomy, physic.

33) *Petri Rami vita per Joannem Thomam Freigium* (with *Rami Prælectiones in Cicer.*, Basileæ 1580, p. 40): *Lausanna . . . Hic ab eruditissimis professoribus, Samuele Theologicæ, Marcoardo Philosophiæ, Nunio Græcæ linguæ, Hortino Hebraicæ, Divite et Bove liberalis doctrinæ, amantissime acceptus est [Ramus], exoratusque odiosa istius invisæque Logicæ ἀρχαίων dies aliquot maximo civitatis et avidissimo concursu habuit: deque ipsa cum omnibus illis et libere et liberaliter communicavit: sed præcipue cum Nunio judicii liberioris, et odiosum istum incisumque artis usum longissime præceptis omnibus anteposcente. Jacobi vero Angli hospitis sui hospitium cum eruditis sermonibus, et quotidianis integræ vitæ exemplis hospitalissimum illi fuit.* (Menendez 247 f. has this passage, unto *anteposcente*, from an edition of 1575.) This was in summer 1570. We have three letters of Ramus from Lausanne, dated 12 *Cal. Aug.* and 5 *Cal. Sept.* of that year (Waddington's *Ramus* 1855 p. 428 f.). In the first he tells his friend Theodore Zwinger, to whom

who was engaged in preparing his edition of the *Organon*, calls the medical men there (he being himself an M. D.) and professor Nuñez his opponents.³⁴

In 1578 a revised edition of Nuñez's *Dialectics* appeared at Geneva, together with his logical disputations, then for the first time published. Towards the close of this latter work, he extols that love to God which never contemplates recompense, as the true impulse to all that is good.³⁵ He gratefully dedicates this volume, like the former one, to the Senate of Berne, upon whom he in a poem invokes God's blessing. The Disputations are specially dedicated to Hieronymus Manuel. Amongst the verses addressed to the author and printed in this volume, there are Greek ones by Francis Portus, the celebrated Candiot, who at that time was professor of Greek in the Geneva Academy,³⁶ and Latin distichs by Antoine La Faye and by Beatus Comte. La Faye had become Dr. med. in 1574, in 1575 Head of the College at Geneva, in 1577 professor of Philosophy; in 1580 he became Rector of the Academy at Geneva, where in 1582 he published a French translation of Livy; he has also written on various theological subjects.³⁷ Beatus Comte, who had relinquished his post as a preacher at Lausanne and had become a medical practitioner there, greatly distinguished himself as such during the plague of 1547, and finally became Head of the College there in 1559.³⁸ In his verses addressed to Nuñez, which he signs as Doctor of divinity and of medicine, he manifests his admiration of Nuñez to have been so great, that he says, that *Dialectic* was so much indebted to him as to any one of the ancients.³⁹

he had written from Geneva on 4 *Non. Jul.*, that he has gone to Lausanne, *ubi erudita Marcuardi, Samuelis, Divitis et reliquorum professorum consuetudine otium oblectamus*; Nuñez is not named, Ramus probably naming only those whom Zwinger knew. In one of the letters of 5 *Cal. Sept.* he says: *Statuo hebdomade ista Lugdunum, deinde Lutetiam proficisci*; in beginning of September he was back in France.

34) See note 45.

35) Below p. 162.

36) He went to Genova in 1561, and became Greek professor there in the next year; he died there in June 1581. See Didot's *Biogr. gén.*

37) La Faye died in 1615. Montel t. 2. 1878. Leu VII, 54.

38) Leu V, 398. 39) Below p. 154.

Nuñez purposed when he published this Geneva edition, to issue shortly after a work upon music;⁴⁰ which, however, it would seem, never was published, neither is it known that the ms. now exists.⁴¹

He died of the plague at Lausanne in October 1580.⁴² Æmilius Francis Portus, the son of the above mentioned Candiot, was appointed Nuñez's successor the year afterwards,⁴³ the father having died but some weeks previous to his son's appointment.

Nuñez in his poems and prefaces overflows in grateful acknowledgments to his Evangelical friends and patrons in Berne. He arrived there penniless; he says that the Harpies, — he does not tell us who they were, — had stripped him of everything. He frequently, whilst engaged upon scientific investigations, takes occasion to express his religious views, shewing that they were based upon the Bible.

40) Below p. 162.

41) George Becker, *La musique en Suisse depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à la fin du dix-huitième siècle*. Genève. Paris. 1874. does not mention Pedro Nuñez.

42) Abraham Musculus whom we have mentioned among Nuñez's friends, entered in his continuation of Johann Haller's Bernese Chronicle the following paragraph under the year 1580: *Im October regiert die pestis zu Lausanna treffenlich. Da starb D. Ludovicus, ein alter Predicant zu Lausanna, und Petrus Nunnius der griechisch Professor, und Sant Paulinus zu Vivis, und viel ander*. I owe this extract from the unprinted manuscript to Mr. von Stürler. Haller had written the Chronicle untill 1574, he died 1575 Sept. 1; Musculus continued it to the year 1587 or longer; compare Gottl. Em. v. Haller's *Bibliothek der Schweizer-Geschichte*, 4^{ter} Theil, Bern 1786, S. 319 f.

43) The *Rathsmanual*, in the State's Archives of Berne, has under 8 August 1581 the confirmation of the appointment of Æmilius Portus as professor of the Greek language at Lausanne. On the same day he has inscribed himself in the *Roll of oaths*: *Æmilius Franc. Portus f., Bernæ die Martis 6 Id. Sext. 1581*.

44) *Whatever has been written on the history of the evangelical academy at Lausanne in the 16th century, is insufficient and full of errors. This is to be seen, for instance, in the statements concerning Nuñez. Ruchat says, Hist. de la Réf. de la Suisse, t. 6, Genève 1728, p. 452: Après Gessnor, on eut à Lausanne, pour Professeur en Grec, un Espagnol natif d'Avila, nommé Pierre Nunnez. [Note: Ex Act.]. Il eut pour Successeur, au mois de Novembre de l'an 1549. Théodore de Beze [Note: E Libro Subscription. Item. Vita Bezæ apud Melch. Adam]. This passage of Ruchat was the only source for M'Crie, when mentioning Nuñez by way of addition to his History of the ref. in Spain, a new edition 1856, p. 209.*

(In Melchior Adam's life of Beza there is no mention of Nuñez). Ruchat, who had already said in his *Abrégé de l'hist. eccl. du pays de Vaud. Berne 1707. p. 109*: L'An 1579 Jean Scapula fut fait Professeur en Langue Grèque à Lausanne, *observes, speaking of this Academy, in the Hist. de la Réf. de la Suisse, t. 6, p. 455*: Jean l'Epaule, ou Scapula l'Abbréviateur du Thésor de la Langue Grecque d'Henri Etienne, fut Professeur en cette Langue l'an 1579; *he is right in noticing ib.*: Aemylius, fils de François Portus, . . fut Professeur en Grec l'an 1581. *Leu in the Helvetisches Lexicon, Theil XI. 1756, p. 482 has the following series of professors of Greek and morals at the Academy of Lausanne*: 1537 Conr. Gesner, 154. Petrus Nunius, 1549 Beza, 1569 Blas. Marquard, 1579 Scapula, 1581 A'm. Portus, *and he says also XVI, 140 that Scapula was Greek professor at that Academy 1579—81. Better informed was Gottl. Em. v. Haller who in the Bibliothek der Schweizer-Geschichte, Theil 4, Bern 1786, p. 323 touches upon the Dialectics of 1570 and the appended verses to the Senate of Berne (see here above, note 18), and remarks*: Der VI. ward nach 1564 Prof. in der griech. Sprache zu Lausanne, *a date which Haller might derive from this volume of Nuñez. Still more exact is what is said in the second edition of Nic. Antonio's Bth. Hisp. nova, t. 2, Madriti 1788, p. 223, where Nuñez's two books of 1570 and 1578 are registered, with the notice, certainly derived from themselves, that he wrote them when professor of Greek at Lausanne, being an apostate from the Church of Rome*: Apostata hic verè religionis professor erat, cum hæc edidit, linguæ Græcæ in urbe Lausanensi Helvetiorum. *Menendez, p. 246 f., saw no book of Nuñez, and did not get other information, in addition to the Bth. of Nic. Antonio and to the Life of Ramus, but the erroneous one, according to a compilation of the year 1679, that Nuñez was mentioned as Greek professor under Prefect Frisching who went to Lausanne in 1548, previous to Beza's appointment for the same professorship there in 1549.*

45) Claudius Alberius Theodoro Zuingero.

Lausanæ 7 Julii. Organum Aristotelis explicare cœpi frequenti auditorio. Sunt enim hic doctissimi quidam viri Galli (inter quos est dominus Chandæus, vir nobilissimus et doctissimus) qui Aristotelis doctrina mirum in modum delectantur. Medici et Hispanus Græcarum literarum professor cœperant mihi negotium facessere, et clamare nullam demonstrationem esse: quibus ego coactus sum os obstruere adductis quamplurimis exemplis. Mirati sunt amici me alioqui natura timidum tam animoso istorum ἀπαρδεύσαι publice coarguisse. D. Beza cæterique boni et docti viri addunt animum mihi non usque adeo animoso.

Lausanæ X Augusti. Certum est mihi et institutum mittere ad te commentarios et paraphrases in Categorías, librum de interpretatione mentis: Analytica priora atque posteriora, statim atque descripti erunt εἰς ἄλλος commentarii in Categorías; in quibus adeo multa mutavi ut propemodum novos fecerim. Deinde mittam quoque commentarios in Topica et Elenchos σὺν τῷ θεῷ. Atque hic erit primus tomus operum Aristotelis, adeoque clavis, ut ita dicam, Aristoteleæ philosophiæ. Tibi omnia permittam et committam, nam de tua amicitia tuaque fide dubitare nefas.

The copies of the two letters in Basle University library [G II 37], from which I publish these extracts, are without year. Zwinger died in 1588. Leu says I, 371 that Alberius (Aubery) became in 1576 professor of philosophy at Lausanne, but XI, 482 he leaves the year of the decade open, giving the following series for that chair: Tagaut 1557, Claudius Aubrit 157., Tremblet 1594. *As for Chandæus, i. e. Antoine Chandieu, whom Aubery names as siding with him, according to Montel t. 1 he had in 1570 got a theological chair at Lausanne, according to Leu V, 211f.*

he went there about 1572 and functioned for a while as an extraordinary teacher of theology, but in a later volume XI, 481 Leu says on the contrary, that Chandieu was already in 1569 professor of theology there and that this professorship was in 1572 given to Blasius Marquard. If really Marquard, who in 1570 was professor of philosophy (see above p. 148), became in 1572 professor of theology, Aubery cannot have got the philosophical professorship earlier than 1572. In 1576 his *Posteriorum notionum explicatio* appeared at Lausanne (see *Bassæi collectio* 1592), in the same place the following year his *περὶ ἐρμηνείας* [BERNE City]; his next publication seems to be *Theophrasti characteres interprete* Cl. Auberio, together with Theod. Zwinger's *Nicomacheum Ethics*, Basle, *Episcopus* 1582 (according to S. F. W. Hoffmann's *Bibliogr. Lex.* vol. 1. 1838, p. 291); in 1584 his *Organon* appeared at Morges [BERNE City]. The above two letters seem to have been written within the last four years before Nuñez's death. — Aubery's views of justification and regeneration were thought to be in better harmony with Aristotle than with St. Paul; see papers of the year 1593 in the volume *Canton Waadt II*, in the *State's Archives of Berne*, and Hottinger's *Helvet. Kirchengesch.*, *Thl* 3. 1707, p. 944 f.

323. 1570.

Petri Nv- | nii Velii Abv- | lensis diale- | cticæ Libri tres. | Eiusdem de ratione in- | terpretandi aliorum scripta Li- | ber vnus | Eiusdem poematorum Latinorum | Liber unus. | Eiusdem poematorum Græcorum Liber v- | nus, cum Latina eorum ad verbum | interpretatione è regio- | ne posita. | Ad illustrissimum, & fortissimum | senatum Bernensem. | Basicæ. [misprinted for Basileæ] | Apvd Petrvm Pernam | M. D. LXX. | Octavo.

P. [3]. 4. 5. [6] Epistola dedicatoria.

Dialecticæ lib. I p. 7—43, lib. II p. 44—94, lib. III p. 95—138.

De ratione interpretandi aliorum scripta p. 139—176.

Poem. Lat. p. 177—189. *Greek poems* p. 190 (by misprint: 160)—221.

Errata p. [222]—[223]. Græcarum vocum interpretatio p. 224—230. Finis. Last leaf blank.

MUNICH royal.

324. 1578.

Petri Nvnii | Velii Abvlensis, | dialecticorum libri III. quos | auctor nunc iterum ad maiorem bre- | uitatem perspicuitatémque reda- | ctos emittit in lucem. | Eiusdem disputationum logi- | carum libri III. nunc primùm in lucem dati. | Ἡ μὲν δρασις ἀπὸ τῆ περιέχον- | τος ἀέρος λαμβάνει τὸ | φῶς, ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων, Id est, Ocu- | lus à circumdante lumen aëre capit, & ani- | mus à doctrinis. | Emblem: in clouds the word יהוה, below a tree and two men planting and watering | Apvd Iacobvm Stoer. | M. D. LXXVIII. | Geneva. Octavo.

A ij: Ad Senatum Bernensem, Petrus Nunius Velius Abulensis. A iij: Ad deum ... precatio. A iiij: Ad candidum lectorem auctor. A VI and A VII recto:

Biblioth. Witten. II.

Beatus Comes doctor Medicinæ & Theologiæ ad Petrum Nunium. *Begins: Ergo tibi tantum Nuni dialectica debet, Vt veterum nulli debeat ipsa magis.* Φαρχισκου Πορτου του Κρητος *disticha addressed to Nuñez.* Antonivs Faivs *Latin disticha to the same.* Ioannis Stvrtii Westriaci Epigramma, *Latin disticha to the same.* Eiusdem [Sturtii] in Zoilum epigramma. *A VII and VIII recto Index. A VIII verso ornament.* P. 1: Petri Nvnii Velii Abvlensis, dialecticorvm, liber primvs. *End of the third book p. 92.* P. 93: Petri Nvnii Velii Abvlensis, disputationvm logicarvm libri III. Ad ... Hieronymum Manuelem .. *Praefatio, p. 93—98. The disputations p. 99—208.*

MUNICH royal. ZURICH City.

These two publications of 1570 and 1578 are registered in the Collectio in unum corpus librorum ab a. 1564—1592. Ex offic. Nic. Bassei 1592, t. 1, p. 539.

Isr. Spach's Nomenclator scriptorum philosophicor. Argentinae 1598. has under Poetica opera varia, p. 132: Petri Nunij Poematia Gr. & Ln. Bas. ap. Petr. Pernam. 70. 8. which certainly means the respective part of the above described publication of 1570, not a separate edition of the poems; and under Dialectica, p. 242: Petri Nunij. Geneuæ ap. Iac. Stoer. 80. 8, where 80 seems to be a mistake for 78.

The Catalogus clarorum Hispaniæ scriptorum, ex omnibus Nundinarum Catalogis ac Bibliothecis diligenter collectus, Opera ac studio, Valerii Andree Taxandri. Moguntiae 1607. P. 95 only knows the book of 1570, and only this is, with reference to Val. Andreas, mentioned by Nic. Antonio in his Biblioth. Hisp., de his qui post a. MD. floruerunt, Romæ 1672, t. 2, p. 179. The second ed. of Antonio's Biblioth. Hisp. nova, t. 2, Matriti 1788, p. 223 has a (somewhat confused) notice of both publications.

325. 1882.

Extracts from the publication of 1570.

Dedication:

Illustrissimo et fortissimo senatui Bernensi Petrus Nunius Velius. Olim, cum in Italia commorarer, clarissimi et præstantissimi principes, tres Dialecticæ libros conscripsi: a quibus edendis tunc, mihi diffidens, abstinui: fieri enim posse putabam, ut quæ illo tempore mihi placebant, eadem tempore maxime progressa, et aucto iudicio, displicerent. Nuper vero post tot annos elapsos, illam ipsam lucubrationem inspexi, eamque non improbandam duxi et nonnullis minimo negotio adjectis, nonnullisque detractis quæ abundare videbantur, ... imprimendam tradidi, cum libro uno qui de ratione aliorum scripta interpretandi inscribitur, quem ego nuper confeci dum in interpretandis Græcis auctoribus in academia Lausannensi assidue versor: quo beneficio et honore me pro vestra singulari atque divina humanitate liberalitateque, principes fortissimi, affecistis. Adjeci etiam duos libellos, quorum alter poematia Latina continet, alter Græca, quos ex pluribus aliis versibus a me confectis delegi ut ederentur, quia de vestra singulari virtute (quamvis non quomodo deceret) præcipue disserunt ... Lausannæ Kal. Novembris anno CIO. IO. LXXIX (*misprint for LXIX*).

Dialectics:

P. 7: nec vero hanc τὴν φιλαυθεντίαν [p. 224: amorem autoritatis: et nomen φιλαυθεντία novum est et ab authore nuper inventum] levem causam puto cur nostris temporibus homines sine fructu diutius immorentur in consideratione inutilium præceptorum quæ ad hanc artem pertinere putant. Multa ... [2^d ed. p. 1: nec vero τὴν πολλὴν φιλαυθεντίαν. id est nimium auctoritatis amorem levem causam puto cur nostris temporibus homines diutius immorentur sine fructis in consideratione quorundam:

multa . . .]. P. 8: auctoritati debitum honorem tribuamus, itemque ab ea desciscimus si quando id ratio valentior postulare videbitur. Illud enim verissimum: *δεῖν ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τὰ οὐκ εἶναι ἀναιρεῖν*, ut inquit Aristoteles [*translated* p. 224: oportere pro conservatione veritatis etiam propria evertere. 2^d ed. p. 2: . . enim Aristotelis verissimum: *δεῖν ἔσθαι*, id est: oportere . . veritatis vel p. e.]. P. 16 (*cf.* 222): *τῇ πίστει*, quod lumen est humano multis partibus excelsius sublimiusque et naturam superans atque transcendens, quidquid de Deo et nostra salute sciendum, id ex sacris literis cognoscimus, quibus firmissime assentimur et multo firmitus quam sensui et omni humanæ rationi perfectissimæque conclusioni; ad eas literas intelligendas mirum quantum Dialectica fructus adferre possit. Nam quamvis verba Dei sint *ἀξιώματα* [225: dignitates, id est communes animi rationes] quibus fidem habere sine ulla argumentatione debemus, nihilominus ex verbi Dei sententiis aliæ necessaria argumentatione nascuntur, quæ in numero sententiarum divinarum sunt habendæ, quamobrem hic naturæ ingenique conclusio locum habebit, quam ars mirum in modum adjuvabit. Item vanas hæreticorum interpretationes refutare argumentando possumus, videlicet ex consequentibus et præcedentibus et utrisque, ex quarum rerum ignorance omnes hæreses ortas puto. Eas etiam confutamus ex remotis aliis ejusdem verbi Dei locis; ut illud: Non facies tibi sculptile, non simpliciter intelligendum, patet ex eo quod in Deuteronomio clare profertur. Quamobrem adolescentes admonitos velim ut in hanc artem omnibus viribus incumbant. Nam quamvis alias doctrinas non penitus introspererint, ejus tamen et grammaticæ adjumento mirabilia præstare in theologia poterunt; et cum dico grammaticam, linguæ Græcæ et Hebrææ cognitionem intelligo; nam si illas linguas teneamus, nos ipsi judices erimus nec aliis fidem habere necesse habebimus. [2^d ed. p. 5 sq.: *τῆς πίστεως*, id est fidei lumine, quod est humana ratione multis et infinitis partibus excelsius, quidquid de Deo et futura post mortem nostrorum animorum corporumque salute sciendum, id ex divinis literis, firmissime assentientes, intelligimus; ad eas literas intelligendas mirum quantum hæc ars fructus . . . sint dignissima quibus fides adhibeatur sine u. arg. principia, nih. ex illis aliæ necessaria ratione nascuntur sententiæ quæ in divinarum numero sunt habendæ, . . . hæc rationes et int. . . præc. et conseq. et utr., ex quorum ign. ortæ videntur omnes perversæ de religione sententiæ. Eas etiam licet confutemus . . . divini locis. Quamobrem . . . poterunt; et grammaticam interpreter: linguæ Græcæ et Hebrææ cognitionem. *The following sentence: nam ἔσθαι of the first edition is cancelled in the second*].

P. 22 sq.: ille quidem bene divisisse nihilque prætermisisse videri volebat qui pro concione in Hispania, quemadmodum ibi acceperimus, dixit, monachorum alios pessimos esse, alios optimos, alios nec bonos nec malos. Pessimos et pestiferos eos esse dicebat qui in terra viverent, optimos D. Franciscum et Dominicum et reliquos in cælo constitutos, nec bonos nec malos esse pictos. Hic certe omnia videri voluit per jocum complexus, nam si quis dixisset, monachorum alios malos, alios pessimos esse, ideoque non omnia comprehensa in divisione fuisse, ille respondisset, omnes qui hodie vivunt monachos pessimis moribus contaminatos esse, nullos autem esse tantummodo malos ut non sint pessimi nominandi. Quod quidem exaggerandi et jocandi gratia dici potuit, non vere. Illud etiam de pictis jocosum est, non serio dictum, nam monachi picti non sunt monachi, sed verorum imagines et picturæ. [*Left out in the 2^d ed.*]

P. 43, *end of book 1*: mentem definire non possumus nisi per negationem, dicendo: mens est natura vel si mavis substantia corpore carens, at, quid sit, tunc non dicimus. *Second ed. p. 25 sq.* genus mentis non possumus definire, nisi illam a

corpore segregando, neque vero quid sit mens intelligere possumus: sed id æquo animo ferendum est: nam cito eo pervehentur omnes pii, ubi cum Deo Opt. Max. et Jesu Christo unico ejus filio, et sancto spiritu vivent, ipsamque divinam majestatem intuebuntur, et summa felicitate fruuntur, quam nec auris audivit nec oculus vidit nec hominis intelligentia comprehendit.

Lib. II. p. 63—65: Qui dieit te esse animal, dicit verum. Qui dicit te esse equum, dicit te esse animal. Qui ergo dicit te equum esse, dicit verum. Hanc proponenti conclusionem cuidam et primam primæ figuræ esse dicenti multi Romæ docti, etiam in dialecticis versati obsistere nesciebant me præsentē . . . Sed in Barbara sunt tres termini, in hoc sunt quatuor, si vera sit assumptio . . . Matthæus vero Pasqualis Hispanus, vir varia et maxima doctrina præditus, negabat assumptionem . . . quod meo quidem judicio vere dixit, et ita error erit in assumptionis falsitate; at vero nihilominus error est ille quem diximus, si concedamus assumptum [2^d ed. p. 38—39 . . . negabat veram esse assumpt. . . quod vere dixit . . .]

P. 94, *end of book 2* [*cancelled in the 2^d ed.*]: Ego quidem homines Aristoteli tanquam deo addictos vel evangelio, mutas esse pecudes et impias judico, quippe qui honorem Deo optimo maximo debitum rei creatæ tribuunt.

Lib. III, p. 122: In grammatica auctoritas antiquorum debet esse nobis pulcherrimi argumenti loco, et quod usurpat Cicero, id quoque nos usurpemus. Sed videndum an frequenter usurpet, nam si semel tantum, ut: collineare, verendum ne sit error, et alii habent: collimare. Similiter in theologia et religione, nam verbum Dei argumentum est ἀποδείξεις [229: demonstrationis], et quæ a deo dicuntur, ea sunt ἀξιώματα [229: communes sententiæ], neque ullam confirmationem approbationemve requirunt: qui vero non credit verbo Dei, is de Deo non multa dicere potest nisi verisimiliter . . . P. 123 sq.: Sed non omnia quæ in sacris literis dici videntur, a Deo dicuntur, sunt enim antecedentia et consequentia consideranda, et loci sacrarum literarum cum aliis locis diligentissime accuratissimeque conferendi. [2^d ed. p. 83—84: . . auctoritas veterum d. e. n. pulcherrimum argumentum, et . . vid. frequenter ne u. . . collimare, . . collineare . . Dei ratio est ἀπ., id est: necessaria argumentationis effectrix, et quæ . . ἀξ. id est dignitates: sed non . . divinis lit. . . locis accur. conf.]

P. 126: notandum in omnibus artibus præterquam in theologia et grammatica auctoritatem non esse maximi ad fidem faciendam momenti, sed, cum aliis argumentis validioribus conjunctam, aliquam vim et multam venustatem habere. [2^d ed. p. 85: sciendum in omnib. doctrinis præt. . .]

P. 130, *speaking on the enthymema*: De definitione vero consecutionis formalis et materialis non hic loquendum amplius, nam patet ex superioribus. [*New section*:] Ea de re olim libellum ad Joannem Seronem virum optimum et politioribus literis apprime excultum scripsimus. [*Cancelled in the 2^d ed.*]

De ratione interpretandi:

P. 139: utilissimam esse hanc puto [artem doctrinamque] quam ego tractandam sumpsit nec ab aliis disputatam vidi, id est: rationem interpretandi intelligendique libros.

P. 142: hac de re fusius in libro nostro de tuenda studiosorum valetudine versibus latinis conscripto tractavimus . . . præcipue sacris literis operam dandam, quandoquidem ex illarum cognitione salus animorum nostrorum pendet.

P. 146 sq.: illi enim qui divino numine afflati literis voluntatem Dei mandarunt, errare nulla ratione potuerunt, non secus atque ille Deus, qui hujus scriptionis auctor fuit, ab omni errore est alienissimus atque remotissimus: hi libri appellantur Biblia, qui non hominis libri dicendi sunt nec ab homine confecti, sed a Deo: non enim erat

Moses et David et alii qui loquebantur, sed Deus loquebatur illorum ore. hæc igitur Biblia tanquam scripta divina non solum sunt nobis explicanda et intelligenda, sed quidquid illic scriptum est, debemus omnibus modis tanquam divinum oraculum defendere: et si res portulabit, mortem occumbere pro ejus veritatis defensione. Hoc ergo libro divino excepto, libri reliqui tanquam ab hominibus conscripti legendi sunt. Nec vero illos imitari debemus qui Aristotelem deum fere putant . . .

P. 150 sq.: si locum aliquem ejus quem legimus auctoris mediocri temporis jactura facta non intelligimus, debemus quiescere et illam speculationem differre in tempus aliud, quo nobis aliud cogitantibus se sponte fortassis offeret recta loci illius interpretatio . . . contra faciunt multi homines . . . et quidem ego fateor, me valde olim hoc morbo laborasse: intemperanti enim quadam sciendi cupiditate tenebar et me ipsum frustra maximeque cruciabam: quo quidem nihil potest esse stultius, nihil infelicius.

P. 152: Quomodo autem in variis artibus exerceri possimus, pete ex epistola latinis versibus conscripta quam ad Davidem Dolbenium scribimus. [*It seems from this passage that he had not yet finished it. It is certainly the same epistola, from which see extracts below p. 159.*]

P. 157: si vacat, lege nostros in Lucretium commentarios.

P. 159: præcedentia et consequentia sunt considerata, ut videamus quid quisque loquatur: ex cujus rei ignorance omnes hæreses profectæ sunt dum homines temerarii et inscii voluerunt violentiam sacris literis afferre, non cogitantes nec animadvertentes qua de re sermo haberetur in eo quem interpretabantur loco.

P. 169: veram utriusque loci interpretationem vide in nostris in Virgilium commentariis.

P. 174: ego quidem aliquando hoc errore et morbo laboravi: et ita factum est ut vix intra spatium mensis unius potuerim progressum in legendo facere, sed semper in quibusdam difficillimis immorabar, nec in memoriam sic revocabam illa loquendi genera illustriora, et pulcherrima ornamenta, quibus uti in scribendo debemus, et similiter totam ideam et imaginem operis minime complectebam . . . P. 175: artes quæ traduntur intelligendæ sunt potius et historiæ et cetera, non in verbulis immorandum: quo vitio laborantes multos vidi Patavii, qui Aristotelis singula verba, etiam difficillimos locos, ex quibus nihil fructus percipi posset, conabantur enodare, relicta interim illa scientia et cognitione quæ a viro sapientissimo traditur. Quod si dicēs, locos difficillimos esse omnino intelligendos ut illis uti in componendo possimus, huic rei rectissime respondebat Basilius Zanchus bonus nostri temporis versificator, id non esse necessarium, cum eandem rem aliis phrasibus et loquendi formis possimus exprimere . . . P. 175—6: hæc tanti momenti est ut homines aliqui in difficilibus locis eruendis minus | versati et imperiti, quales fuere Laurentius Gambara et Basilius Zanchusi [*sic, write Zanchius or as before Zanchus*]: quorum ego virorum consuetudine sum usus, rerum faciliorem diuturna tractatione exercitationeque conficere versus possint laudabiles. [*End of the book de interpret. rat.*]

Poem. Lat.:

P. 177: Ad Nicolaum Zerchintium Oratorem et Philosophum eximium.

— — —
Beza pio tecum magnus conjunctus amore
me commendasset toto tibi corde benignus,
si non se Manuel Genevam forte tulisset,
Quæstoris munus summa qui laude tuetur,
cui me Beza meus commisit: proinde ego magnis

principibusque viris immunis nutrior, altus
 Arola quis bibitur, cœlo gratissimus amnis:
 nutrior immunis Lausannæ expersque laborum
 donec se locus ostendat mihi Graja docendi
 scripta juventutem et veterum monimenta virorum . . .

- 178 Ornatique alta virtutis laude senatus
 urbem præclaram Arctopolim cum pace colentis,
 in quorum es numero, Zerchinti magne, virorum:
 hic hic præclarus cætus caput exerit almum
 ad cœlum, lætas cupiens ibi ponere sedes
 ardenti et veræ pietatis captus amore,
 atque Dei verbum constanti mente secutus
 invigilat magna cura ac virtute, rapaces
 debilitare lupos, siccis qui faucibus acres
 usque vorare gregem Christi properantque ruuntque.
 Et quia scit Christo servos ex partibus orbis
 electos variis, sacro ut sermone docemur,
 omnes in quibus est pietas vera atque fidelis
 et figmentorum nullo circumlita fuco
 dulciter amplexens peregrinos excipit ulnis,
 excipit et fessos opibus solatur amicis.

Salve, magne parens cunctorum et sancte senatus,

- 179 pulsi Antichristi sævi quem gloria tollit
 sublimem ætherias pulcherrima semper in auras.

- 181 Salve, optime quæstor
 tu Manuel, quo rite fui fautore relatus
 servorum in numerum florentis laude senatus.
 et vive, optime consul
 Stoiger, qui placidos vertis mihi luminis orbes.

P. 182: Ad Petrum Vattevillum senatorem Bernatem et Lausannæ pro senatu
 illustrissimo Bernati præfectum.

- 184 Te rogo, si ad Bernæ pulchram perveneris urbem,
 tunc augere velis magni Manuelis amorem . . .

P. 184: Ad Lodoicum Enochum.

Ferre tibi cupio donum quod reddere apertam
 hanc in te possit pietatem tempore natam
 illo quo tecum sum primum Enoche locutus.
 Nam tunc audiavi pauca ex te, at . . .
 Nil habeo, quoniam Harpyiæ bona cuncta rapaces
 eripuerunt mihi, et vitam duco indigus omni
 humano auxilio: tantum tibi carmina possum
 donare . . .

P. 185: Ad Bartholomæum Bubertum.

Cum mea morbus atrox premeret languentia membra
 meque rapax lethum quæreret ante fores,
 tu, Buberte, illum potuisti expellere morbum,
 at petiit Stygios mors pudefacta lacus . . .

P. 185: Ad amicum.

P. 186: Ad Davidem Delbenium.

Ad me pervenit tua dulcis epistola . .

187 idque facis juvenis, senibus quod maxima laus est . . .

Olim te memini non æquo ferre patique
pectore, cum sacris te a scriptis velleret acris
plurima disceudi tibi corde innata cupido.
Quod tunc consilium merito mihi jure probatum est.
Namque avido ad Domini debemus pectore librum
suspirare animique siti contendere anhela,
versarique in eo toti noctesque diesque,
Davidis ut sancti ponit sententia vatis.
Sed quia multa opus est ad eum ducentia nosse,
multa ideo recte didicisti multaque discis . . .

188 Te discessurum Geneva fama ferebat.

189 Bezan atque Enochum complectere nomine nostro
nec non et Portum, tria lumina.

P. 189: Ad clariss. virum Hieronymum Manuelem senatorem Bernatem.

nec pulchrum conamen deseris unquam
Lausannæ ut doceant homines doctique piique . . .
Et quamvis homo sum peregrinus, dulce tamen me
atque libens fecit tua virtus alma, potentis
esse in amicorum numero sanctique senatus . . .
Istorum in laudem versus componere Grajos
nuper sum, tanti meriti non immemor, ausus.
Quos tibi nunc trado . . .

P. 190: Περὶ τῆς συγκλήτου τῆς βερναίης.

198 καὶ γὰρ ὅταν σὺ θέλῃς με διδάσκειν ἑλλάδα φωνὴν
τοὺς δὲ νέους, περὶ τῶτο τρόπον κατὰ πάντα πονήσω

(199: etenim quum tu voles me docere Græcum sermonem hanc juventutem, in hoc modis omnibus laborabo).

P. 200: To John Haller, preacher of the Word of God.

Καὶ γὰρ ἐμ' ἐκλέξω σὺ διδάσκαλον ἑλλάδος εἶναι
γλώσσης, Λαυσάννης κατὰ τὸ πτολίεθρον ἑραινῆς

(201: Etenim me elegisti tu professorem Græcæ ut essem linguæ, Lausannæ in urbe amabilis).

204: On the Senate of Berne τοῖς ἑπεὶν γε λόγος μοι τεύξεται ἄλλος (versibus oratio alia mihi fabricabitur).

Καὶ γὰρ σὸν περὶ μὲ νόον ἐστήριξαν ἅπαντες

αἰνῶντες (tuum de me iudicium confirmaverunt omnes [senatores], laudantes).

206: Praise of Blasius Marquard. Salutation to Zerchintius, Abraham Musculus, Aretius.

P. 206: To Benedict Aretius, prof. theol. at Berne.

206 sq.: Everybody has told me, says Nuñez, that you have done your best in order that I should be appointed professor of Greek (γλώσσης διδάσκαλος ἑλλάδος) at Lausanne, and that you have praised my verses and shown them to others.

208 sq. he speaks of the victory which Aretius by the power of his doctrine had obtained in the disputation with Valentino Gentile.

210 sq. salutations to Haller, Abraham Musculus, his brother Henry, Hadrian Blauner, John Fetminger.

P. 212: *Πρὸς τὸν αἰτόν [Aetium].*

218 *Πίστις δ' ἔχ' ἦττον διδασκῶν ἡμετερίων
ἀνδράσιν ἀσφαλῆα γνῶσιν, μᾶλλον δὲ δίδωσι,
καὶ γὰρ τῆς φύσεως ἀρχαῖς τισιν εἰδότες εἰμὲν,
ἀλλ' ἡμέσως θεόθεν μυστήρια Χριστοῦ ἀνακτος
ἡμῶν σωτήρος γινγνώσκομεν ἢ δὲ νοοῦμεν.
καὶ πείθειν οὕτως γε θεύσδοτα πολλὸν ἡμείνω.*

(219: Fides autem non minus quam doctrinæ nostræ hominibus firmam cognitionem, sed magis firmam dat. Etenim naturæ principiis quibusdam scientes sumus, sed sine medio divinitus mysteria Christi Dei, nostri servatoris cognoscimus et intelligimus. Et ad persuadendum sic a Deo donata multo meliora sunt).

218: *Salutations to Zerchintius, Haller, Abraham Musculus, Hadrian Blumner, Fetminger (θεῶν ὑποφήτην, rerum divinarum interpretem). I desire to know the name of the man who has spoken on my behalf to Consul Steger (Στέγγορ) when we wished soon to return to Lausanne.*

220: *I wish to see Berne with my own eyes and to stay there to listen to thy words.*

P. 220: *Πρὸς Ἀντόνιον τὸν Φάγιον.*

Extracts from the publication of 1578.

In the dedication to the Senate of Berne, Nuñez says: cum dialecticorum opus superioribus annis vobis a me dicatum intellexissem in aliquibus regionibus aliquam legentibus utilitatem afferre, id iterum in lucem emittere politius volui . . . Hoc igitur munusculum novum, id est renovatum ut hilari animo accipiatis vos Principes magnanimi demississime rogo: nec dubito quin id sitis facturi: nam cum a peregrino minus cultum donum libentissimis olim animis acceperitis, profecto multo libentioribus cultius nunc accipietis ab eodem qui longi temporis intervallo ex peregrino vester est factus. . . neque nostrum carmen legere vobis displiceat, quod subjunximus . . . In this poem he prays v. 9 f.:

Aspice Bernates oculis pater alme benignis
atque luem defende ipsis. malaque omnia pelle:
quippe pios omnes dulci amplexantur amore,
quæ laus magna quidem, et laudes superemicat omnes:
nanque bonis cunctis pulsos miserantur, et omni
arte juvant, veluti mater juvat optima natum
qui patriis laribus longo abfuit intervallo,
et multos volvit casus, variosque labores
inter Barbaricas turmas, populosque feroces
pertulit, et se ipsum mittens in aperta pericla
ponendi lucem, et terram prono ore petendi,
omnibus amissis corpus vix morte reduxit.
Aspice justitiam placido sanctissime vultu,
quæ inter Bernates viget, et pietatis amorem,
justitiam quam fecisti ne desere Christe,
justitiam sancta cum religione nitentem,
et fera quæ ardescunt totum prope bella per orbem
proh dolor et laxis impune feruntur habenis
viribus immensi pacato numinis. Ah jam
non homines hominum dicendi nomine: nanque

deseruere omnem rationem: dæmonis illos
vis agitat rabidi, furiisque ferociter instat.
Fac Deus omnipotens, minime ut discordia demens
omnia pro libito vertens sursum atque deorsum
in vivis maneat, trepidumque recedat in imum
ac tetrum barathrum, redeat neque tempore in ullo.
Perveniatque tuas infantum fletus ad aures,
sanctorumque simul gemitus, clamorque piorum.
Diligitur quando tibi pax inimicaque rixa est,
puniat ira malos homines accincta flagello:
sic se mortales videant, et casibus esse
subjectos, quoscunque velis inducere mundo.

This is the end of the prayer.

In the preface to the reader: conati etiam sumus barbariem, quoad ejus fieri poterat, vitare et Latine loqui, et vocabulum Prædicabilium et similia tanquam barbara respuimus.

The preface of the disputations is addressed Ad Illustrissimum virum atque magnanimum Hieronymum Manuelem særario inclytæ dominorum Bernensium reip. præfectum et Lausanensis Academiæ protectorem omni laude dignissimum. *He says in it:* Hos ergo logicarum disputationum libros tibi vir præstantissime dicamus, et offerimus, ut aliquam nostræ erga te pietatis significationem exhibeamus . . . præsertim cum privatas etiam causas habeam ad te colendum et honorandum: nam optime animatus et affectus in me semper fuisti: ejusque dilectionis apertissima mihi signa dedisti. nam cum Bernam Illustrissimo fo[r]tissimoque senatui meam operam exhibiturus accessi, is tuo, quem pro me habuisti, sermone commotus me in perpetuum defendendum tuendumque suscepit, idque quamvis homo sim peregrinus et in regionibus natus multo remotissimis. Præterea quam erga me benevolentiam reipsa exhibuisti, in ea diuturno tempore permansisti, permanesque constantissime . . . *In a poem Nuñez describes the joy of Lausanne when Manuel comes there. And when he returns to Berne or is called elsewhere, sanctorum cœtus noster te mente requirit. As the mother longs for her son,*

haud aliter servatoris respublica Christi
te desiderio quærit percussa fidei,
cum gravibus rebus pressus loca nostra relinquis:
sed tamen haud animo nos deseris alme senator
nam tua pro nobis mens excubat usque laborans
Lausanæque tuis Academia mentibus hæret:
ex animo hanc semper defendis, protegis, auges.
Salve magne pater . . .

From the disp. log.:

P. 102: quæ Apostoli Jesu Christi dei et servatoris nostri, atque ejusdem Prophetæ literis mandarunt, ea non illi quidem humano ingenio scripserunt: sed spiritus dei opt. max. eorum ore loquebatur: quocirca debemus illis fidem habere, quamvis nullam rationem afferrent. Qui vero Aristoteli, Pythagoræ, Platoni, et similibus hominibus, quoniam ipsi sic dixerunt, credit, eos videtur divinis literis æquare, quod absit.

P. 127: Omnino comprehendere quomodo res aliæ cognoscuntur, non potest [*Deus*]: at vero potest aliquo modo, et quod ratio non assequitur, id indita divinitus persuasio supplet, quam *πιστις* id est, fidem vocamus: omnia enim quæ ad salutem necessaria

sunt Deus nobis libro suo divino veteris et novi testamenti monstravit. nam tanta fuit benignitas Dei, ut nobis tradiderit legem suis manibus conscriptam, quæ homines palantes et erroribus implicitos ad viam veritatis revocaret, atque animos a prava natura et consuetudine ad honestas vitæ actiones converteret: per legem suam maximus ille cælitum atque hominum pater testificatus est quid exigeret a nobis, quidve faciendum fugiendumve foret, ut ad vitam beatam et immortalem pervenire possemus: per legem suam cognitionem rerum altissimarum tradit hominibus qui simplici et puro animo, atque demisso justitiam et pietatem colunt. *P. 129*: non dubitandum quin [*Deus*] sui similes, liberales, clementes et justos amet, et præmiis post mortem æternis afficiat. *P. 130*: justitiam, non solum virtutem interpretor quæ jus suum unicuique homini tribuit, et neminem lædit, sed eam quæ Deo opt. max. cultum debitum præstat, quæ fides appellatur: neque sine hac reliquæ virtutes quidquam valent: si vero cum hac præstantissima atque divina, et divinitus, non aliunde indita virtute conjungantur, a Deo optimo, et omnium creatore pro ejus infinita bonitate admittuntur tanquam perfectæ, quamvis multis sordibus et maculis inquinatæ sint.

P. 177: idque facite amore erga Deum omnium creatorem impulsi: non enim ad præmia respicere debetis, neque ad pœnas, ne amor vester mercenarius, aut servilis jure dicatur . . . Discite theologiam voluntate divina innitentes, quam nobis divinæ literæ patefaciunt, non ad insulas et alienas a verbo Dei sententias adhærentes. Discite rhetoricam, ut homines possitis ad virtutem et veram pietatem, quam Jesus Christus Dominus noster verus Deus, et verus homo tradidit, incitare. Discite rem militarem, ut pro patria et religione vera pugnetis, pacem amantes, et bellum tanquam rem nefandam et belluarum propriam, ab humanaque natura alienissimam detestantes.

In the course of these disputationes logicæ between Petrus and his Auditor, this one says p. 153: Cupio scire cur in dialecticis nuper editis prætermiseris aliqua exempla a musicorum scientia sumpta, et a geometria: quæ exempla in priore dialectica posuisti. *Petrus answers*: Id factum est: quoniam nonnulli conquerebantur et ægre ferebant illorum exemplorum obscuritatem. [154] quocirca viam facillimam adolescentibus ostendere volui, nec illos difficultate rerum a dialectica deterrire, tibi autem, si placet, illa declarabo: quamvis quæ ad musicam pertinent, proprio libro tractavi, et edere in lucem cito constitui.

CASSIODORO DE REINA
AND HIS SONS MARCOS AND AUGUSTINO.

CASSIODORO de Reina¹ was a Sevillian,² born about the year 1520.³ He became a friar,⁴ and probably was in St. Isidro. He was one of those who escaped about the time of the detection of Julianillo's propaganda work.⁵

Reina had from his youth studied the Holy Scripture,⁶ and as soon as he found himself in a free country, he began to translate the Bible into Spanish.⁷ At Geneva he was a member of the Italian church, the Spanish one not having yet been established there. In 1558 he proceeded to Frankfort on the Main, whence Juan Perez had not then been recalled to Geneva to be the minister of the Spanish church there. In Frankfort Reina was a member of the French church. From there he went to England, after the accession

1) He never writes Reynius, but *Reinius*, in his letters, in the manuscript dedications of his Bible, in the titles of his works on St. John and St. Matthew; once *Rheinius*, in a letter written on 12 April 1574. In some French papers he writes *Cassiodore de Reyne* (see below, *Documents* 8. 14. 15), in one of the same (*Doc.* 15) also *Cassiodore de Reyna*.

2) In two autograph dedications of his Bible to the public libraries at Basle and Frankfort (see below) he calls himself *Hispalensis*. Pellicer (see ib.) translates this: *natural de Sevilla*. Lehnemann says of him in 1725: *bürtig aus Sevilien* (see ib.).

3) In 1573, in the dedication to Sturm of his book on the gospel of St. John he speaks of himself as *senectutem jam dudum ingressus*. See our *Doc.* 16.

4) See note 21: — La Serna Santander, who certainly had no information on Reina which we have not got, says in the catalogue of his own library, t. 1. 1803, p. 17, that R. was *Prêtre, natif de Seville*.

5) M'Crie, p. 222, 2^d ed. p. 106, has no doubt that Reina was that Cassiodoro who, according to Llorente cap. XXI, art. I, § 9 (cf. § 15), succeeded in converting almost all the monks of San Isidro to Lutheranism. Llorente, however, says that that Cassiodoro was burnt; also Ad. de Castro 290 and Menéndez Pelayo 447 have Fray Casiodoro among the monks of S. Isidro burnt in 1559.

6) *sacris oraculis quorum studiis ab ineunte aetate addictus fui*. In the same dedication to Sturm.

7) In the Admonition prefixed to his Bible in autumn 1569, he says that he had begun this work twelve years previously.

of Elizabeth.⁸ In England likewise he first became a member of the French church.⁹

John Strype relates in his *Annals of the church of England* during the first twelve years of Queen Elizabeth:¹⁰ „There had been many Spaniards in England since Henry VIII. time, whose first wife was a Spaniard, and whose daughter Mary, that king's only issue by her, had favoured and entertained them about her. But especially their numbers increased here upon the persecution in Spain, which was about the reign of king Edward, many whereof being Protestants, remained still in this realm.¹¹ For I find now a congregation of Spaniards in London; and one Cassiodorus was their preacher. Which congregation began about the last year [1559], when they met in a private house for their devotion.“

It was Reina who wrote the confession of faith in the name of some Spaniards at London who wished to be admitted to membership of the evangelical church.¹² In order to live in communion with

8) We know nothing as to where he stayed during the time between his flight from Seville and his arrival in England, beyond what he himself states in the papers printed hereafter among the *Documents*. His name does not occur among those catalogued in Burlamachi's *Memorie*, but Burl. himself says that all the members were not registered, see above p. 72, and the fact of Reina's membership is established beyond all doubt by his letter to Beza; *Doc.* 9. As for Frankfort see *Doc.* n° 4, § 2.

9) *Doc.* 4, § 2.

10) Second ed., vol. 1. 1725. chapt. 19. p. 237. Edition of Oxford 1824, p. 354.

11) End of 1553 Lasco and those with him wrote to the king of Denmark: *Constituerat Rex ille* [Angliæ, Eduardus VI] *Ecclesiarum nostrarum ministros, qui lingua Germaniæ inferioris, Gallica item atque Italica, Ecclesiastico ministerio publice fungerentur*. According to Jo. Utenhoven's *Narratio de Belgarum in Anglia Ecclesia*, 1560, p. 28. No mention there of Spaniards.

12) The *epistola del autor al lector* in the edition of 1577 is not signed, but from the first passage of it, copied below here n° 327, it is evident that the editor is the author of the confession. — He says in the same epistle (1577. fol. A. 2): *Pareceme auer comprehendido en el todos los articulos o fundamentos de nuestra Religion, que el Mundo aora llama Lutherana, Nueva, Heretica &c. y nosotros Christiana, Antigua, Catholica, tan necessariu a los hombres, que fuera della no haya salud.*

M. Io. Godofredi Lessingii, Archi-Diac. Cumentiensis, Marchion. Super. Lusat. [the father of Gotthold Ephraim Lessing] *specimen brevis disquisitionis historiæ, ex theologia symbolica, de insigni fidei confessione, quam Protestantes Hispania ejecti Londini 1559. ediderunt. In: Analecta ex omni meliorum literarum genere, quæ evulgat societas caritatis et scientiarum, t. II, Lipsiæ 1730, [HALLE Ponickau libr.] p. 631—639. § 10: Autores, quorum opera hæc confessio conscripta*

coreligionists, they had left their homes and whatever comfort they might have had there, nor had any temporal motive driven them to expatriation. This they declare in the preface, dated January 4. 1559 [new style 1560]. The confession had the result intended.¹³

Strype relates in the History of Grindal: „Divers of other nations had now removed themselves into England, under the Queen's favour and protection, for the sake of true religion, and the free exercise of it. Some of these were Spaniards; many whereof traded as merchants into Spain, and other the King of Spain's dominions. The preacher to these was named Cassiodorus. Upon their first coming, they were advised by the Bishop, and the Secretary of State, for some prudential reasons, to exercise their religious worship privately in an house, rather than in a church. But having done this hitherto, it being now the year 1560, they were induced, for certain causes, to meet together rather in a church for the future; and many ministers in the city of London had voluntarily offered them the use of theirs: there-

est, haud innotuerunt, siquidem nomina sua neque in Præfatione neque alibi professi sunt. Ex ipsa confessionis inspectione satis apparet, eos ad ferendas lites non natos, interim tamen veritatis tenaces ac momentorum fidei peritissimos fuisse. § 14: . . artic. XII. de baptismo, omnes credentes actualem gratiam hoc sacramento accipere ex Gal. 3, 27. Tit. 3, 5. Joh. 3, 5. affirmatur, artic. XIII. autem de s. cæna sub pane verum corpus et sub vino verum sanguinem domini nostri dari secundum expressa institutionis verba recte creditur. § 15: Ex ordine et articulorum inscriptione satis apparet, hos confessores non modo articulos XLII a Thoma Cranmero et Lanceloto Ridleyo confectos qui primam ecclesiæ Anglicanæ confessionem ab anno 1552 post tentatam ibi reformationem exhibent, sed ipsam etiam nostram Augustanam confessionem, quam ubique sequerentur, sibi proposuisse, ut adeo illi invariata Augustanæ confessioni addicti merito salutentur, quod etiam de primis Angliæ reformatoribus Guilielmus Nichols in defens. eccles. Anglic. et quidem in adparatu p. 10. adserit. § 16: In omnibus fundamentalibus articulis fraterno Christianæ concordie vinculo connexi confessores Angli, Hispani et Augustani confessores omnino conspirant, quod attentata trigæ confessionum collatio unumquemque edocebit.

According to the title of the edition the confession is simply directed to the *ecclesia de los fieles*, i. e. the evangelical church in general; the prefatory letter of the confession is addressed *a la iglesia del señor Jesus el Cristo congregada en Londres*, i. e. to the evangelical church at London. Only Retrodt (see below n° 328) says fol. iij that it was delivered to the Italian and Spanish church at London (*der Italienischen und Hispanischen Kirchen zu London vbergeben*). — Wiffon in some ms. notices on Reina: 1559. 60. 11 March. *In London: offers his Confession before the Consistory of the French church. (Records of the French church, London.)*

13) *Epist. del autor*, edition 1577.

fore they put up a supplication to the Bishop and the said Secretary, for their leave more publicly to serve God, together with their reasons for this their request.¹⁴ As first, because while they met in a private house, they found by experience it was an hindrance to the kingdom of Christ; while many withdrew themselves from the assembly, and others were afraid to meet there, lest they might create a danger to themselves and their affairs in Spain, where they held a commerce; for that they who joined themselves with this congregation were easily observed by their adversaries, men very sharp-sighted in this behalf: whereas no such notice would be taken of them, when they should assemble in some public place, where any might come. Again, that by their meeting so long together in a private house, especially in a city that, by the grace of God, was free for all Christian assemblies, they gave occasion to the adversaries more foully to traduce them and their doctrine, than before; for indeed they openly said, that these Spaniards did cherish among them monstrous doctrines, hated even by Lutherans themselves; since in a city so much Lutheran, they thought it not safe to appear publicly: and Cassiodorus made no doubt, that as they did so calumniate them here, they did the like in Spain by their letters; and by these specious pretences procured them great hatred, not only from their adversaries, but even their friends and brethren. He desired therefore of the Bishop and Secretary, that regard might be had to the Gospel of Christ by them sincerely preached; which undoubtedly suffered this scandal, by occasion of these private meetings of theirs. Nor, if this liberty of a church were granted them, would there be any reason to fear giving greater occasion of enmity with the King of Spain; for as soon as ever they should perceive any such thing, they would be willing to depart out of England, rather than disturbances should arise among princes for their cause, what danger soever followed thereby to themselves. And where it was feared the Spanish Ambassador might interpose himself,

14) In the *Annals* l. c. Strype says: „in this year 1560 the preacher did earnestly request of the Secretary and Bishop of London some church to have their religious assemblies in, for the avoiding of scandal, lest it might be surmised they taught such doctrine and used such worship as they were loth should be publicly known.“

if this were granted, Cassiodorus thought not, because this congregation had been now here above a year; and that he knew they had assemblies under the title of the Spanish church, and had forbid any of his to be present there, and had not since any way further concerned himself; and that it was not twelve days ago, that the said Ambassador ingenuously confessed, that he never to that time had been an enemy to them, nor, if they were minded to constitute a church. would he be their hindrance, having nothing of that nature in his instructions, and that he never had any envy at all against them; besides other good words. This is the sum of the address the Spanish preacher made to our Bishop; what issue it had I cannot tell, any further than that a Spanish church remained some years after in London, and one Antonius Corranus was their preacher; under whom it received some eclipse.“¹⁵ The petition, of which Strype gives this extract, is called by the writer a summary of a paper previously directed to the Bishop and to the Secretary of State. This summary, according to Strype, was written in 1560; more than a year after that the Spanish Protestant congregation had begun in London; therefore in the first quarter of 1561 new style.

In 1562 the Spanish ambassador in London, bishop Alvaro de la Quadra, resumes what he had written to his Sovereign thus: „To the Spanish heretics who stay here, there has been given a very large house, the Bishop of London's, in which they preach three days a week. They are favoured by the Queen. Cassiodoro, who was at the conference of Poissy [September 1561] received a considerable sum for the journey, and when he got ill at Poissy, the ambassador Throgmorton gave him money, and so too the Earl of Bedford has given money to him and to his father and mother who stay here, and all the others receive support.“¹⁶ In the same year 1562 he reported

15) *The history of Edmund Grindal* by John Strype, book 1, chap. V., Oxford 1821, p. 69—71 (marginal numbers, the pages of the old edition: 47. 48). Strype does not say where he found the petition. John Southerden Burn, *The history of the foreign Protestant Refugees settled in England*. London 1846. p. 224 refers to *Lansd. MSS. vol. 4. 46*. George J. Warner, of the British Museum, kindly copied it for me. I edit it with other *documents* below.

16) Printed from the Archives of Simancas, in *España y el vizconde Palmerston*; por Adrian Garcia Hernandez. Madrid: 1848. p. 235. I have written Throgmorton

that the Spanish Protestant refugees had got the church St. Mary Axe for their worship.¹⁷ Bishop Quadra led the secret negotiation with the Queen of Scotland whom Philip desired to marry with his son Charles, a marriage which, wrote the king,¹⁸ might be the beginning of a remedy for the religious affairs of England. When Quadra had reported, July 17. 1563, that an Andalusian Don Francisco de Zapata had arrived from Geneva in London and worked together with Cassiodoro de Reina in translating the Bible,¹⁹ the king answered:²⁰ the bishop would do him a great service if he could find out a means to make Zapata and Cassiodoro leave England as soon as possible and draw them to other parts or to redress the damage they did in England. This he wrote from Madrid on

instead of *Fragmarten*. — Wiffen, ms. notices concerning Reina: 1561. 22 Oct. In London. (*Records of the French church, London.*)

17) *A los españoles refugiados por causa de Religion, se les dió la iglesia de Santa María de Hacqs para sus oficios.* In the year 1562 in *Apuntamientos para la historia del Rey Don Felipe Segundo de España por lo tocante á sus relaciones con la Reina Isabel de Inglaterra, desde el año 1558 hasta el de 1576, formados en presencia de la correspondencia diplomática original de dicha época, por Don Tomás Gonzalez, in Memorias de la Real Academia de la Historia. T. VII. Madrid 1832. P. 294.* Wiffen, in his notices concerning Reina, has this passage, and says that, according to Strype, Reina was in 1562 Pastor of a congregation in St. Mary Axe with a stipend of £ 70 a year, and refers for this church to John Stow's *Survey of London*, edition of 1720, p. 86. I give the passage of the *Surrey* from the edition of 1633, p. 166 (in the chapter on Limestreet Ward): *In Saint Mary street had yee (of old time) a parish Church of Saint Mary the Virgin, St. Vrsula, and the 11000. Virgins, which Church was commonly called Saint Mary at the Axe, of the signe of an Axe, over against the East end thereof, or Saint Mary Pellipar, of a plot of ground lying on the North side thereof, pertaining to the Skinners in London. This parish about the yeere, 1565. was united to the parish Church of Saint Andrew Vndershaft, and so was Saint Mary at the Axe suppressed, and lettten out to bee a warehouse for a Merchant.* The edition of 1720, from which Wiffen copied, has the same (except orthography), it only adds at the end: *Here was afterwards a free school kept.*

Wiffen in the notices on Reina: 1562. In London offers the *Confession*. (*Records of the French church.*) Probably in order to be admitted to preach publicly, in that church, having hitherto preached in a private house.

18) *Documentos inéditos p. la hist. de Esp.*, t. 26, Madrid 1855, p. 448.

19) *haber llegado á Londres un andaluz llamado Don Francisco de Zapata, procedente de Ginebra, el cual se habia unido con Casiodoro de Reina, y trabajaban juntos la Biblia en romance.* Related by Tomás Gonzalez in his *Apuntamientos* l. c. p. 301.

20) *Doc. inéd.* l. c. p. 461 f.

August 15. 1563. It is sure, that Philip would have best liked to get hold of them in the Netherlands. On the fifth of October Diego Perez, secretary to that Spanish ambassador, who had died about end of August, reports to the king from Monzon: „From Cassiodoro, a moor of Granada, who has been a friar and who preached to the few Spanish heretics residing in London, the Queen [of England] has taken away the church which she had given him, and his pension of sixty pounds; shortly before, he had married.“²¹ Reina had left England already in the spring of the year 1563.²² The reason of his departure was that he was accused of being a follower of Servetus and a Sodomite, and, although the accusation was unfounded, which subsequently, after due examination was judicially declared so, he still may have had reason to fear, that influential persons might at that conjuncture prevent a fair trial.²³ Nor did he wish to lose his time by debating, having better things to do,²⁴ and first of all his Bible-

21) *Docum. inéd. ib. p. 465. A Casiodoro, morisco granadino, que ha sido fraile y predicaba á los pocos españoles herejes, que en Lóndres residen, quitó la Reina la iglesia que le habia dado y las sesenta libras de pension, el cual habia poco que se habia casado.* This incidental mention of his being a Granadine morisco (an extraction which characterises him as more liable to apostasy than any true Spaniard would be) is not at all sufficient to prove the truth of the supposed fact against Reina's own repeated statement that he was a Sevillian; also the origin of his parents remains uncertain. — Betts notices: *That Elizabeth was inexorable against marriage amongst the Clergy, is historic.*

22) See note 27.

23) Recollect what Franc. Enzinas relates of another Protestant being similarly charged by systematic liars with sodomy, *Historia* ch. 72, and that, about 1565 or 66, Franciscus Farias and Nicolaus Molinus who had left Spain for religion's sake and had lived eight years in England, protested against the device of coupling their names with that of a notorious malefactor in order to get them delivered up with him to the Spanish government. See their Latin letter to Grindal in Grindal's history by Strype, append. XIII to book 1, Oxf. 1821, p. 497 f. (old pagination 3. 4); translated into English, partly *ib.* book 1, ch. XI, and entirely as append. IV of M'Crie's *Reform. in Spain*. Francis de Farias, Spaniard, of the Italian church in London, silkworker, is mentioned in 1568 as living there, see Strype, *Supplement to the Annals of the Reform.*, vol. IV, Oxf. 1824, p. 571. Menendez thinks p. 457, that the pension and the permission to use the chapel had been withdrawn *sin duda porque la reina no queria aún herir do frente al monarca español dando amparo y proteccion á súbditos suyos foragidos y rebeldes*. Sturm writes to the Queen when sending Reina's Bible: *libenter auspiciis Maiestatis vestre divulgasset, si id ferre posse Hispanos arbitraretur*; see my Strassburg program 1872 p. 26 f.

24) *Docum. 4 § 15.*

translation. The manuscript of his Spanish Bible was saved by bishop Grindal from the hands of the enemies.²⁵

The Spanish ambassador in England Guzman de Silva mentions on 26 April 1565: The conventicle of Spanish heretics here is about to be closed.²⁶

Reina went to the Netherlands, and his young wife soon followed him there. In January 1564 king Philip put a price on the head of Reina; great sums were spent in order to arrest him, but in vain.²⁷

In the same year 1564 we find him at Montargis with Juan Perez and Antonio del Corro who both were there ministers of the Duchess dowager of Ferrara. With Corro he also went to Bergerac where Corro got another ministry.²⁸

25) Reina dedicated to Grindal a copy of the printed Bible *ob erepta hujus Hispanicae versionis sacrorum librorum scripta ex hostium manibus. Ref. Esp. XVIII*, p. 30.

26) *Docum. inéd. ib.* p. 540.

27) Rahlenbeck: *L'Inquisition et la Réforme en Belgique. Anvers.* (Viz. the volume treats on Antwerp.) Bruxelles et Leipzig 1857. P. 33, having mentioned the biography of Reina by Schulz Jacobi in the *Bydragen tot de geschiedenis der erang. luthersch kerk in de Nederlanden* 1840, continues: *L'estimable auteur ne parle pas de la présence de Cassiodore aux Pays-Bas à différentes reprises, entre les années 1561 et 1565. Au mois d'octobre 1563, un prisonnier français déclare devant le magistrat que „le nommé Cassiodore, prêcheur des hérétiques, a quitté l'Angleterre depuis cinq mois, et que l'on ne sait pas où il a passé.“* (Arch. du Roy., *Fardes de l'Audience*, n° 273.) *Au mois de janvier suivant, la tête de Cassiodore est mise à prix par le roi d'Espagne; on le sait à Anvers, mais on ne parvient pas à l'atteindre. „Madame,“ écrit à ce sujet le margrave d'Anvers à Marguerite de Parme, „j'entens que Sa Majesté a despendu de grandes sommes de deniers pour treuver et decouvrir le dict Cassiodoro, ce que ne sest encoires sceu faire, à cause quil ne se tient en lieu arresté. Me sembleroit estre requis denvoyer icy quelcung connoissant le dict Cassiodoro, pour si dadventure il se retreuvoit par les rues ou quelque aultre lieu, le descouvrir, promettant à celluy quelque somme d'argent en cas quil le descouvriroit. comme jay faict à ceulx lesquelz en cest endroict jay entretenus.“* Wiffen in the ms. notices concerning Reina: *In the Belgian Archives, Fardes d'Audience N° 278 is noted by the head of the Police at Antwerp named von Immenseel that Casiodoro de Reyna was secreted in Antwerp 4 January 1563 or 1564. And that his wife returned from England, but in order to escape the Police she landed in sailor's clothes at Flessinge and came secretly in this garb to Cassiodoro at Antwerp. (From P. C. van der Elst's letter, 7 month 17. 1858.)* — Reina's chief protector at Antwerp probably was Marcos Perez. See on him our *Documents* 11 and 17.

Reina's manuscript treatise, mentioned in 1567, on the Spanish Inquisition in Belgium (see above p. 118) is in all probability lost.

28) See *Documents* n° 15. For the date compare in Corro's life.

About the beginning of 1565 Reina returned to Germany. In Frankfort, he got, on Beza's recommendation, a call as preacher to the church of French foreigners at Strassburg.²⁹ On his way to Strassburg in March 1565 he saw at Heidelberg Olevianus, whom he had known before,³⁰ and other theologians. He did not succeed in removing their distrust of him, and they warned the French at Strassburg; nevertheless these declared themselves satisfied by Reina's explanations of his doctrine, and stated that it was only according to his own wish that they gave him leave of absence until he should have got his justification from London.³¹

In April Reina was back at Frankfort. In a letter to Marbach, the President of the Evangelical church of Strassburg, dated April 22, he declares his aversion to those who, on both sides, in the perpetual controversy on the Lords Supper, which ought to be a bond of Christian unity, did not wish to be taught and to teach, but strove only to gain the victory, either by argument or by abuse. He did not see, he said, that anything had been proposed by either party, which was not of far less importance than Bucer's Concordia (established at Wittenberg in 1536) and its explanations. To those articles he would keep, if the Lord should call him to preach at Strassburg. He did not know why they did not break the bread, since this was the practice of the apostolic church and conformable to Scripture. However, to omit even this, might be advised by Christian love, to which everything must subserve in the church of Christ. On the same day Reina wrote to Beza in the same sense. But to the Genevese reformer he appeared to be too much of a Lutheran. He never entered the ministry at Strassburg, but he returned there several times and saw his friends, especially the rector John Sturm, of scholastic celebrity down to our time, and the Rev^d Conrad Hubert.

Reina set up in business at Frankfort, and worked at the same time at his translation of the Bible. When he had finished the Old Testament, he removed to Basle,³² where the printing began in

29) *Docum.* 3 f.

30) *Docum.* 4, § 15. *Docum.* 6, in the beginning. Probably R. had known him at Geneva where Olevianus went in the beginning of 1558.

31) *Docum.* n° 5.

32) Reina went by way of Strassburg, where he stayed in June 1567 and was still there at the end of September; he was at Basle in October and November, at

the latter part of 1568 and the whole Bible was finished in September 1569.³³ As for the New Testament, he had expected to get a translation which was in the press at Paris, but as it did not come forth, he found himself obliged to translate the N. T. also; in May 1569 the printer had overtaken him at the end of the first epistle to the Corinthians, and had to wait a while for manuscript.³⁴ When Reina at last wrote the Admonition prefixed to his work, twelve years had elapsed since he began what he was now publishing, and he might say, that, deducting the time taken by illness and travel and other necessary occupations incident to exile and poverty, he had for nine long years not laid aside the pen.³⁵ In order to keep as near as possible to the Hebrew, he had generally followed the Latin translation of Sanctes Pagninus, and had largely used the Spanish version published by the Spanish Jews at Ferrara, comparing, however, other versions and commentaries, and replacing by a more exact translation whatever appeared to be insufficient. In the book on St. John's gospel, edited by him a few years later, the Hebrew and the Syriac words printed with Hebrew types, and his remarks on such words³⁶ show that he had studied those languages. At the end of that Admonition Reina starts the scheme, that a commission of ten or twelve members, chosen as the most learned and pious men in all the Universities and churches of the realm, should achieve a Spanish version of the Bible, and that this version should be authorized as well by a synod, which ought to be at least a national one, as also by the government, under severe

Strassburg at Christmas 1567 and in January 1568, at Basle on the 15. of Jan., at Strassburg in the first part of February and was so still at Easter [which fell on March 28]. Probably he went on to Frankfort to fetch his family. With them he arrived in June at Basle, where he was dangerously ill for five weeks. In the beginning of August he was recovering. All these dates are derived from his letters, and from those of Oporinus and Zanchi (see *Documents* n° 10).

33) See his letters and the colophon of his Bible.

34) Letter of 15 May 1569 to be combined with that of 27 Sept. 1567. Compare above n° 238.

35) This passage hinting at the poet's *nonum prematur in annum* is not in contradiction with what Reina says in the manuscript dedication of the copy presented to the Basle University library: *quam per integrum decennium elaboravit*, which is another approximate expression.

36) *Evang. Jo.* p. 21. 23. 33. 34. 73. 102.

penalties for those who should make alterations in it, such revision being reserved to the synod. Reina's Spanish Bible was of higher and more lasting importance for Spain than king Philip's polyglot Bible in Hebrew, Chaldean, Greek and Latin, in eight folio volumes, edited at Antwerp by the Spaniard Benito Arias Montano and his collaborators, the printing of which was likewise begun in 1568, in July, and was finished in March 1572. Reina's is the Spanish Protestant Bible now circulated in many editions throughout Spain and America. Valera, whose name it bears, is but the earliest of several revisors; he called his Bible a second edition of that of Reina, in whose text he now and then introduced some alterations, as he himself describes his work.³⁷

37) *algunas vezes avemos alterado el texto*, Valera's *Exhortacion al Lector*, p. 9. — *Christiani Kortholti, de variis scripturæ editionibus tractatus*. Kiloni, 1686. p. 317 on Valera's Bible: *non tam nova translatio est, quam Reyniana, alicubi, ex Genevensi præsertim Gallica, mutata & emendatæ, repetitio*. — Richard Simon, *Histoire critique des versions du nouveau testament*, Rotterdam 1690, chap. 41, speaks p. 496—503 on Reina's Bible. He says 497: *il n'a pas esté capable de mettre en pratique toutes les regles qu'il prescrit*, but he acknowledges p. 500: *ce Traducteur Espagnol est par tout de bon sens*. He says p. 501 that R. used the notes of Leo Jude's Latin Bible and those of the *anciennes Bibles Françoises de Genere*. He remarks p. 505 on Valera's Bible: *laquelle n'est autre chose qu'une nouvelle Edition de celle de Reyna retouchée en quelques endroits*. He states ib.: *Les Juifs Portugais d'Amsterdam qui suivent le Rite Espagnol, se servent plusost de cette Version, que de celle de Ferrare, parce qu'elle est plus intelligible*. — Giovanni Andros (a Spaniard). *Dell' origine, de' progressi e dello stato attuale d'ogni letteratura*, t. 19, Venezia M. D. CCC, p. 238 f., having related Richard Simon's praise of Enzinas' version, of the N. T., says: *Più universalmente lodata è stata la versione di tutta la bibbia di Cassiodoro Reina, una delle più esatte e fedeli di quante si sono publicate nelle lingue volgari; molto più la riveduta e corretta da Cipriano Valera, che la confrontò co'testi originali e con diverse traduzioni, e vi fece i convenienti miglioramenti*. — Scio, in the *disertacion preliminar* of his N. T. Valencia 1790 p. XV, on the Bible-translators Reina and Valera: *Estos dos Autores fueron Calvinistas, se apartaron de la Vulgata Latina, y contaminaron su version y notas con el veneno de sus errores*. — Menendez 471: *Como hecha en el mejor tiempo de la lengua castellana, excede mucho la version de Casiodoro, bajo tal aspecto, á la moderna de Torres Amat y á la desdichadísima del Padre Scio*.

In Reina's Bible, the books, which are not in the Hebrew Bible, are placed where they are found in the Latin Vulgate. And even those, which in the Vulgate are appended at the end of the whole Bible, are inserted in the Old Testament: the prayer of Manasses after the 2. of Chronicles, and book 3 and 4 of Ezra after Nehemiah; upon that prayer he remarks: *por no hallarse en el texto Hebreo, se suele contar con los libros apochryphos*, and each of those two books of Ezra he notes as

In Reina's Admonition occurs the following passage: As to what concerns the author of the translation, if he be a Catholic, who faithfully and simply believes and professes what the Holy Christian Catholic Mother Church believes, holds and maintains, determined by the Holy Spirit, by the canons of Holy Scripture, in the holy councils, and in the symbols and common summaries of the faith which are usually called the Apostles' Creed, that of the Nicene Council and that of Athanasius, the author of this translation is a Catholic, and any one who should not hold him to be such would do him a manifest injury.³⁸ In the dedicatory letter to all magistrates he speaks³⁹ of the glorious confession of Augsburg.

This dedication contains an explanation and application of Ezekiel's vision of the Cherubim carriage. The explanation is founded on an article of John Sturm of Strassburg, placed by the author at Reina's disposition; Reina enlarged it and adapted it to his purpose, blending with it a preface which he had written before,⁴⁰ so that he could call the whole the translator's preface and sign it: C. R.

Sturm also wrote a letter to the Queen of England, to accompany the presentation copy of Reina's Bible. He says, Reina had conquered the power of the devil, by whom he formerly had been forced to leave England, and had now finished this work which he would have liked to publish under Her Majesty's auspices. At the same time Sturm wrote to Cecil, the English Secretary of State: Of Reina's faith and innocence I would not hesitate to take an oath.⁴¹

apochrypho. The other books of the O. T. which are not found in the Hebrew, are not marked by Reina as apocryphal. For the additions in Daniel he reproduces Jerome's notice that they are not in the Hebrew. Valera has placed all the apocryphal books together, between the Old and the New Testament.

38) Translated by Betts. See also the passage quoted here note 12 from the *epistola del autor* in the edition of 1577 of the London confession. And compare the following extract from *Excubiarum papisticarum depulsio, per Balthasarem Meisnerum, SS. Th. Doctorem, et in Acad. Witteb. Profess. Publicum. Wittebergæ 1621.* p. 286: *Si Catholicorum nomen nobis inridet, rem ipsam tamen nunquam detrahent. Nostra doctrina ab Apostolis in universo mundo est annunciata: nostra doctrina ab omnis ætatis et conditionis hominibus recipitur: nostra doctrina omnibus seculis extitit, licet non eodem modo: nostra denique doctrina cum omnibus scriptis Biblicis per omnia concordat. Nos igitur veri sumus Catholici.*

39) fol. 6.

40) See Reina's letters in my Strassburg program p. 22—24.

41) ib. p. 26 f.

Reina dedicated a copy of his Bible to the University of Basle (where it still is in the Public library) with an autograph in which he calls himself a pupil of this renowned academy.⁴² His undertaking to print the Spanish Bible was there especially promoted by the two Lutheran theologians, Simon Sulzer and Huldric Coctius, who held the office of preventive censure of publications.⁴³ They, together with Marcos Perez, also took care of him when he became dangerously ill, and they procured for his wife, who was very skilful in female work, opportunity to gain a living for her family. Reina acknowledges it with warm thankfulness in the dedicatory epistle, in which in 1573 he offered to these two friends the exposition of the fourth chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, where he principally treats of the dangers to be avoided by ministers of the gospel. In the same year, his commentary on select passages of St. John's Gospel, proving the eternal sonship of Christ, was dedicated by him to Sturm, to whom he says he owed, under God, whatever he was and ever should be.⁴⁴

In summer 1570 he returned to Frankfort where he soon got the freedom of the city.⁴⁵ He was a member of the French church

42) See below here. In the matriculation-book of the University of Basle (in the same library) I found him inscribed (not by his own hand) in 1567 as *Cassiodorus Reginius Hispanus*. There are no dates of days nor months throughout the year. He paid six shillings, as did Franciscus Dryander when he matriculated there in 1546.

43) Reina's letter, 13 Nov. 1567. Those are the men he meant when he stated in the just mentioned ms. dedication, that his bible was printed *auxilio potentissimorum ministrorum huius ecclesie Basileensis*. The words that follow: *ex decreto prudentissimi senatus*, acknowledge the licence to print the book, and do not mean that it was printed for the senate. — Compare on Simon Sulzer in Melch. Adami *Vita theologorum*, also Frecht's *hist. eccles. supplem.* appar. p. 58. 297, and chiefly an article by Hagenbach in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopädie*; on Huldric Köchlein, Frecht l. c. p. 109. 298; on both, our extract from Ramus, here p. 213. — Sulzer had also known Francis Enzinas, see Calvin's letter to this latter, 7 March 1550. It was Antistes Simon Sulzer who preached the sermon on the gospel of the good shepherd, when, in presence of the synod and of the congregation in the minster, sixteen members of the family of David Joris had to abjure in order to be reconciled, whilst Joris' body which had been three years in the grave, had been exhumed and burned as that of a heretic, in consequence of a judgment passed by the University. This pyre was burnt at Basle in the same year and month in which Cazalla and others were burnt at Valladolid.

44) See dedication and compare *Docum.* 5.

45) He applied for it immediately upon his return there, and first got the *habitandi facultas*, see his letter of 7 Aug. 1570; in the next year, in a solemn

there.⁴⁶ Although he was happy to gain his living by the work of his hands, he still longed for a position in which he could follow his vocation for the evangelical ministry and for biblical studies.⁴⁷

In 1578, when the peace of Antwerp, concluded on July 22, 1578, had brought religious liberty to the Protestants,⁴⁸ the post of a French pastor to the Evangelicals of the Augsburg Confession there was offered to Reina.⁴⁹ The thirst for the gospel at Antwerp was extraordinary and promised a rich harvest.⁵⁰ Reina left for Antwerp in the autumn of the same year.

But before Reina entered upon that office, he went to England in order to efface old calumnies by personally meeting them.⁵¹ The heads of the French church in London tried to maintain them, but a Royal judicial commission, presided over by the archbishop of Canterbury, by Grindal (whom Macaulay styles „the best archbishop of Canterbury since the Reformation, except Tillotson“), pronounced him

declaration, dated Nov. 25, he calls himself *bourgeois de la ville de Francfort*, see our *Documents* n° 15, and also 1573 in the autograph dedication of a copy of his Bible to the Public Library of the same town: *municipes Francofortensis*.

46) *Document* 15 of Nov. 1571.

47) See that dedication to Sturm, below here *Document* 16.

48) See the articles of this peace in Meteren *Historie* 1614, book 8, fol. 154 f.

49) Letter of 6 Nov. 78. Compare the letter of the deputies of the Augsburg Confessionists at Antwerp to Chemnitz (see our note 61), Lehnemann p. 154 f., and Reina's Confession of 1593, Lehnemann p. 167.

50) Hubert Languet's *epistolæ ad Augustum Sax. ducem et S. R. J. septemvirum* ed. J. P. Ludovicus, Halæ 1709. P. 743: *Colonia* 19 Jul. 1578: *Conveniunt autem* [Protestantes] *Antuerpiæ ad conciones tanto numero ut, quamvis uno et eodem tempore in pluribus locis habeantur, uni tamen concioni interdum intersint duo aut tria millia hominum, ut referunt ii qui iam Antuerpia veniunt.* P. 762: *Colon.* 12 Oct. eiusd. anni: *Antuerpiæ valde augetur numerus eorum qui puriorem religionem profitentur. Senatus nuper concessit eis templa Franciscanorum et Dominicanorum præter ea quæ prius habuerunt.* P. 786: *Colon.* 24. Jul. 1579: *Ego puto urbes, in quibus Pontificii sunt potentiores, facile admissuras istas condiciones, cum iam sint clade Trajectensium exterritæ, verum illæ, in quibus Evangelici plus possunt, nequaquam eas admittent, nam etiamsi magistratus eas admittere vellet, non paterentur id fieri theologi, quorum in plerisque urbibus est maior autoritas ad populum quam ipsius magistratus.*

51) Reina's letter of 6 Nov. 1578 from Antwerp. He signed a document *Londini* 19 Martii 1579, Lehnemann p. 160. — Wiffen has the notice on Reina: 1577—78. 22 Mar. *In London, leaving for Germany.* (*Records of the French church.*) But the date must be 1578 old style, 1579 new style. Wiffen has from the same source: 1579. 26 Mar. *In the Consistory of the French church on Character.*

innocent.⁵² The individual produced as the *corpus delicti* declared that he knew nothing of that imputation save that he was told, it was cast upon Reina by the hatred and envy of his enemies.⁵³

In June 1579 we meet Reina, with other Antwerp Lutherans, at Cologne, where the Emperor had assembled a peace conference on the Netherland question.⁵⁴ Only reluctantly did he accompany his friends back to Antwerp, where he now foresaw troubles which he might not be able to surmount.⁵⁵

In the meanwhile the Calvinists at Antwerp contrived to get from London certain articles on the Lord's Supper subscribed to by Reina in the preceding year before the archbishop of Canterbury. These articles did not sound well in Lutheran ears, and when they were published in three languages by the Calvinistic party, apparently with Reina's sanction, the consternation was great among those of the Augsburg Confession. But when Reina declared, that the opposite party had printed them without his knowledge, and that he wished them to be understood conformably to the Wittenberg Concord of 1536 (the great work of Bucer, penned by Melancthon, subscribed by Luther, and praised by Guy de Brès, the author of the Calvinistic Belgian Confession, as a bond of union with Germany and of safety to the Netherlands), and after his rehearsal of the confession of faith required for admission into the ministry, the church acquiesced, and Reina's practical zeal, far removed from dry theological controversy, soon succeeded in gaining the hearty sympathy and full confidence of the entire body.⁵⁶ He

52) Reina's Confession of 1593 in Lehnemann p. 165. His letter of 11 Jan. 1580.

53) *Mémoires anonymes sur les troubles des Pays-Bas 1565—1580. Avec préface et annotations par Alex. Henne.* T. 5. Bruxelles, Gand et Leipzig 1866. P. 58 f.: dont il en feist après sa justification par l'examen d'ung garçon en ladite ville d'Anvers, sur la poursuyte de certains commissaires députez dudict Angleterre, ayant icelluy garçon déclaré qu'il ne sçavoit que c'estoit dudict faict et qu'il n'en sçavoit à parler dudict Cassiodore, auquel se disoit avoir esté imposé ledict faict de sodomiste par une hayne et envye que se malveullans luy portoient, disoit-il. Compare Menendez 467 from ms.

54) van Meteren, *Historie* 1614, book 9, fol. 168 f. Cf. *Acta pacificationis quae . . . Coloniae habita sunt. Lugduni* 1580 [Ponickau libr.]. Lehnemann p. 83 f. Max Lossen in: *Historisches Taschenbuch*, Lpz. 1876.

55) Reina's letter of 27 June 1579.

56) Reina's letters to Ritter. Reina's confession of 1593 l. c. p. 167 f. *Mémoires anon.* l. c. p. 59.

knew, that his behaviour in England, as well before the judges as everywhere else, had been such that nobody had held him to be a Calvinist.⁵⁷ In December 1579 he began to preach at Antwerp in the Cloître des Carmes, one of the places of worship of the so called Martinists, that is Lutherans.⁵⁸ A catechism, which Reina composed, following especially that of Luther and that of Strassburg⁵⁹ was authorized and published by his Antwerp church in 1580,⁶⁰ in French, Dutch and Latin, and in the next years the Dutch copy was twice reprinted, and a second edition of the Latin was enlarged by an apologetical appendix.

In May 1580 the deputies of the church wrote to Dr. Martin Chemnitz, Superintendent at Brunswick, asking him to send them some peaceable men of learning and experience, as they were constantly in want of good preachers, not having more than four for their five Dutch churches, whilst their French church was well provided for by Reina and his collegue. They call Reina their dear father, and praise his learning and piety and zeal.⁶¹ Reina himself expressed the same desire in a letter to Chemnitz.⁶²

In the summer of the same year 1580 he sent for his wife and his numerous children, all of whom he had left at Frankfort under the special care of his intimate friend, Matthias Ritter, the Senior of

57) Confession of 1593 l. c. p. 165.

58) *Mémoires anon.* ib. p. 58. The same from ms., Menendez 474.

59) The letter of the deputies, Lehnemann p. 156. Appendix to the Latin catechism of 1583.

60) Reina's letters of 1 March 1580 and foll.

61) Letter of the deputies of the Augsburg Confessionists at Antwerp to Dr. Martin Chemnitz, printed from the original by Leuckfeld in the *Historia Spangenbergensis* 1712, p. 87—97. The letter is reprinted by Lehnemann l. c., the passage on Reina p. 154 f. (Lehnemann did not reprint the *Antwerpische Confession und gründlicher Bericht Von der Erbsünde. Descriptum Antwerpiae 18. Sept. 1579 per me Adolphum Fischerum.* printed by Leuckfeld p. 98—108, which is the *Forme der Bekänntniss von der Erb-Sünde*, spoken of in that letter to Chemnitz. Is this *Fischer* that *Piscarius*, of whose *Articuli Chytræus* writes in Schlüsselsburg's Epistles p. 227?). — Compare Reina's letters. — A letter of Peter Datheen of 2 Kal. Sept. 1578 shows how destitute of preachers the Reformed Antwerp congregation was likewise. See Kist and Royaards *Archief* t. 8, Leiden 1837, p. 450 f.

62) Compare Reina's letters of 17 May 1580.

the ministry of the City.⁶³ He did not, however, resign his Frankfort citizenship.⁶⁴

Reina thought it of vital necessity for the Lutheran church at Antwerp, to get a man of prudence and authority as their Superintendent, and since Chemnitz was said to be on very bad terms with his Duke, Reina asked Ritter to try to prevail upon the celebrated divine to accept that place among the Antwerp Lutherans.⁶⁵ This hope however was not realized. In summer 1581 David Chytræus at Rostock, author of the History of the Augsburg Confession, says in a letter to Conrad Schlüsselburg, who lately had been appointed as minister to the Lutherans of Antwerp: „I have exhorted the deputies to place a Superintendent over the ministry, and I have named for this post Cassiodorus, whose doctrine and peacefulness thou hast praised to me.“⁶⁶ Reina, however, declined.⁶⁷

63) He was minister at Frankfort, his native town, from 1554 April 6 to 1588, when he died. *Er hat in die 35 Jahr mehrentheils als der älteste im Predigtamt der hiesigen Kirche vorgestanden.* Gottfried Guaitta, *Verzeichniß derer von Zeit der Reformation allhier zu Franckfurt a. M. gestundenen Evangelischen Predigern*, 1774, p. 4. Mentioned in 1554, April 17, Scharff p. 246. Compare our note 76.

64) Reina's letters of April, May, August 1580.

65) Reina's letter of August 1580.

66) *Conradi Schlüsselburgii theologi Lutherani studium posthumum. Hoc est epistolarum volumen.* Rostochii 1624. p. 224 f., David Chytræus writes to Conr. Schlüsselburg, *doctori ecclesiæ Antverpiæ*, on July 18. 1581: *Hortatus sum deputatos ut inspectorem ministerio præficerent, et Cassiodorum, cujus doctrinam et studium pacis mihi prædicasti, nominavi.*

67) Chytræus writes to Schlüsselburg, 25 Nov. 81, ib. p. 227: *N. N. Senioris nomen recusare, non ægre feres credo, si talis est qualem nunc describis. Prima tua laudatio me quoque præcipitavit, ut statim eum deputatis velut hominem decoctum, pium, moderatum, usuperitum, ideoque gubernandæ ecclesiæ idoneum proponerem.* Otto Frid. Schütz is certainly right in saying in his *de vita Dav. Chytræi libri duo ultimi.* Hamburgi 1728. p. 31: *quibus Cassiodorus ille, nisi conjectura me fallat, innuitur*, and in adding to *Senioris* the parenthesis: (*i. e. Superintendentis seu Inspectoris*).

George Mylius, preacher at Augsburg (some years later he became Prof. theol. at Wittenberg), writes to Schlüsselburg in 1581 June 29: *Preces nostras cum vestris inde ex eo usque tempore conjunximus (imo rota ardentia semper pro vobis fundimus) quo mihi per literas innotescere superiori anno Collega tuus venerandus cæpit, D. Cassiodorus Ecclesiæ Gallicæ, nostram confessionem profitentis apud vos antistes. Quem quidem ex me amanter atque officiose salvere et prima, quæ mihi offeretur occasione, meas etiam expectare literas jubebis.* August 23: *D. Cassiodorum ac reliquos etiam tuos symmystas ex me amanter salutabis.* And in a letter

About the same time Tilemann Hesshus exercised his polemical gift against the Antwerp catechism. Already in the beginning of 1580 the Antwerp church was so afraid of Hesshus that they shrunk from appointing his son-in-law, Olearius, who was well recommended to them, as one of their preachers. „We have to fear,” the deputies wrote to Chemnitz,⁶⁸ „that he, on account of his father-in-law, might be disposed to quarrel about original sin.” They had had at Antwerp superabundant experience of that controversy. Now Hesshusius rashly condemned Reina’s catechism.⁶⁹ Favourable judgments were, however, given on the catechism by Chemnitz, Chyträus, Selnecker, by the ministers of Worms and by the ministers and the University of Strassburg.⁷⁰

In 1581, one of the Lutheran ministers who had been sent from Rostock to Antwerp, succeeded in renewing debates on Reina’s London articles concerning the Lord’s Supper, which the accuser called upon the author to recant. Reina was even suspended from office during the trial which lasted some weeks, but at last the ministers, deputies and deacons subscribed a decision declaring that the question had been settled long ago and rebuking him who renewed it.⁷¹

of the same year, without more accurate date: *D. Cassiodoro ex me salutem officiosam nunties, etiam atque etiam rogo.* In Schlüsselburg’s epistles p. 266. 270. 435.

68) In the above quoted letter, Lehnemann p. 157.

69) Reina’s letter of *prid. Cal. M. . 1581.* — The first void, p. 303 of my edition, I now fill up thus: *factio Petri Eggardi.* Compare Lehnemann p. 150. *Dav. Chytræi epistola*, Hanovæ 1614, p. 305 f.

70) Appendix to the Latin ed. of the Antwerp catechism 1583. *Chytræi epistola* p. 305 f. Chyträus in *Schlüsselburgii stud. posth.* p. 376 f. Schütz refers to these favorable judgments and copies some passages, l. c. p. 20—26. Also Polycarp Leyser, *Schlüsselb. stud. posth.* p. 283, thought that that catechism had become suspected without sufficient reason.

71) Reina in Lehnemann p. 168. He says that the renewer was a conterranean of Isensee, Latomus, Happel, who first had all three been on his side against Reina, but at last subscribed that decision against Reina’s accuser. They had, according to Schütz, p. 27 f., been sent from Rostock together with three others: Schlüsselburg, Theod. Meier, Burchard Jochow. One of these three seems to be the person in question. Schlüsselburg appears to have been the most aggressive of them. He left Antwerp in 1582 *cum reliquis Augustanæ Confessionis concionatoribus*, as he wrote to Polycarp Lyser, who disapproves of their departure, Schlüss. *Epist.* p. 288. Nor had indeed all the ministers of the Augsburg Confession left at that time.

In January 1582 Reina asked Ritter to tell him what was the usage at Frankfort and in the neighbouring churches at Strassburg, at Heidelberg and at Nuremberg with respect to what remained of the bread and of the wine at the Lord's Supper, a question about which a controversy was growing up at Antwerp. They will be more easily convinced by good examples than by reasoning, says Reina.⁷²

In August 1585 Antwerp surrendered to the prince of Parma who had besieged it. The prince made the concession, that for the next four years no person, living quietly without scandal, should be importuned on account of religion, and that at the end of that period those, who did not turn Roman Catholics, should be allowed to emigrate with all their property. Many people, however, who had no confidence in such promises, left the country at once.⁷³ Many others had already left before the inevitable surrender. Among the latter were the families who went with Reina to Frankfort o. M.

On the last day of May 1585 the Lutheran Netherlanders at Frankfort, after a sermon by Reina, founded a fund for the poor; the document founding it is written in French by Reina's hand.⁷⁴ On September 22 ten representatives of the Netherland Augsburg Confession, some of them citizens of Frankfort, signed a petition to the magistrate to be permitted to have preaching in the French language. „There is living here,“ they say, „the worthy and highly learned Cassiodoro de Reina, who has been at the head of the church at Antwerp with pure doctrine and good Christian zeal, and who is in concord with the *Predicants* here in all doctrinal articles; and if he were called to the ministry, we hope he would be willing to undertake this Christian work.“ They, therefore, asked that it might please the Magistrate to nominate Reina to the post of French preacher for them, just as the German preachers of the city were nominated, or otherwise to provide for them. They were ready to furnish the funds for his living.⁷⁵ The German ministers supported the

72) Letter of 9 Jan. 1582.

73) Meteren, *Historie*, 1614, book 12, fol. 240. Everhart van Reydt's *Geschiedenissen*, Arnhem 1626, book 4.

74) Lehnemann p. 111 f. 169 f.

75) ib. p. 183 f.

petition and recommended Reina. The Netherlanders, their number being increased, petitioned again on 8 March 1586, and a third and a fourth time on 21 June and 30 August.⁷⁶ But the magistrate temporized. In 1592 when a minister of the French Calvinists there had died, the magistrate did not allow them to elect a successor, but took care himself to appoint and pay a French Lutheran preacher, reserving, however, according to the general usage of the city, baptisms and solemnization of matrimony to the ministry of the parish-church. Antoine Serray from Montbéliard was thought preferable to Reina, because French was his native language and because he also understood German,⁷⁷ which language Reina seems never to have learned well, as appears also from the desire expressed in his letters from Antwerp to Matthias Ritter,⁷⁸ to get a Latin translation of the Frankfort Agenda, which translation was to be translated at Antwerp into French. Serray was installed in the beginning of 1593. It was he who then made the French translation of the Frankfort Agenda. The Netherlanders availed themselves with thankfulness of the opportunity to listen to Lutheran sermons in French, and to celebrate the Lord's Supper in the same language, but their main sympathy remained unshaken with their own old Antwerp preacher, who, living among them in Frankfort exercising his silktrade, had continued to be the evangelical support of many, who, because they did not understand German, could not derive the benefit they needed from the German Lutheran

76) *Die Niederländischen und die Französische Gemeinde in Frankfurt a. M. Von Dr. jur. Friedrich Scharff.* In the *Archiv für Frankfurts Geschichte und Kunst. Neue Folge. Zweiter Band. Frkf. a. M. 1862.* P. 264 f.

Scharff reports p. 261 f. that on 5 Nov. 1572 a deliberation was held in the Council of Frankfort concerning the Netherlanders and other foreigners who had fled there lately; that Matthias Ritter offered to preach to them in French, which was declined by the authorities and by the foreigners themselves, as he was not fluent enough in their language and had too much to do in his German office; and then the predicants of the city proposed that Cassiodoro de Reina, who had taught the word of God purely at Antwerp and now had returned to Frankfort (*der ein Zeit zu Antorff das Wort Gottes lauter und rein gelehret, und wieder anhero kommen*), should be appointed as French preacher, but that no decision was taken. It would seem from Scharff's report that this proposition of the ministers was made about 1573, but there remain several reasons to doubt this date.

77) Lehnemann p. 127 f.

78) 18 Dec. 1579 and foll.

ministers and their service.⁷⁹ At the request of many citizens, the college of Frankfort ministers applied to the magistrate, asking that Reina, an intelligent, reverend, pacific, learned, experienced and eloquent man, who had served the church at Antwerp effectively and praiseworthily, should be appointed as Serray's colleague.⁸⁰ Reina, upon requisition, sent in his confession of faith, May 8. 1593. He declared his adherence to the Augsburg Confession, to the Wittenberg Concordia of 1536, to the Book of Concord of 1580, condemning all opinions refuted there, including the Calvinistic ones. As for the functions in his future office he only asked, not as a prerogative, but from necessity, to be freed from afternoon sermons.⁸¹ On July 20 Reina was received as minister;⁸² the Netherlands paid for his living, but through the hands of the city authorities.⁸³

He had not been eight months in office, when he died, on march 15. 1594.⁸⁴

His portrait, an oil-painting on panel, is still in the session room of the Netherland community at Frankfort, in the orphanhouse of the Netherlands. An engraving taken from it about 1725 is in the session room of the evangelical ministers of Frankfort.⁸⁵

Reina's son Marcos Cassiodoro, born in 1565 or 66,⁸⁶ was when a boy, in the celebrated school of Strassburg, and in the family

79) Lehnemann p. 126. 127.

80) Lehnemann p. 133 f. Scharff p. 274.

81) Reina's Confession, Lehnemann p. 163 f. At the end of art. 1. p. 164 the number 20 appears to be a mistake for 40, and likewise art. 5, p. 166 *est* instead of *ex* Prærogativa. On Banosius p. 169 compare Scharff p. 260.

82) Lehnemann p. 136. Guaitta p. 6.

83) Lehnemann p. 134. 185. Scharff p. 275.

84) Lehnemann p. 136 and portrait. Also Guaitta p. 6.

85) It is the engraving which accompanies Lehnemann's book. Some particulars see below with our title-copies. — Guaitta, p. 6: *Casiodorus Reinius. Dieser ist mit der Niederländischen Gemeine anhero kommen, und ist als derselben Oberhaupt und Stifter anzusehen, deswegen auch bis auf den heutigen Tag, wenn Session gehalten wird, desselben Portrait in der Sessionsstube aufgestellt wird, welches dann der zeitige Herr Senior der Gemeinde in Verwahrung hat.* — The painting is much darkened, so that one of the best photographers of Frankfort declared, it could not be reproduced by his art but very imperfectly.

86) This follows from the inscription of his portrait, see note 94. His Christian name was perhaps given him out of gratitude for Marcos Perez; compare note 27.

of one of the masters of it, Samuel Hubert,⁸⁷ he was afterwards sent to Wittenberg to study theology; he matriculated there, together with his brother Augustino, on November 8. 1593.⁸⁸ After Reina's death, Serray, whose health was delicate, felt too much burdened by the care of the French Lutheran church which now weighed exclusively upon himself, wherefore the Frankfort ministry proposed to the magistrate to appoint the young Reina in his father's stead.⁸⁹ Professor Ægidius Hunnius of Wittenberg, in a letter dated July 25. 1595 gave from daily intercourse with him a good testimony as well to his sincerity in religious confession as to his life, and at the same time did not doubt but that his work would be profitable to the church of God.⁹⁰ Marcos although expressing the wish to continue for a while his studies at Wittenberg, where he enjoyed a stipend given him by the city of Frankfort, still readily placed himself at the disposition of the authorities, hoping that God would give him together with the office the necessary wisdom. In 1596 on July 8 he was received as German and French preacher, to be paid by the city, and he filled this office almost 29 years.⁹¹ On July 8. 1597 his name occurs under the document of renewal for the alms-institution of the Netherlanders at Frankfort.⁹² Serray died in January 1616.⁹³ Marcos Cassiodoro de Reina died in May 1625.⁹⁴ On the first of that month

87) See the letter of Marcos, edited in my Strassburg University program of 1872.

88) *Marcus Cassiodorus Reinius: Augustinus Reinius Francofurtani ad Moenum fratres*. Original matricula acad. Viteberg. in the Archives of the University of Halle.

89) Lehnemann p. 138.

90) The letter is printed by Lehnemann p. 187.

91) Lehnemann p. 138. 139. He says 29 years, Guaitta: 28 years. — Scharff 278 says, he was received on July 5. — Scharff adds ib.: *sein Name Marcus Cassiodorus Reinius findet sich jetzt stets* (after his installation of 1596) *auf den Bitschriften* (directed to the Senate by the ministers) *gegen die Calvinisten*.

92) Lehnemann p. 175. Scharff 276.

93) According to Lehnemann p. 136 and Guaitta p. 6: on the first of January. On the third of that month, according to *Peter Müller's Chronik aus den Jahren 1573 bis Juny 1633, herausgegeben von Karl Christian Becker*, in the *Archiv für Frankfurts Geschichte und Kunst. Neue Folge. Zweiter Band. Frankfurt a. M. 1862. P. 32.*

94) Guaitta p. 7: *den 12. May*. Peter Müller's Chronik: *den 10. May*. — From my old friend Pastor Collischonn at Frankfort o. M. I got the following notice: „Auf

he had signed the dedication of his Latin translation of Jean de Serre's *Inventaire de l'histoire de France*, a huge folio, of which a new edition was issued two years later.

The establishment of French Lutheran preachers at Frankfort lasted two hundred years. In 1787 the French Calvinists at last got the permission to hold divine service within the walls of the city in German and in French; in the next year the consistory reported, that there was no more need of French sermons for the Lutherans, whereupon the magistrate otherwise disposed of the church which had been used for that purpose.⁹⁵

The Netherland Lutheran community at Frankfort, which has never been an independent ecclesiastical community, is still flourishing as possessor and administrator of the charitable institution founded in 1585.⁹⁶ For the instruction and confirmation of the children in their orphanage the Netherlands are entitled to choose one of the Lutheran preachers of the town.

Another son of the Bible-translator, Augustino Cassiodoro, translated several works from Italian and Dutch into German and Latin for the geographical collection of the brothers de Bry, publishers at

der Stadtbibliothek habe ich das Bild des Marcus Cassiodorus Reinii gefunden. Es ist ganz in derselben Art ausgeführt wie das des Vaters. Zu Häupten desselben steht: *Eigentliche Contrafaktur des Ehrwürdigen und hochgelahrten Herrn Marci Cassiodori Reinii, Teutschen u. Frantzösischen Pfarrherrn der reinen ev. Kirchen zu Frankfurt a. M.* Die Umschrift lautet: *Marcus Cassiodorus Reiniius francofurtensis ecclesie Germano-Gallie Minister Senior. etatis 57. Minister. 27. DNI 1622.* Die Unterschrift lautet:

Hoc caput, hæc frons est, hæc labra, hæc lumina tandem,

hocce senis pectus lingua in utraque viri.

Cassiodorus is est, cerebrum cui complet IOVA,

et pietas medio pectore tota sedet.

Diesz Bildnisz, so du hie siehst stahn

zeigt Herrn Cassiodorum ahn.

Ein Mann von siebn und fünfzig Jahren

In vielen Sprachen wohl erfahren,

Im Predigamt zwanzig sieben Jahr:

Gott disz graw Haupt noch lang bewahr.

C. Flegel pinxit. Eberh. Kieser excudit D. M. C. Das Gesicht hat wenig Aehnlichkeit mit dem des Vaters. Ein Wappen, wie auf dem Bilde des Vaters, findet sich nicht; an dessen Stelle eine Rose im Kreuz, vielleicht nur Verzierung." (This emblem reminds us of the fraternity of the *Rosenkreuz* just then in vogue.)

95) Scharff p. 311 f.

96) ib. p. 313 f.

Frankfort o. M.⁹⁷ In 1597 appeared his German translation of an Italian description of the kingdom of Congo, in the next year the same book translated by him into Latin; each of these translations had a second edition. The eighth volume of de Bry's America in German, published in 1599, republished 1624, contains travels of Thomas Candish, of Francis Drake and John Hawke, of Walter Raleigh and Laurence Keymis, made in the years 1586—1596, first described in English, and then from a Dutch translation translated into German by Augustino Cassiodoro de Reina.

In 1603 we find Augustino as *preceptor* of foreign languages to the duke John of East-Gothland, son of king John of Sweden.⁹⁸

97) The de Brys were Calvinists, compare Scharff p. 294.

98) The following is written in a copy of Reina's Bible of 1569 in the Court-library at Vienna. I have added the bracketed letters missing at the end of some lines.

Laus 1608 Deo. Hat mier noch A° 1603 mein vertraut[er] vnnnd lieber Brueder, der Eernuest vnn[d] wolgelert Augustinus Cassiodorus de Reyna des durchlaüchtigen vnnnd hochgebornen Fürsten vnnnd Herrn Herrn Jochas Herzog. in Oster Gotten x x preceptor [rembder Sprachen in Schweden vereh[ret] vnnnde [?] seinen Brueder Herrn Marco Cassiodoro de [Reyna] Dienern am Wort Gottes zu Frankhforth um Ma[syn] zuegeschikht worden. Gott der allmechtig wö[ll]e mier umb Christi seines Sons willen sein Gen[ade] vnnnd Segen verleihen, das Ich zu seines göttlichen Namens Lob vnd Ehr. dan zu Besserung meines sündlichen Lebens. vnd lezlich zu meiner Seel[en] Haill vnnnd Seeligkhait hierin vleissig stuf[diren] möge amen amen. Lindau A°. vt sa. Jacob Zennegg d. Jüng[er]e] mpp.

Jochas Herzog in Oster Gotten is John duke of East-Gothland, born 1589, died 1618, son of king John who died 1592.

Denis had given the substance of Zennegg's words in a notice in *Cod. ms. theol. Vindob.* vl. 1 prs II, Vindob. 1794, col. 1993: *Est vero nobis Bibliorum Reynæ Exemplum aliud, quod Jacobus quidam Zennegg Lindaviae 1608. testatur, sibi ab Aug. Cassiodoro de Reyna apud Ducem Ostrogothiae Joachas in Suecia linguas peregrinas proficiente per ejus fratrem Marcum Cassiod. de Reyna V. D. apud Francofurtenses Ministrum a. 1603 dono missum. Denis adds: quem Augustinum et Marcum filios Cassiodori interpretis fuisse putem.*

DOCUMENTS.

1. *Reinii pro Hispanis Londinensibus petitio publice ad sacra conveniendi.* Londini 1560.
2. *Adnotationes Reinii ad Isaiam et Ezechielem, excerptæ per castigatores Londinenses.* 1563.
3. *Olevianus à l'église des étrangers à Strasbourg.* Heidelberg 19 Mars 1565.
4. *Confession de foi et réponse de Reina à la même église sur la lettre d'Olevianus.* Strasbourg 24 Mars 1565.
5. *Témoignage de la même église en faveur de Reina.* Strasbourg 24 Mars 1565.
6. *Reinius Bezæ.* Francofurti 22 Aprilis 1565.
7. *Beza Reinio.* Geneva 23 Junii 1565.
8. *Reina: Déclaration de quelques passages en sa confession de foi de Strasbourg.* Francfort 28 Janvier 1566.
9. *Reinius Bezæ.* Argentina 1 Mart. 1566.
10. *Oporini et Zanchii quædam ad Reinium spectantia.* 1567—68.
11. *Reinu's friends Peter Ramus and Marcos Perez.*
12. *Beza de Reinio in epistola ad Corranum.* Geneva 1569.
13. *Reinu: Déclaration sur sa confession de foi de Strasbourg.* Francfort 12 Juillet 1571.
14. *Reina à Beze.* Francfort 25 Nov. 1571.
15. *Protestation de Reina contre le crime de sodomie.* Francfort 25. Nov. 1571.
16. *Reinius Sturmio.* Francofurti 1573.
17. *Reinius Sulzero et Coctio.* Francofurti 1573.
18. *Reinii ad Zuingerum epistole XII.* Argentorati, Francofurti, Antuerpie 1570—1581.

Nos 12. 16. 17 and part of 11 are extracts from printed books. The other documents are printed here for the first time.

1 from the autograph in the British Museum, Lansdowne Ms. 4. N° 46. f. 149, copied for me by Mr. Warner. See above p. 169.

2—9 and 13—15 from the manuscripts in the public library at Geneva. By means of tracings of parts of nos 6. 9. 14. 15 I stated that these are Reina's autographs, and so likewise the inscription of n. 3. In consequence of these my statements, the documents 4 A. 5 A and 8 were also recognized as autographs of Reina, the inscription of 4 B not with certainty, 2. 3. 4 B. 5 B. 13 as not his. The Geneva papers have been copied for me, partly by Don Manuel Carrasco, but the most of them by Mr. Louis Dufour, Archiviste of Geneva, who also revised Carrasco's copies.

N° 10 gives extracts from original letters preserved in the Thomas Archives at Strassburg.

The University library at Basle is in possession of the tenth letter to Zwinger, which was copied for me by the librarian, Professor Sieber, who, at my request, searched for letters of Reina, and who likewise indicated the volume which contains some more. These other eleven letters to Zwinger and the extracts of letters in n° 11 are copied from copies in that library (G II 33); the originals are in the Frey-Grynacus Institution in the same town.

It would have been useless to print these papers literally. In regulating somewhat the wadding French orthography, I followed the occasional tendency, perceptible in the manuscripts, to the modern practice which generally is a more simplified one, and I have, therefore, suppressed many letters which were not pronounced, for instance in doibt, diet faict poinet, oscript oscripro, aultre coulx cioulx; tiltre, scavoir rosceu; also the g in words like ung. I left oo, changing with oi, and many etymological s which never were dropped in the mss. (except one ajouter and one temoigno, where, however, the original has perhaps s). It may be mentioned that Reina often writes oglizo raizon Strazbourg. I have put the aigu on final u only and in the plural of such words (writing -ûs, not -oz, p. c. not signez, and reserving -oz for the second person which in the mss. has perchance -es beside -oz: entendores), the grave in à là où après. I have often added the codille. But no more of such minutiae uninteresting even to linguists in French texts written by a Spaniard and a German.

1.

*[Reinii pro Hispaniis Londinensibus petitio publice ad sacra conveniendi.
Londini 1560.]*

Summa prioris cujusdam scripti illustrissimis Dominis Episcopo Lond. et Secretario primario Regiæ Majestatis exhibiti, quo ostendimus, quibus jam rationibus cogamur ad petendam facultatem ad sacras preces et contiones publice conveniendi: eosque per Christum obsecramus, ut nostris hisce rationibus animadversis hujus rei curam ex animo suscipiant.

Hactenus prudenti atque pio vestro consilio usi, Domini Amplissimi, intra privatas aedes ad preces et contiones convenimus. Jam necessitate urgemur ad petendam facultatem publice conveniendi in templo aliquo ex multis quæ a piis Ministris hujus urbis ad id nobis offeruntur. Qualis vero nos urgeat necessitas, ex subsequentibus rationibus apparebit.

1. Primo. Dum in privatis ædibus convenimus, retardari experimur Regnum Christi, dum multi a nostro Cœtu se subducunt, alii nobiscum convenire omnino non audent, quod periculum sibi et rebus suis creent in Hispania, ubi commercia sua habent. Notantur quippe facile, qui sese adjungunt nobis, ab adversariis hac in parte oculatissimis: id quod non fieret in publico aliquo loco, ubi cuivis ingredi est impune.

2. Secundo. Intra privatas aedes tam diu convenientes, præsertim in civitate Dei beneficio Christianis conventibus libera, ansam præbemus adversariis et nos et doctrinam nostram sædius quam antea traducendi. Aperte enim dicunt, nos portenta quædam intra nos alere ipsis quoque Lutheranis (ut vocant) invisa, quando in civitate maxime Lutherana in publicum prodire haud ducamus nobis tutum. Neque dubito quin, ut hac calumnia impudenter nos istic impetunt, literis quoque in Hispania traducant, hac utique apparenti ratione conflaturi nobis ingens odii pondus non solum apud adversarios, verum etiam apud amicos et fratres. Rationem haberi velim hac in parte Evangelii Christi sincere a nobis annuntiati, quod hanc contumeliam haud dubie subire cogitur nostra hac ratione conveniendi.

3. Neque si, quod petimus, nobis concedatur, verendum erit ne majorem inimicitiarum cum Rege Hisp. occasionem demus: nam simul atque id noverimus, libentius cedemus tota Anglia, quam Reges patiemur nostra causa tumultuari. Neque pudet nos tanto nostro periculo hanc quam petimus emere facultatem: caritas enim Christi urget nos, cujus hoc periculo injuriam propulsamus. Quod vero Legatus Hisp. huic actioni sit intercessurus, vix in animum induco. Primum, quod ultra annum hîc jam egerimus, habuerimus cœtus titulo Ecclesiæ Hisp., Legatus resciverit, prohibuerit etiam suis ne nostris cœtibus interessent, neque ullo modo hactenus intercesserit. Certe id aut quia non possit, aut quia nolit. Si primum, non est

quod timeamus ab invalido; si alterum, gratulari etiam debemus ipsi sanio-
rem mentem. Addo etiam quod post duodecim dies idem ipse ingenue fassus est, se
nobis hactenus nunquam fuisse adversatum neque si ecclesiam velimus constituere,
adversatum iri, quod neque tale quippiam habeat in mandatis, neque nobis prorsus
male velit. Omitto alia quæ si e sincero pectore prodierunt, spem etiam faciunt
amplio-rem; sui minus, necessitas demum cogit ut periculum faciamus. Tantum
obsecro, viri Amplissimi, ut in mentem veniat quantula vestra opera insigniter
promoturi sitis negotium Christi, si pro fide vestra officium præstetis.

Amplitudini vestræ addictissimus

Cassiodorus Hisp. *)

Endorsed: 1560 | for the Spaniards | p[ro]fess. religio in L[on]don | Cassiodorus
hispan[us]. **) To have a publick place for y^e exercise.

2.

Annotationes Cassiodori. ***)

In Isaiam.

Cap. 7. 14: Ecce virgo concipiet, et pariet filium, et vocabit nomen
ejus Immanuel. Intelligit uxorem suam, ut videtur in principio capitis sequentis,
quam sic vocat, innuens hanc totam historiam esse symbolum libertatis spiritualis
quæ per Christum futura erat, cujus mater futura esset virgo, cujus uxor erat figura,
quemadmodum ejus filius futurus esset Christi. Immanuel. Non necesse erat
filium Isaiæ Deum, ut nominaretur Deus-nobiscum, re esse, quemadmodum nec
ut alter filius vocaretur. Reliquiæ convertentur. Necesse erat ut idem eas
converteret, non enim ita denominabantur tanquam horum factorum auctores, sed
tanquam signa et symbola ejus quod Deus esset factururus, dataque ad confirmandum
populum in fide et spe promissionis. Hac ratione vocamus baptismum lavacrum
regenerationis et renovationis spiritus, sepulturam peccatorum, et sacramentum panis
et vini cœnam Domini, corpus et sanguinem ejus, non quod revera sint, quum sint
panis et aqua communia, sed quod illud repræsentent. Vocabunt nomen ejus
Immanuel. Ut in eo viderent pii testimonium præsentiae Dei apud illos. Vers. 16.
Antequam puer sciat. Eum qui dictus fuit in versu 14 nasciturum. Cap. 8. 3:
Accelera ad prædam, festina ad direptionem. Exponit Cassiodorus de
eodem filio Isaiæ. Cap. 9. 6: Vocabitur nomen ejus admirabilis. Dabitur
illi nomen, dignitas et essentia Dei, quo tanquam Deus admiranda faciat. Philip. 2.
Sic etiam explanat epitheta sequentia Cassiodorus. Cap. 28. 6: Et erit idem
Dominus spiritus judicii illi qui sedebit super sedem judicii. Spiritus
judicii, quasi dicat: erit illi impulsus ad judicandum, erit is qui eum movebit
in omnibus quæ dixerit. Hoc significat spiritus sæpe in scriptura. [1 Jo. 4. 1:]
Probate spiritu[s], an ex Deo sint; probate, an Deus sit qui eos movet;
probate impulsus eorum qui doctrinis veniunt, an sint Dei. Aperte ait eundem
dominum fore hunc spiritum. Locus est insignis qui duo satis probat, unum quid

*) From a tracing of the last two lines (Amplitudini to Hisp.), sent me by Mr. Warner, it is
evident that the whole letter, which is written by the same hand, is Reina's autograph.

**) Warner: 1560 — Hispan[us] in the hand of Sir William Cecil.

***) Excerpted and discerpted per Londinenses castigatores, see our Document 9. The bracketed
quotation and the bracketed letter are added by me.

sit spiritus sanctus, scilicet an sit persona per se subsistens a patre et a Christo distincta, alterum si sit vis illa quæ movet et agitat suos interne, et tertio an proprie dici possit spiritum sanctum extra hominem esse. Cap. 48. 16: Nunc Dominus misit me et ejus spiritus. Nihil dicit hic Cassiodorus, quum sit proprius locus. Cap. 52. 13: Ecce servus meus prosperabitur. Exponit de Cyro et tanquam a figura transit Cassiodorus ad Christum qui est figuratus. Est prolixa annotatio. Cap. 66. 9: Num ego qui parere facio, non pariam ego ipse etiam, ait Jehova, qui facio gignere, detinebor. Ex præcedentibus et consequentibus videtur clare, quam inepte trahant quidam hunc locum ad probandam æternam generationem, qua pater gignit filium, quum appareat eum loqui de generatione et nativitate ecclesiæ. Quin magis ad rem hinc eliciemus genitam esse universam ecclesiam et unumquemque fidelium ex eodem Deo. Unde concluditur eos habere divinam naturam Joa. 3. 1 Pet. 1, Jacobi genitos ex semine immortalis. Hinc sequitur eos esse filios naturales, quamvis admissos ad hoc summum beneficium Christi merito et efficacia ejus spiritus qui facit eos unum corpus cum eo et idem cum Deo.

In Ezechielem.

Cap. 20. 43: Et recordabimini ibi viarum vestrarum. Vera pœnitentia nunquam potuit haberi sub lege. Cap. 36. 35: Terra ista desolata fuit sicut hortus Eden, quasi dicat: amœnissimus, qualis fuit paradus terrestris. Ac sic est qui credat, et non sine gravibus conjecturis, terram promissionis fuisse antea paradusum terrestrem. Cap. 12. 19: Gallica translatio lapsa est turpiter (utitur autem Cassiodorus Hispane scribens hac sibi suavissima voce: lourdement) cum annotatione. Cap. 16. 30: Sic transtulit Gallica, sed ignorans locutionem. Cap. 20. 31: Gallica transtulit per futurum et per interrogationem, sed non intellexit propositum. Cap. 23. 10: Gallicæ hic variant, Rebutti male, Nicolai Barbierii non tam male. Cap. 27. 15: Reprehendit Cassiodorus versionem Gallicam, et multis aliis in locis adeo ut ex professo eam videatur impugnare, homo ignarus Hebrææ, Græcæ, et non admodum doctus Gallicæ linguæ.

3.

La lettre d'Olevianus à l'Eglise des Etrangers de Strasbourg, par laquelle s'est opposé au ministere de Cassiodore. *) [*Heidelberg 19 Mars 1565*].

Salut en nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ. Tres chers freres, la cause qui nous esmeut, qui sommes ici sousignés, à vous escrire, est que nous vous voulons advertir du domaige qui vous est devant la porte, et sommes constraints de ce faire simplement et rondement à cause de nostre conscience. Et pour le tout faire brief et clair, la somme est que Cassiodore l'Espagnol, qui s'en va devers nous et nous a dit estre appelé de l'Eglise françoise de Strasbourg, s'est decouvert manifestement à nous qu'il tient une doctrine de certains articles de la foi, comme de l'ascension de Jesu Christ au ciel, et du ciel mesme, secondement de ce que Jesu Christ est assis à la dextre de Dieu le Pere etc., et pour le troisieme de la sainte Cene, qui

*) Carrasco: *Esas lineas parecen de la mano de Casiodoro. Las siguientes no son de él. Las firmas (Olevianus etc.) son de la misma escritura, prueba que es una copia que Casiodoro envió á Bera. — Dufour: Sur le dos du cahier: Lettre d'Olevianus à l'Eglise de Strasbourg touchant Cassiodorus et la response à lad. Eglise par led. Cassiodorus 1565.*

tient, disons nous, une doctrine aus dits points que nous savons de sa bouche estre repugnante à la verité de l'Escriture sainte, aux articles de foi, et à la confession qu'ont les eglises de France et celle qui a esté à Strasbourg, comme nous sommes prests à prouver s'il est besoin, car nous avons entendu les erreurs de sa bouche qu'il les a maintenus et les maintient encores. Secondement, touchant sa vie, combien que nous n'en puissions rien asseurer d'un cousté ne d'autre, toutesfoes, à cause de la communion qu'est entre vous et nous comme membres d'un mesme corps, nous vous escrirons seulement ce que nous avons oui de sa bouche. À savoir qu'il a esté accusé en Angleterre de six crimes dont le moindre valoit le pendre,*) comm'il disoit, s'il feust esté vrai. Toutesfois il confesse que six tesmoins ont déposé contre lui sous serment qu'il estoit vrai, et confesse aussi qu'il n'a pas voulu attendre le jugement, mais qu'il s'est enfoui. Entre les autres crimes, il dit que l'heresie de Servet estoit un. Mais il adjoute qu'il estoit innocent. Laquelle chose il nous a confessé à cause que le bruit estoit desja auparavant venu à nous. Pourtant l'avons interrogué, mais nous laissons le jugement de cela à Dieu, et vous prions d'y proceder sagement. Voici le second, les doutes que nous avons de sa vie, Quant est du premier, à savoir la doctrine, nous ne disons rien par conjecture, mais ce que nous avons oui de sa bouche, et ce qu'il a soustenu et soustient encores contre la doctrine et confession de l'eglise de Geneve et celles de France, et contre la doctrine que maistre Guillaume Helbrag vous a annoncé; et si maistre Guillaume Helbrag eut voulu consentir à moins de fausses opinions que cestui ci defend, il feut encores à Strasbourg. Or puisque Jesu Christ nous admoneste qu'il nous faut garder du levain de fausse doctrine, nous vous exhortons au nom de nostre souverain pasteur Jesu Christ que vous soyez sus vos gardes, et que vous n'acceptiez nul ministre qui ne soit pur en la doctrine de l'evangile, ce que cestui ci n'est point, ce que nous disons devant Dieu et ses anges, et sommes prests à le prouver par ses paroles evidentes, qu'il ne peut nier. Sachez aussi, tres chers freres, qu'il fera bien semblant d'estre d'accord avec la confession des eglises de France, mais que tel fard ne vous deçoive, car nous savons le contraire de sa bouche. Que plaist à Dieu qu'il n'y eut encores d'autres erreurs couverts sous les premiers. Car nous lui avons proposé d'aucuns articles Chrestiens sur lesquels il a donné de responses merveilleuses. Nous lui avons aussi rondement dit ici que nous advertirons l'eglise de Strasbourg. Et sommes aussi content s'il vous trouvez bon de communiquer ceste presente à monsr de Bese**) et autres freres. Ici nous ferons fin, priant nostre bon Dieu de pourvoir son eglise de bons et fideles pasteurs par son fils Jesu Christ. Amen. Le Seigneur vous gouverne par son saint Esprit. Amen.

Il nous a fallu escrire ceci en haste par mon serviteur, d'autant que Cassiodore est parti aujourd'hui, autrement nous vous eussions envoyé la dispute et ses erreurs par espace et au loing. Toutesfois le ferons se vous le jugez estre besoin. Touchant le tesmoignage qu'il allegue de monsr de Bese, il en abuse fausement, comment on lui peut prouver aisement. Donné a Heydelberg ce 19 de mars 1565.

Par vos freres humbles et amis, ministres de la parole au Palatinat soubssignés, en la presence desquels Cassiodore a declairé ses erreurs, et toutesfois demeure en iceux.

Gaspar Olevianus. Johannes Sylvanus. Franciscus Mosellanus.

*) Ms. paindre.

**) of course = Bèze.

4.^a)

Response de Cassiodore à l'Eglise sur la letre d'Olevianus.^b)
 [Strasbourg 24 mars 1565.]

Aux freres estrangers qui sont à Strasbourg professant l'evangile de nostre Seigneur
 Jesus Christ, grace et paix au mesme Seigneur.^c)

Freres en Christ, afin d'obvier selon mon pouvoir à l'empeschement de la restitution de cest'eglise qui, par le mauvais rapport^d) de quelques uns tant de ma vie que de ma doctrine, est advenu, je ai^e) deliberé de donner ici par escrit à vostre Congregation et à toute l'Eglise du Seigneur la somme^f) de ma foi et quant et quant de ma doctrine tant en general qu'en particulier de ces points dont on m'a chargé, invocant^g) le nom du Seigneur le Dieu Vivant en tesmoignage de ma sincerité en ce que de soubz sera comprins.

1. Premièrement, je reçois et embrace tous les livres Canoniques de la Saint'Ecriture, comme vraie Parole de Dieu, et fondement de la foi de toute l'Eglise de Jesus Christ. Pareillement les symboles de la foi où sont comprins les principaux articles de nostre foi, à savoir,^h) celui qu'on appelle desⁱ) Apostres, celui d'Athanasius, et celui du Concile de Nicée, et rejette et ai rejeté tout erreur contrevenant à quel'un de ces articles, et nommeement touchant l'Unité d'un Dieu et la Trinité des Personnes du Pere et du Fils et du Saint Esprit en une mesme essence divine en egale majesté et eternité, celui d'Arius, et celui de Servetus, et proteste devant Dieu et ses Anges, que je n'ai tenu n'enseigne chose contrevenante à ceci, ains le contraire, et que ç'a esté une pure et impudente calomnie ce qu'on a espars de moi touchant ceci, ainsi qu'il appairt^k) par le tesmoignage que toute l'Eglise de Geneve a rendu de moi, et apparroistra davantage en la procedure de mon ministere, quand le Seigneur se voudra servir de moi. Voila quant à ma foi en general.

2. Quant à la doctrine en general, je advoe et reçois pour fidele et chrestienne doctrine tout le corps de la doctrine que je ai ouie en l'Eglise de Geneve, et en les Eglises françoises à Francfort et à Londres en lesquelles je ai conversé comme membre d'icelles, et en lesquelles je ai aprins et profité par la grace du Seigneur après ma venue d'Espagne; du consentement desquelles je proteste en saine conscience que ce n'est pas n'il a esté mon intention de me separer touchant les principaux points de la doctrine, ains de me conserver moyenant la grace du Seigneur, comme je ai fait jusques ici,^l) dont l'experience faira à l'advenir bon tesmoignage.

3. De la Cene du Seigneur en particulier, je confesse, qu'à tous les fideles y approchants en vraie foi en est rendu tesmoignage que toute la vertu de la mort

a) Two copies of this answer of Reina are at Geneva. One [A], an autograph of Reina, contains only the first twelve paragraphs and part of the twentieth with the subscription. On the back, by Reina's hand, as it seems: Confession de Cassiodore touchant l'article de l'unité d'un Dieu et trinité de personnes, et du point de la Cene du Seigneur. Above this the date 1566. It appears that Reina made this copy of some articles about the time when he wrote his Declaration de quelques passages, see Document 8. The other copy [B] of Reina's answer to the Strassburg brethren upon the letter of Olevianus seems to have an inscription by Reina's hand; the text is by another hand, also different from that which copied the letter of Olevianus; the conclusion of § 9 is more complete than in A, after § 11 follows the testimony of Strassburg, then, by way of addition, §§ 12 f. The original must be restored in its integrity from A and B together. I give the text of A, noting those differences found in B which are not altogether insignificant, and I add in the text those parts which have not been copied in A, indicating below their derivation from B.

b) B. c) A, with the following text of § 1—12. d) les m. rapors. e) j'ai.
 Always apostrophed. f) somme. g) en inv. h) c'est à savoir. i) Both mss
 seem to have les. Document 13 has des. k) apparoit. l) jusques à maintenant?

du Seigneur leur est appliquee pour la remission de leurs pechés, et pour la certaine^{a)} assurance de leur reconciliation avec son Pere. Item, que pour estre faits participants de l'incorporation avec lui, et en estre faits os de ses os et chair de sa chair, leur est donné presentialement et sustantialement son vrai corps et son vrai sang en viande et beuvrage de leurs ames par le moyen de la foi et par l'efficace du Saint Esprit, par une façon toutesfois admirable et incomprehensible à nostr'humaine raison.

4. Item, que pour ce^{b)} faire n'est pas de besoin, et si ne se doit pas faire, de chercher ce saint corps et sang dedens les terriens elements du pain et du vin comm'estant là enclos^{c)} necessairement pour estre prins tant des infideles que des fideles, ou pour estre mangé corporellement, ou oralement avec la bouche corporelle^{d)} (comm'on dit, car ainsi on ne prend^{e)} que le sacrement exterieur, les infideles ou indignes à leur jugement, les fideles et dignes, selon que l'humaine fragilité porte, à leur grand profit), ains que lui se donnant à nous^{f)} es sacres symboles, ains qu'il a esté dit, doit estre cherché par foi plus haut, c'est à savoir en sa gloire et majesté, où il sied à la dextre de Dieu son Pere.

5. Item, que ce rechercher Christ par foi je ne l'entend pas par monture locale de nostr'ame avec la foi jusques à ces cieus visibles, car ainsi nous serions ceux qui nous fairions plustost present à lui là haut, que non lui à nous ici bas, ains ainsi que l'Apostre [Rom. 10^{g)}] dit de tout son benefice qui nous est présenté par son evangile interpretant d'icelui le dit de Moyse: Ne dies en ton coeur: Qui montera aux^{h)} cieus? c'est à savoir (dit il) pour de là amener Christ; ou: Qui descendra auxⁱ⁾ enfers? à savoir,^{k)} pour rappeler Christ des morts? Ains, la chose est prochaine en ta bouche et en ton coeur. Car si tu crois etc., tu seras sauvé. Voila, freres, comme j'entend que la foi bisogne, non pas par locale monture ou mouvement.

6. Et pour ce que de ceci les rapporteurs m'ont mené à la question de l'ubiquité du corps de Christ, qu'on soit aussi resolu de ma sentence touchant cela. C'est que j'estime que cest^{l)} est une question outrepassante les bornes de la modestie chrestienne qu'on doit garder^{m)} en telles conferences. Et en cest endroitⁿ⁾ la sentence de M. Bucerus me plait, qui dit: Combien que le Seigneur se baille en sa sainte Cene, au miroir^{o)} de sa parole et des symboles qui sont choses de ce monde, toutesfois il se donne en iceux mesmes non pas en maniere de ce monde, mais en une certaine maniere divine et celeste. Car le sens ou l'affection de la nature ne le regarde pas ni apprehende aux sacres symboles, mais la seule pensee et affection esleevee par foi. Ni aussi il ne se donne pas pour viande du ventre ou du vieil homme, mais de l'ame et du nouvel homme, car c'est une viande donnant vie eternelle. Ce n'est pas seulement irreligieusement dit, mais aussi ineptement et sans aucune consequence ou suite, de dire: Si le Seigneur est au ciel, comment il est donné present à la Cene? Si le Seigneur a laissé le monde, et est en la gloire celeste, comment est il ici mangé de l'homme? Parquoi tres diligemment les hommes doivent estre retirés et detournés de ces meschantes et blasphematoires argumentations, etc.^{p)} Voila les titres que cest^{q)} bon et saint personnage baille à telles illations. Ceux là à mon advis font^{r)} encores pire qui, en se laissant^{s)}

a) pour certaine et ferme. b) cela. c) enclos et attachés. d) corporellement avec la bouche corporelle oralement. e) prend pas. f) without à nous. g) marginal note in A. h) ce. i) -dra ce. k) without à savoir. l) avoir instead of garder. m) cela instead of cest endroit. n) miroir et enigme. o) without etc. p) ce. q) sont? r) qu'en soi laissent.

trainer^{a)} de telles consequences, afferment et defendent la dite ubiquité du corps de Christ, auxquels je ne consent pas.

7. Pour ce aussi qu'en conferant de ceste matiere avec les dits rapporteurs, ils m'ont objecté l'Ascension du Seigneur visible aux cieux, et son Assiete à la dextre de Dieu son Pere, dont ils m'ont traduit d'erreur, touchant cest article ma foi est simplement qu'il est monté aux cieux, et est assis a la dextre de Dieu son Pere. Mon intelligence autour de cest article est: Premièrement, que j'estime avec le commun consentement de toute l'Eglise, qu'il y a quelque lieu sur le ciel destiné à l'assiete et repos des esleus,^{b)} où Dieu, qui neanmoins est partout, singulièrement se monstre et communique à eux, auquel lieu Jesus Christ corporellement a esté receu et y tient singulierement la siege du Royaume de son Eglise, ainsi qu'il est escrit, Ephes. 1.

8. Secondement, que, ce non obstant, l'intelligence de cest article passa plus outre, c'est à savoir, à nous enseigner que ceste corporell'ascension nous signifie la donation de la gloire et majesté de Dieu son Pere, qui a esté faite à Christ homme après sa resurrection en salaire de son labeur pour l'administration perpetuelle de son eglise estant au monde, de laquelle donation l'Apostre parle singulierement, Coloss. 1. Philipp. 2. Heb. 1, comm'aussi il prend son ascension en l'opposant à sa descente, Ephes. 4. disant: Qu'il a monté, que est^{c)} sinon qu'il a premierement descendu es parties plus basses de la terre? où ainsi que (à mon advis) la descente ne se doit pas entendre localement, ains plustost d'une merveilleuse exinanition de sa divine majesté et autorité, prenant pour nous la forme de serviteur, etc., ainsi mesmes ne l'ascension se doit rapporter seulement à la corporell'ascension, ains à la divine majesté et gloire de Dieu son Pere laquelle lui a esté communiquee. Tellement qu'en cest endroit ce qui est dit: Il est monté aux^{d)} cieux, est declairé par ce que s'en suit: est assis à la dextre de Dieu son Pere.^{e)} Et estre assis à la dextre de Dieu, ne se doit pas entendre en partie de la dextre de Dieu en quelque lieu particulier, ains^{f)} exempté de toute condition locale, ainsi que la dextre de Dieu est exemptee de toute semblable condition. Que si on me voudra ici presser de l'ubiquité, je lui respond comme de sus. Item, tous les passages de l'Ecriture qu'on m'amenera pour prover son absence corporelle de son Eglise, je les entend de la conversation charnelle et visible, comme celle en laquell'il a vescu entre les hommes devant sa mort, et selon laquelle il a monté aux cieux visiblement devant^{g)} ses disciples, Act. 1, de laquelle maniere ne conversera plus avec nous, jusques à sa venue derniere, ainsi qu'il est dit au mesme lieu.

9. Or, que l'Ecriture sainte par ce mot cieux n'entend pas tousjours les cieux materiaux et visibles, il est plus que manifest. Item, que je interprete cest article: Il est monté aux cieux, c'est à dire, il a receu de Dieu son Pere toute potesté es cieux et en la terre, c'est à dire, sur toute creature, ainsi que lui mesme dit, Matth. ult^o, ne niant toutesfois la corporell'ascension, ainsi que de sus est dit, ce n'est pas heresie ou erreur, comme vos rapporteurs le nomment, et si je ne suis pas seul en ceste sentence, ne destitué de tesmoignages de plusieurs hommes d'autorité en l'Eglise, tant des anciens que des modernes, lesquels faudra condamner aussi avcc moi, lesquels aussi nous produirons s'il est besoin, afin que l'Eglise des Estrangers de Strasbourg soit par iceux mieux instruite que par le rapport de ceux

a) trainer from *B. A has trenez.* b) elevez. c) qu'est ce. d) es. e) without son Pere. f) ains plustost. g) devant de.

qui à l'estordie sans intelligence du mal qui font à l'Eglise du Seigneur temerairement condamnent à heresie tout ce que n'accorde pas en autant de paroles à leurs imaginations desquelles ils veulent faire articles de foi.^{a)}

10. Certes Bucerus en cest endroit parle ainsi: Le Seigneur n'est pas enclos en nul lieu es cieus, car l'Ecriture tesmoigne qu'il est monté par de sus tous les cieus et sied à la dextre du Pere, en disant: es lieux supracelestes, c'est à dire, en telle gloire et puissance du Pere^{b)} qu'oeil n'a veu, ne aureille oui, ni n'est monté en coeur d'homme. Donques d'enquerir du lieu et de la maniere comment le Seigneur est au ciel, c'est chose irreligieuse, et estrange de la pieté de la foi, laquelle doit simplement croire et confesser que le Seigneur Jesus demeure en ceste celeste et inaccessible gloire du Pere, et que, demeurant en icelle, il se donne à nous en sa Sainte Cene et y est vraiment. Voila ce que je sent de cest article.

11. Ce que je ai maintenant declairé tant de la Cene du Seigneur que de son ascension au ciel, ne m'est pas article de foi, sinon exposition privée de plusieurs doctes et fideles personnages en l'Eglise du Seigneur, dont, en cas que je trouve qu'à bon droit ell'est escandaleuse à l'Eglise du Seigneur et non pas utile pour son edification, je proteste devant Dieu^{c)} de m'en deporter, suivant en cela la prescription de l'Apostre, 1 Cor. 14, que tout soit à edification, à profit, item Pour l'edification de l'Eglise, tachez d'estre excellents etc., car je entend que cela est le devoir d'un chacun chrestien, et singulierement^{d)} des fideles ministres, encore que la chose soit en soi bonne et veritable. Item, de la communiquer avec ceux, qui ont rendu tesmoignage de ma vie et doctrine, et d'attendre aussi leur advis,^{e)} afin que ces bons delateurs soient treuvs en leurs temeraires et bien legiers prejudices de dire que j'abuse du dit tesmoignage.

12. En un temps si bien plein de calumniateurs que d'erreurs et sectes il est merueilleusement expedient à toute l'Eglise et à un chacun fidel en particulier de faire distinction entre les articles fondamentels de nostre foi et les privees declarations et sentences lesquelles ont esté tousjours libres en l'Eglise, sauve la verité de la foi. Il faut qu'en ce lieu^{f)} je requiere et exhorte la Congregation des freres, et tous ceux qui veoirront cest escrit de bien considerer cest affaire ici et de se porter modestement en leurs jugements afin que par les jugements temerairement rigoureux l'Eglise du Seigneur ne soit^{g)} consumee. Martin Luther de bonne memoire, chef^{h)} de l'assertion de la charnelle manducation du corps de Christ, tant y a que pour cela aie esté condamné pour heretique, qu'il ne laisse pas de estre honoré merueilleusement de M. Calvin en ses escrits, et singulierement au commentaire de Jesaie, chap. 57, est appelé de lui Prophete du Seigneur etc. *Æcolampadius* qui par le mot mon corps n'a point entendu le corpsⁱ⁾ naturel de Christ, forse que la somme de tous le benefice de l'Evangile et l'accomplissement

a) *Instead of the words in B lesquels faudra unto the end of the paragraph, A has only the following: lesquels nous produira [sic?] quand il sera besoin, lesquels aussi faudra condamner avec moi, etc.*

b) de Dieu *instead of* du Pere. c) Dieu Seigneur. d) principalement.

e) *judice instead of* advis. *The words afin que unto tesmoignage are omitted in A and replaced by etc. After tesmoignage, B: Dat. à Strasbourg le 29 [sic] mars 1565. Vostre frere en Christ Cassiodore. Follows the testimony of Strassburg. Then the §§ 12 f., introduced by the remark: Ce que s'en suit estoit en l'original après le chap. unzieame.*

f) lieu ici. g) soit pas. h) le chef.

i) *The line Seigneur unto le corps which is wanting in the copy sent me of A, has been supplied here from B.*

des promesses de Dieu en Christ, n'a point esté despouillé de la bonne renommee et estimation^{a)} qu'un tel personnage a bien merité en l'Eglise du Seigneur, ains a esté orné de grandes louanges des hommes doctes et savans, qui avecque leurs prefations ont recommandé à l'Eglise ses escrits. Zuinglius, qui jamais^{b)} n'a pensé à la reale et substantiale exhibition du corps de Christ en la Cene (comme M. Calvin temoigne en son opuscul de la Cene du Seigneur) — on lui a neanmoins conservé le mesme degré d'honneur. M. Bucerus et^{c)} M. Capito, qui furent d'accord avecque Lutherus touchant le point de la Cene du Seigneur, jamais d'eux vivants ont esté après molestés de personne, n'aussi estimés heretiques, ains ont eu des pareilles louanges par après, de celles qui^{d)} avoient eu auparavant, et singulierement de M. Calvin; Bucerus souvent, mais especialement en la prefation sur l'epistre aux Romains, Capito, en la prefation sur les actes des Apostres. Philippus Melanchthon, auteur de la Confession Augustane et de son Apologie,^{e)} on sait bien comment et avecque quels titres est honoré de M. Calvin en ses escrits. Que si quelqu'un voudra ici objecter que Loudres a bien condamné de heretiques tous les autres ici surnommés,^{f)} je lui reponds que ce n'est pas^{g)} l'exemple que nous devons imiter, si nous aspirons à la concorde de l'Eglise. Ains plustost celui^{h)} de ceux là qui estants mesmes exagités de lui, jamais ne se sont separés de la chrestienne modestie de l'honorer et estimer frere en Christ. Queⁱ⁾ si nous voulons estre si delicats que personne ne s'accorde pas à nous qui ne^{k)} soit estimé errer es articles de la foi, condamnons aussi tous ces grands personnages par lesquels le Seigneur neanmoins^{l)} a renouvelé Son Eglise. Car ce n'est pas raison que ceux là, pour avoir esté grands, soient réservés,^{m)} et les petits soient diffamés d'estre pleins d'erreurs, estant avec les autresⁿ⁾ en une mesme condition.^{o)}

13. Quant à ma venue ici, laquelle les rapporteurs vous ont signifié estre le danger à vos portes, je puis aussi protester en la presence du Seigneur en bonne conscience, qu'elle n'a point esté de ma volonté pour chercher ou mon proufit ou mon existimation etc., sinon nettement pour le soulagement des freres qui, desirans la restitution de ceste Eglise, m'ont appellé; considerant aussi la grande importance qui seroit pour l'Eglise du Seigneur que ceste place fut lui restitué, premierement pour fermer la bouche aux papistes qui triomphe[n]t de l'expulsion des Eglises estrangeres de Francfort et d'ici, secondement pour donner courage à ceux qu'aussi ont osté les Eglises aux estrangers de leurs villes, à prendre l'exemple de Messieurs de ceste cité, pour les recueillir encores, tiercement pour tenir en ceste ville un asyle ouvert pour l'Eglise du Seigneur, si seroit encores son bon plaisir d'affliger derechef la France, dont les apparences en sont bien grandes; et qu'ayant esgard à ces choses (lesquelles vos rapporteurs, assis desja en leurs pales et commodités, ne regardent pas de si pres, forse que de detourner l'oeuvre de Dieu plustost que d'amoindrir de leurs fantasies un seul mot) je m'en suis donné haste, ainsi que vostre lettre portoit, toutesfois par le conseil et advis de gens de bien, afin que l'opportunité que Dieu presentoit de recouvrer ceste place par la benignité de Messieurs de ceste ville ne fust

a) existimation. b) jamais point. c) et avec lui. d) qu'ils.

e) Melanchthon qui neanmoins estoit l'auteur de la Conf. Aug. ou à tout le moins de son Ap.

f) m'objectera ici que Lutherus a bien condamné les autres tous ici surnommés d'heretiques.

g) ce n'est pas cela. h) Eglise, sinon celui plustost.

i) Or *instead of* Que.

k) personne ne s'accordant pas à nos imaginations ne. l) *without* neanmoins. m) con-

servés. n) estants avec eux.

o) *After condition, A only copies the beginning of § 20: Voila, freres, unto de moi, them: etc. Dat. à Strasburg le 24 de mars 1565. Vostro frere en Christ Cassiodoro.*

pas perdue par ma negligence, et que le juste blâme retombast plus après sur moi. Item, que tant y a que les rapporteurs disent vrai en ce que je suis desuni, ou tasche de desunir ceste Congregation de celle de Geneve et des Eglises de France, que mon intention plustost estoit en la procedure de l'affaire, premierement rien n'accorder avec les ministres de ceste ville sans la consulte et accord de tous ceux qui m'ont appellé et des autres freres qui, esmeus de la mesme affection de la gloire de Dieu, s'eussent voulu ajoindre à nous, et de tout faire le rapport à l'Eglise de Geneve pour avoir aussi leur avis et conseil en la determination, afin de conserver le commun consentement, ce que j'ai promis aussi en mon departement de Heydelberge au mesme Olevien, et aux Docteurs Boquinus et Ursinus, theologiens de Heydelberg. Si ceci pouvoit sortir de coeur fardeement pretendant le consentement de l'Eglise de Geneve, ainsi que les rapporteurs ont calomnié, que un chacun en soit juge; et certes en la procedure de l'affaire ma fidelité ou infidelité eust esté clairement decouverte, et le jugement alors eust esté plus asseuré, dont maintenant est temeraire et inique de dire que tout est en moi fardé et simulé en cest endroit; que si vous voulez suivre ce maudit prejudice sans en faire l'experience, considerez en quel lieu vous estes.

14. Quant à ma vie, de laquelle les rapporteurs vous ont voulu aussi faire soupçon de moi, je ne tiendrai pas ici long propos pour en faire purgation, ayant celle que j'ai pres de moi laquelle pourra voir quiconque voudra, et attendant aussi celle que de tout je espere que me sera envoyé de Londres en brief. Toutesfois je ne vous laisserai pas de dire ici que, si les rapporteurs par leur dire vous ont fait soupçon de moi en cest endroit, vous me faites grand tort, car n'ayant pas encores receu l'entiere purgation de Londres de tous mes affaires, je m'avois excusé envers vous assez, et non obstant cela, vous m'avez voulu avoir, et avez accusé mes excuses jusques à me faire venir. Et si vous ne pouvez point dire que les rapporteurs vous ont dit quelque chose de nouveau, car et des autres et de moi mesme vous avez oui davantage, c'estoit à vous donques maintenant de vous opposer pour ma defense touchant ce point ici, ne pas de vous escandeler.

15. Reste maintenant, freres, que pour vostre entiere satisfaction quant à la lettre des rapporteurs, vous soyez ici informés de leur façon de faire avec moi, afin que de là vous pouvez mieux juger de l'effet et d'eux mesmes, et en cas que ceste mienne relation ne soit pas trouvé plus veritable que leur rapport, je veux estre estimé de vous tel quel ils ont voulu. Estant arrivé à Heydelberg, j'ai visité Olevianus pour communiquer avec lui ma vocation (car j'avois quelque cognoissance à lui de paravant), où je n'ai point esté receu de lui si amiablement que je pensois, à cause qu'on lui avoit rapporté de moi que je avois esté déposé de mon ministere à Londres, et chassé de là à cause que j'avois soustenu publiquement les erreurs de Servetus. Sur le propos de l'accord que Bucerus avoit fait avec Lutherus touchant le point de la Cene du Seigneur nous avons entrés en dispute, là où j'ai affirmé les points desquels il fait mention en sa lettre comme d'erreurs contrevenans aux articles de la foi, mais à la verité, à cause du faux prejudice qu'il avoit de moi, il ne pouvoit rien bien interpreter de tout ce que je disois, forse que me traiter fort rudement, ce que lui mesme a après confessé. Or en lui priant de faire plus modestement avec moi, il s'en est un peu amolli pour me demander, si le predit rapport qu'on lui avoit fait de moi estoit veritable. À quoi je lui respond que non, et je lui racompte en somme l'affaire comme il se tenoit, lui certifiant devant le Seigneur que j'avois esté blasmé et calomnié à tort de cinq ou six calomnies, que la moindre d'icelles, estant vraies, meritoit bien la corde; dont

l'une estoit des herésies de Servetus, et que me voyant aussi pressé de nécessité de perdre mon temps en ma defense, j'ai esté d'avis de m'acquiter moi mesme de mon ministere, et pour enfuir les debats m'enfuir aussi de Londres pour vaquer es choses plus utiles à l'Eglise du Seigneur, que j'avois entre les mains.

16. Or considerez un peu ici les paroles de sa lettre et vous voirez, si, lui ayant candidement, comme à un ami, racompté les afflictions desquelles je avois esté merveilleusement pressé, ç'a esté candeur chrestien de prendre mes mots de si mauvaise part et vous les reciter plus exagereement encores de ce que j'avois fait, pour me faire à vous suspect, et ce que j'avois dit: m'enfuir de Londres pour enfuir les debats et mieux employer mon temps, le changer en fuir le jugement. Item, dire que à calonnie des heresies de Servetus je avois adjousté que j'estois innocent, comme laissant à vostre bonne discretion entendre, que en les autres choses je ne l'estois pas. Item, qu'est ce de dire que j'avois adjousté cela, et laisser astutement de vous referer la confession de foi que touchant ceci il m'a demandé par deux fois, et je ne lui ai pas refusé pour lui remedier en un jugement si dangereux qu'il fesoit de moi seulement par les faux rapports? Certes ceci n'est pas sans malice.

17. Lui ayant donc respondu aux interrogations qu'il me fist pour se certifier de moi de tout, et estant assez satisfait, ou le simulant estre, il m'a fait entendre qu'il estoit bien aise et m'a traité plus amiablement, et sommes departis en grande amitié. Deux jours après je l'ai visité derechef, et il m'a reçu beaucoup rudement en me disant grandes injures, dont j'estois bien estonné, car je ne savois l'occasion de si grand changement en si peu de temps. Les plus petites estoient que j'estois ignorant, que je ne savois rien, etc.; les plus atroces que j'avois trompé Mons^r de Beze et Mons^r de Saules, et tous les gens de bien qui avoient rendu bon tesmoignage de moi. Entre les injures me ameneça de faire ce qu'il a fait, de estre mon adversaire partout etc. Donques nous ayant porté assez immodestement l'un avec l'autre, à la fin, par l'intercession de Mons^r d'Honestis qu'estoit present, nous nous sommes moderés, et y a eu lieu qu'il declairast l'occasion de ce nouveau et acerbe courroux, disant qu'on lui avoit rapporté que le jour devant j'avois esté à la leçon de M. Ursinus, lequel traitant de la divinité du Saint Esprit, j'avois corné de la teste en signe que je ne consentois pas; et lui ayant certifié que je n'y avois jamais esté, il trouva son abus, et me certifia qu'on lui avoit dit, et que par ce nouveau rapport il avoit renouvelé tous les vieux rapports de moi, adjoustant que je ne convenois pas avec lui en l'interpretation du ciel etc., et que c'estoit pour cela qu'il m'avoit reçu et traité si rudement. Et pour s'en plus asseurer de moi en cela, me demanda derechef, me conjurant par le Seigneur, si de coeur je detestois les erreurs de Servetus, et je lui ai testifié devant le Seigneur mesme, qu'oui, et que je n'avois autre chose en mon coeur, et quant et quant je lui exposois l'occasion d'où ceste blâme m'estoit venue. Alheurs il me donna la main avec grand joie, me demandant pardon des paroles passees, et moi aussi à lui. Le mesme fist ce Sylvanus qu'estoit alhors present, et me pria et importuna de souper avec lui, ce que j'ai refusé, et ainsi nous nous sommes departis fort amiablement. Et à tout ce estoit present Mons^r d'Honestis.

18. Le lendemain un'heure devant mon departement je l'ai visité pour lui dire adieu, et il m'a reçu avec grande amitié, et je lui ai communiqué la forme que je pensois tenir en la procedure de cest affaire, ainsi que je l'ai escrit de sus, laquelle il a fort approuvé, et si m'a racommandé de ne tenir null'autre, et m'a donné son avis, et des especiales et secrets advertissements de comme je me

devois gouverner avec Amerbachius et autres personnages, me descrivant l'engin et maniere de faire d'un chacun, et à la fin me racommand'à Dieu, et moi lui recommandant en ses prieres privees et publiques mon entreprise, m'a envoyé et convoyé hors de sa maison, me disant ces propres mots au departement: Mi Cassiodore, tandem oportet ut te dimittam; doleo quod domi mecum non habeam nunc Tallerum unum, alioquin juvarem tuam egestatem. Dont je lui ai respondu lui remerciant, et me contentant de sa bonne volonté, et lui assurant qui j'avois de l'argent assez pour parfaire mon voyage, et ainsi nous sommes departis. Or, freres, je vous prie de conferer ceste histoire avec vostre letre et en juger avec equité de cestui bon frere en Christ.

19. Quant es autres qui sont sousignés avec lui, soyez assureés aussi que le Sylvanus n'a point esté à nostre premier colloque qu'à la moitié où il est venu d'aventure, l'autre Mosellanus n'a point esté au second, afin que vous entendiez que ce n'a point esté une assemblee faite de propos pour disputer avecque moi, comme il semble qu'ils veulent donner à entendre par sa lettre, ains se sont trouvés à pieces ainsi qu'ils venoient à l'aventure, et le mesme Sylvanus (s'il voudra dire verité) pourra tesmoigner de l'amitié de laquelle je m'en suis departi d'Olevianus la premiere fois, et de la immodeste rudece, avec laquelle il m'a receu et traité la seconde fois à cause de ce nouveau faux rapport de sus dit, et comme ayant treuvé*) qu'ils avoient esté trompés, ils ont congneu leur faute, et Olevianus a fait avec moi grand amitié, en laquelle nous nous sommes departis, ainsi que de sus est dit. Item, vous entendrez que les deux sousignés ne savent rien de françois, et par ainsi qu'ils ont sousigné ce que Olevianus leur a présenté, non pas ce qu'ils ont entendu.

20. Voila, freres, ce que je ai pour de present à vous presenter en response de ces rapports. Que si elle n'est pas suffisante pour effacer de vos coeurs l'opinion mauvaise qu'on vous a fait de moi,**) j'ai bon espoir qu'elle suffira assez pour me purger devant tous hommes de bien, que sans aucune ou affection des parties, ou passion humaine regarderont le droit. Pour le moins je serai quitte devant le jugement du Seigneur, ne m'ayant point espargné en nulle chose pour vostre consolation, et pour la restitution de ceste place, et pour l'avancement de son royaume, auquel seul soit gloire à tout jamais. Amen.

Dat. à Strasburg le 24 de mars***) 1565.

Vostre frere en Christ
Cassiodore.

5.

*[Témoignage de l'église des étrangers à Strasbourg en faveur de Reina.
24 Mars 1565].†)*

Nous qui sommes ci de sous subsignés,††) estants congregés au nom du Seigneur Jesus Christ et de Son Eglise, testifions par ce present escrit qu'ayant oui

*) Ms: trueve.

**) The passage Voila unto moi is given here, according to A. B writes: pour le present, and: que ceux ci vous ont faite de moi. After moi, A: etc. Dat. à Str. . . . Compare p. 198, note o.

***) A: 24 de mars. B here at the end: 24 mars, but above, after § 11: 29 mars. The date 24 March is confirmed by our Document 13. The date 29 is an error.

†) Copied by Reina after the end of his copy (A) of part of his reply to the letter of Olevianus. Another copy of this testimonial is inserted in copy B of that reply between § 11 and § 12, compare p. 194, note a, and p. 197, note o; the handwriting is exactly the same as in the preceding paragraphs. I take from B the variations indicated in my notes, and the end of the text.

††) sommes au de souz sousignez.

la surscrite^{a)} confession et response laquelle Cassiodore de Reyne,^{b)} Espagnol, appellé de nous pour nous ministrer la parole du Seigneur, nous a presentee pour se purger de ces articles qui lui ont esté opposés par une lettre envoyee à nous de certains ministres de Heidelberg, nous acceptons^{c)} et advouons sa^{d)} response, et que nous sommes satisfaits de lui en cest endroit. Item,^{e)} nous testifions que nous ne le renvoyons^{f)} pour blasme qui lui soit faite, sinon que lui mesme nous ayant prié au nom du Seigneur de nous desporter de lui jusques à ce qu'il aie resolution de certains affaires qu'il a à Londres, et juste et entiere purgation de quelques choses qui lui ont esté imposees^{g)} tant de sa vie que de sa doctrine, afin qu'en la procedure de son ministere personne ne le puisse blasmer de quelque chose d'icelles comme n'estant pas suffisamment purgé, nous lui avons^{h)} accordé, voyant sa petition estre juste; toutesfois avec telle condition qu'ayant la dite purgation, toutes et quantes fois il sera rappellé de cest'eglise, n'ayantⁱ⁾ autre just'impediment, il sera prest d'ici^{k)} venir, ce que lui nous a promis, etc.^{l)} Et en tesmoignage de verité nous avons ici soubsigné de nos mains. Donné à Strasburg,^{m)} le jour que de sus etc. Soubsignés 13. au nom de toute la Congregation.

Thiebault Leschenius. Giles Wirlyrman. Michel du Vecberbre buorgeois. Jacob Bienum. Jehan Granuns. Blaise Garin. Thierry du Fruy orfevre. Walran le drapier. Nicolas Mungelt. Claude Cudllin. Conrad Jacques. Jehan Bastin. Jozias Mermorut.

6.

[*Reinius Beza. Francoforti 22 Aprilis 1565.*]ⁿ⁾

Pietate ac doctrina clarissimo viro D. Theodoro Bezae, Ecclesiae Genevensis Pastori vigilantissimo, domino ac fratri^{o)} suo in Christo imprimis colendo, Genevæ.

Gratiam et pacem per Christum.

Oppugnatum sæpius per septem aut octo menses, mi domine et frater in Christo imprimis observande, ut ipsis restitutionem ecclesiae suæ molientibus auxilio essem, tuo de me inducti testimonio me tandem expugnarunt Argentinenses peregrini. Profectus Argentinam, existimo e re fore, si Heidelbergæ Olevianum, mihi antea et notum et amicum, convenero, de mea vocatione cum ipso collaturus, ut ipsius consilio provinciam, ut difficilem ita etiam ecclesiae imprimis conducentem, aggrededer instructor. Reperio hominem præjudicio de negotiis Londinensibus et quidem per rumores falsos accepto adeo occupatum, ut vix soluto vultu et ad hilaritatem utcumque composito me salutarit. Ego vero nihil minus suspicatus, secundo aut tertio verbo aperio ipsi meam legationem, et ut in animo habebam, pro ecclesia illa recuperanda ad omnia cum Germanis ministris condescendere quæ citra veritatis et fidei jacturam, in qua sum edoctus, atque citra conscientiarum læsionem postularent. Inter confabulandum dixi Oleviano, me sentire, articulos Bucer de consensu cum ecclesiis Saxonici, si recte intelligatur, adjuncta videlicet ipsius declaratione, esse

- | | | | | |
|-----------------|-------------|------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| a) suscripte. | b) Reyna. | c) recevons. | d) la. | e) without Item. |
| f) renv. point. | g) oposees. | h) nous l'avons. | i) n'ayant nul. | k) de ci. |
| l) without etc. | | | | |

m) After Strasburg, A ends thus: le jour que de sus, etc. Soubsignez 13 au nom de toute la Congregation. The names are wanting. The other copy has after Strasbourg the names, written all by the copyist, but most of them could not be read with certainty. B has no notice concerning the date; the date indicated by A is the 24 March, as follows from what has been stated in Docum. 4, p. 201.

- n) Autographe letter. o) Dufour: domino tri. Avant tri on croit voir la trace d'une f.

satis ad piam concordiam constituendam temperatos. Homo statim vultu ad gravitatem composito cœpit invehi in Bucerum immodeste satis. Ego contra suadebam ut ab ejusmodi maledictis in virum egregie pium et de ecclesia Christi optime meritum sibi temperaret; sed videbar oleum flammæ adjicere. Hac occasione inceptum est disputare de illis articulis, ubi nihil, quod a me diceretur, non erat ipsi aut erroneum aut ambiguum. Sed quia de successu nostræ disputationis fusius in hoc scripto quod ad te mitto, hic supersedeo. Depositis igitur pessimis illis præjudiciis, melius de me sentit, modestius agit, dimittit denique amicissime. Venio Argentinam; in primo conventu eorum qui me accersiverant, opponunt quidam Oleviani virulentissimas quasdam literas, quibus unis acceptissimus fuissem Germanis, modo is ego essem quem ipse me facere in eisdem literis est conatus. Incipiunt me, qui literas opposuerant, interrogare de illis articulis in literis annotatis; sed quum video, mea omnia juxta Oleviani delationes in sinistram partem interpretari, a disputatione subsisto, polliceorque in crastinum meam de illis articulis sententiam scripto daturum, ne fraudi ulla ex parte esset locus. Nonnulli in eo cœtu erant adeo videlicet pacis amantes ac restitutionis illius ecclesiæ studiosi, ut oppositioni quidem per delationes Oleviani interesse voluerint, responsioni meæ nunquam. Respondeo itaque scripto, satisfacit fratribus mea responsio, hortantur ut in negotio restituendæ ecclesiæ incumbam. Recuso ac renitor, præsentī experientia edoctus periculosum esse, ac tranquillitati ecclesiæ non satis consultum, ante integram purgationem rerum Londinensium inter fratres tam parum quietos provinciam vel aggredi vel administrare. Gravissimis tamen conjecturis adducor ut credam occasionem fuisse repræsentatam, multa cum lætitia piorum et invidia Satanæ, locum illum recuperandi. Ego certe sic eram instructus, ut si cum ministris Germanis (qui tamen meo judicio una modestia et benevolentia vinci atque vinciri possent) negotiū aliquid fuisset, per Dei gratiam ipsos eo fuissem adactus ut aut Buceri articulis palam atque impudenter essent renunciaturi aut nos admissuri. Literas quibus Olevianus temere hoc bonum intercept, ad te mitto, cum mea tumultuaria quidem sed sincera responsione; ex quibus discas et illius (ne quid gravius dicam) intempestivum zelum, et consilium meum omne. Doleo vehementer (neque enim hic mihi ab ingemiscendo ecclesiæ calamitatem temperare possum) homines ejusmodi ingenio præditos ecclesiæ gubernaculis præesse, in diebus præsertim tam calamitosis et rebus ecclesiæ exulceratis. Quod attinet ad eos articulos in quibus iste dicit me pessime errare, nullo interea hactenus expresso errore, palam est ipsum nullam aliam corporis Christi præsentiam in Cœna esse assequutum quam qua corpus corpori sit prope aut quæ et sensibus et ratione humana comprehendī queat, quam et merito cum ipso negamus; eam vero quam ipse Christus vel in extremo cæli angulo corporaliter positus per divinitatis suæ vim ecclesiæ suæ præstat, et ecclesia per fidem accipit, nondum meo judicio est assequutus. Ascensionem Christi ad cælos, præter eam qua a discipulis corporeis oculis ascendisse est visus, aliam accipit nullam, eis qui corporalem corporis Christi manducationem ex nuda verborum Cœnæ significatione astruunt, hac in parte haud absimilis;*) voci cælum ab ea, qua materiales istos cælos comprehendimus, nullam aliam significationem in sacris literis subesse putat. Sed ad rem. Argentinæ Salennius quidam in principio Oleviani partes strenue defendit, sed, ut credo, bono animo, nam visus est mihi sincerus, cæterum de re melius edoctus reconciliavit se mihi per D. Sturmium, qui de eo ad me in hæc verba literas misit: Salennius apud me fuit. Candide aperui ei tuam

*) assimilis.

sententiam de Cœna Domini et de ascensione Christi, promittit operam in te defendendo et tua innocentia, et ut perveniamus quo volumus, ut ecclesiam Gallicanam restitutam videamus. Ignosce illi, nam quod fecit, zelo bono fecit etc. Hæc D. Sturmius. Nescio tamen quo consilio postea Salennius, quum existimaret me jam profectum Argentina, meam illam responsionem habere voluit ut eam ostenderet ministris Germanis. Ego vero providens, ne quis absente me causam meam cum ipsis in ecclesiæ damnum minus prudenter ageret, scriptum meum, quod cuidam asservandum tradideram, recepi, et tutiore loco deposui. Facile enim esset ex uno aut altero verbo, Germanorum animis jam satis exacerbatis, duriore ita ipsos offendi, ut omnem in posterum spem recuperandi loci nobis abscinderent, me præsertim absente, qui illud aut modeste defendere aut prudenter emollire non possem.

Quum primum Oleviani literæ mihi fuerunt perlectæ, petivi a fratribus ut ab ipso per literas efflagitarent ut declararet quinam essent illi errores circa articulos illos in quibus me esse aiebat, quando in literis expresserat nullum; et si quid præterea speciatim de me haberet, ut in literis pollicebatur multa; me enim in ea sententia esse, Argentina videlicet non excedendi nisi de his quæ objecisset sufficienter purgatum. Expectavi postea Argentinæ 13 diebus quæ esset missurus, sed frustra. At quia hominem maligno nequaquam animo præditi novi (credo enim peccasse cum potius levitate quam malignitate animi; hoc est a pessima quapiam post meum discessum exagitatum furia, quæ malum aliquem de me rumorem, cui ipse fidem adhibuerit ea levitate qua biduo ante bis fecerat, ipsi attulerit), Francofurtum reversus, hominem per literas admonui officii sui, idque ea lenitate ac modestia qua non hostem sed parentem commonefecissem. Sed quid sperem adhuc ignoro. Pudebit fortassis hominem in honoris gradu haud infimo constitutum rumores temere sparsos revocare. Saniorem mentem Deus illi concedat.

Nunc itaque, mi domine ac observande frater in Christo, has literas cum ipsius epistola delatoria et mea ad ipsam responsione ad te mitto. Primum ut, quando Olevianus petit ut sua epistola tibi communicetur, de tota causa, quoad fieri potest, certior fias. Deinde ut, si quid in mea hac responsione impium et a Christiana pietate minime tolerandum deprehenderis, admoneas; invenies me re ipsa præstare haud gravatim quod in eadem responsione polliceor. Quod si temerarium et præceps consilium, infectum*) etiam insigni perfidia, ut illud singulæ literarum Oleviani voces spirant, in ipsis subolfeceris, hominem quoque officii admoneas ut in posterum caveat ne tam temere tanto cum malo ecclesiæ in fratres æque atque in perniciosissimos hostes irruat. Tertio ut, quod ad negotium recuperandæ illius ecclesiæ attinet, si post discussas nebulas rerum Londinensium, neque enim aliter patiar me publicis ecclesiæ negotiis rursus implicari, Dominus ad id mea opera uti constituerit, tuo me consilio juves. Et ut melius discas qua parte indigeam consilio, aperiā hic sententiam meam. Si, ut verisimile est, magistratus Argentinensis me cum suis ministris commiserit in doctrinæ negotio, præsertim quod ad Cœnam Domini spectat, petam ut mihi constent articuli Bucer cum ipsius explicatione, tum ea quæ cum eisdem articulis extat typis excusa, tum ea quæ ex articulis ad ministros Francofurtenses peti potest. Hæc si concesserint, tuto et tranquille retinebimus nostram sententiam, ut ex ipsis Bucer verbis plane et sincere possum ostendere, tam quoad ipsam sacramenti substantiam, quam quoad id quod infideles aut indigni sumant in ipso. Diserte enim docet in illis articulis Bucer, infidelibus non exhiberi corpus Christi in sacra Cœna; isti vero alias docent peccantes mortaliter carere fide,

*) infectum is my conjecture. The copy sent me has in facti.

unde coguntur ex ipsorum pronuntiatis indignorum nomine eos accipere quos nos accipimus. Quod ad cæremonias attinet in Cœnæ administratione, a genuflexione in sumptione panis sumus liberi, utpote qua et ipsi Argentinæ non utuntur. Fractionem omitti in ecclesia nostra omnino non patiar, nisi fortassis melius edoctus, quam ex sacris literis disco esse cæremoniæ illius tanti momenti circumstantiam, quæ et universæ actioni Cœnæ in principio nomen indiderit, et Paulo fracti corporis Christi in cruce allegoriæ sit sedes: Hoc est corpus meum, inquit, quod pro vobis frangitur. Cætera omnia quoad cæremonias baptismi etc., non usque adeo displicent, ut malim amitti locum quam eis attemperari. Hæc in summa. Cæterum ut quod sentio ingenue fatear, arbitror ecclesiam illam cum integra sua pristina libertate una hactenus modestia potuisse conservari, neque Germanos ista difficultate tam vindicare doctrinam Cœnæ, quam ulcisci contemptum sui.

Responsum ad Brentium nunc cœpi legere; placent hactenus omnia, sed modestiam vehementer probō, quam qui in hujusmodi controversiis neglexerit, defendet quidem causam, confractum vero sanabit nunquam. Quod ad universum argumentum attinet, est quod te, mi domine, commonefaciam, suis ipsorum scriptis, quæ adversus Sfenchfeldium de glorificatione carnis Christi olim ediderunt, perspicue et citra ullum laborem debellari adversus eos posse. Extat ipsorum libellus: Quod Christus, quatenus homo est, etiam ad dexteram Patris sedens, sit pura creatura; an facile reperiri possit nescio. Quodsi hæc jam a te sunt animadversa, studium meum boni consule.

Vale in Christo, per cujus viscera a te peto ut ab ea Christiana charitate, qua me complecti in Christo cœpisti, rumoribus ullis nisi me prius et audito et convicto te abduci ne*) patiare, id quod de tua cum pietate tum prudentia facile mihi persuadeo.

Dat. Francoforti 22 Aprilis 1565. Tuus

Cassiodorus.

7.

[*Beza Reinio. Genævæ 23 Junii 1565*].**))

Mi Cassiodore, quomodo Londini vixeris, et nuper Heidelbergiæ te gesseris, judicare nec possum nec volo, quia neque sum ego constitutus istarum rerum judex, neque, si judex essem, de incompetis possem quicquam constituere. De iis enim ad me neque Olivianus noster neque quisquam alius præter te unum vel syllabam scripsit. Sed dissimulare nec possum nec debeo quid de confessione fratribus Argentinensibus a te tradita mihi videatur, qua de re etiam ad illos scripsi, ne forte testimonio, quod ab hac ecclesia accepisti, deinceps apud illos vel alios quospiam abutaris. Scio fore ut hoc verbum durum tibi et asperum videatur, sed quando ita opus est, offendere te malo (idque utinam in salutem tuam) quam connivendo veritatem et fratres prodere.

Quod putas hominum asperiorum seu culpa seu imprudentia factum esse, ut istæ controversiæ gliscerent et Gallica ecclesia tandem istis corrueret, in eo plane te hallucinari scio, et tibi prædico fore ut id re ipsa sentias. Illud certe tibi cogitandum est, neque doctrinam neque zelum neque prudentiam neque rerum usum iis defuisse quos ita vides ab istis agitari, ut cum ipsis Turcis et papistis longe

*) ne is not in the ms.

**) Copie d'une lettre de Theodore de Bèze envoyée à Cassiodorus le 23 Juin 1565.

mitius agant. Hoc si certo animi iudicio faciunt, tu scilicet ab illis impetrabis ut meliore conscientia utantur; sin vero errore quodam peccant (quod mihi quidem non fit verisimile, cum nihil præter insignem impudentiam ad defendendam suam causam afferant), non video profecto qui possis illos in viam revocare, nisi tu ipse prior erudiri te sinas.

Capite confessionis tuæ secundo, doctrinam Gallicarum ecclesiarum amplecti te profiteris, sed in genere, inquis, sive in toto doctrinæ corpore, et præcipuis ejus capitibus. Quorsum autem hanc exceptionem, quum ingenua et plena confessio a te flagitetur?

In tertio capite, præterquam quod inter rem sacramenti et ipsius usum vel nullum vel perobscurum discrimen constituis, scribis præsentē aliter et substantive aliter corpus donari, quæ verba quamvis commoda interpretatione leniri possint, tamen non video cur usurpare debueris. Præsens quidem esse fidei oculis et in sacramentis et in verbo ipsum Domini corpus atque adeo totum ipsum Dominum profiteamur, sed quod corpus alioqui reipsa non sit alibi quam in cælis, etiamsi vere nobis donetur. Itaque ab illis qualitatis potius quam substantiæ adverbii merito abstinemus, præsertim in confessionum formulis quas planas et perspicuas esse oportet.

Quarto capite recte negas quærendum esse corpus in panis elemento quasi illic sit inclusum et affixum, sed addis adverbium „necessario“, quod sententiam illam obscurat; et quod in extremo adjicis: „qu'il le faut chercher par foi plus haut, c'est à savoir en sa gloire et majesté“, quis non videt ex eorum sententia dici qui realem præsentiam corporis in terris adhuc somniant, ejus gloria prætextu qua nunc est ornatum? Transi ergo aperte in adversariorum castra, aut verba, quæ non bona fide ex formula in nostris ecclesiis usitata descripsisti, pervertere desine.

In quinto capite disseris de eo quod nulli unquam in mentem venit. Quis enim unquam ita insaniit, ut putaret animam locali motu per fidem in cælum subvehi? Itaque cum umbra tua hic litigas. Et quod postea subjicis, detorquens, quod de verbo prædicato et oris confessione scripsit Moses, ad rem ipsam sacramenti sive ad corporis communicationem, istud videlicet: prope est verbum in ore tuo, nec vere, nec recte id facis, nec quisquam est ex adversariis qui hæc non trahat ad oris manducationem, atque adeo qui non dicat manifestam esse in tuis dictis discrepantiam.

Sexto capite citas domini Bucer locum adversus eos qui, quoniam corpus Christi est in cælis, idcirco negant ejus nos in terris degentes fieri posse participes, cujusmodi cogitationes perversas vocat, ac merito quidem, sed addere debuisti, ista in nos sive Zwinglianos sive Calvinistas, ut isti appellant, minime competere. Nec enim ad tollendam communicationem aut præsentiam sive fidei sive spiritualem istis argumentis utimur quæ verissima et solidissima sunt, sed ut eorum delirium coarguamus, qui corpus Christi adhuc in vel sub vel cum pane realiter esse contendunt, quod nos nusquam alibi nunc quam in cælis esse affirmamus, quia verum et suis finibus circumscriptum sit corpus quantumvis gloriosum. Ista vero argumenta quomodo ad ubiquistas transferas, quasi et ipsi iis aut similibus utantur, ego quidem non video, quamvis in eo recte sentis, quod Eutychianam illam ubiquitatem repudias.

Sed vide quomodo illius fundamenta non jacias sequentibus duobus capitibus 7º et 8º. Etsi enim recte sentis receptum esse Jesum Christum supra cælos omnes, tamen quum adverbium „corporaliter“ addis, et diserte postea spirituales nescio

quem corporis ipsius præsentiæ modum in terris constituis, quid vis a me constitui nisi te cum nostris adversariis in reali et invisibili præsentia in, sub vel cum pane manifeste sentire, et illud unicum ubiquitatis fundamentum jacere? Sed et in eo quoque cum illis sentis, quod ascensionem in cælos cum possessione ad Dei dexteram confundis, cum tamen articulus ille loci, iste vero status et conditionis mutationem sigillatim et distincte declaret. Locum autem illum Apostoli Eph. 4, si domini Calvini commentarios diligentius inspexeris, non sic interpretaberis, quasi locali conditione exemptum sit sive incircumscriptum factum sit Christi corpus. Intolerabile etiam est quod testimonia omnia quibus absentia corporis Christi ab ecclesia manifesto confirmatur, ad visibilem illam conversationem refertur cui suo in cælum ascensu finem imposuerit, quasi nunc invisibili quodam modo corpus illud nobiscum versetur, quod falsissimum commentum satis nosti quam firmis argumentis sit jampridem a nostris refutatum. Illud ergo potius dicere debuisti: carnem Christi sua virtute, cujus unius respectu spirituales ejus in terris præsentiam affirmamus, vere ecclesiæ suæ adesse; ejusdem autem carnis substantiam, licet vere et realiter et incomprehensibili modo ejus ipsius fiamus participes, tanto a nobis in terra positis intervallo a terris abesse, quanto quod supra omnes cælos est a terris distat.

Rursus nono capite articulum ascensionis in cælos cum glorificatione carnis Christi, et cælos, in quos ascendit, cum gloria, cujus ibi possessionem adiit, perperam confundis.

Decimo capite vide num*) perperam incitaris domini Bucer auctoritate adversus eos disserentis non qui cælorum nomine ultra mundanam sedem significari recte judicant, sed qui terrenum illic locum et crassas ac informas cogitationes[?] glorificato illi corpori Christi attribuunt, quibus nihilo sane sunt saniores qui propterea illocalet et invisibile Christi corpus faciunt, et huic fundamento suam illam consubstantiationem superstruunt.

) Ut autem semel finiam, pretiosa est apud nos domini Bucer et eorum quos nominas memoria, sicuti esse debet, sed hoc certe nemo non videt, obscurius illum aliquando tum*) de his mysteriis, tum etiam aliis multis de rebus esse locutum, sive quod non omnibus datum sit perspicue animi sui†) sensa explicare, sive quod, dum concordie totus studet, speravit se ipsa etiam repugnantia aliquo modo posse conciliare, quod studium, etsi per se est laudabile, præsertim in tanti judicii viro, tamen quam infelicitè aliquoties ab eo sit tentatum, res ipsa demonstrat. Itaque multo rectius feceris††) (quod cum illius pace dictum sit) si ex clarioribus et certioribus aliorum quorundam ac præsertim domini Martyris scriptis sapere in hoc saltem argumento didiceris.

Et de iis quidem hactenus. Nunc superest ut te obtester per Jesu Christi nomen, ut priusquam longius progrediaris, accurate rem totam expendas, teque ab iis regi patiari quibus nunquam te poenitebit plusculum tribuisse. Quod concordiam et istius ecclesiæ instaurationem tanti facis, in eo te vehementer laudo, sed quia

*) *Dufour: Il y a sur ce mot un gribouillage.*

**) *The following words unto argumento didiceris, are excerpted by a hand of the 16. century among Varia ad hist. reform. III. fol. 212 in the Thomas Archives at Strassburg, with the introductory notice: Theod. Beza ad Cassiodorum Hispanum inter alia 9 cal. Jul. 1565 hæc scribit de Bucero. Prof. Ed. Reuss found this extract and kindly copied it for me. I derived from it some corrections of the copy made for me of the Genevese manuscript.*

***) *Geneva: aliquantum.*

†) *sui is added by me from the Strassburg extract.*

††) *Strassburg: faceres.*

penitus mihi sint noti quibuscum tibi negotium erit, primum moneo memineris nullum in iis rebus esse conniventiae locum; deinde te obtestor ne falsa spe te ipsum et gregem lactando tunc demum sapere incipias cum nullus erit errori corrigendo locus. In summa si veritatem nobiscum professus fueris, fratres et amicos nos experire pro bonorum modulo quæ a Domino accepimus, sin minus, — sed nolo male ominari,*) et Deum potius precor ut tibi nobisque omnibus luce sancti sui spiritus magis ac magis affulgeat, quo directore, et ipse in veritate et justitia ambulare et aliis fidei nostræ creditis iter ad veram salutem commonstrare possimus. Bene vale. Genevæ 9 cal. Julii 1565.

Tuus Th. B.

8. **)

[Reyne:] Declaration de quelques passages en la Confession precedente.
[Francfort 28 Janvier 1566.]

Pour ce qu'il pourra bien advenir que quelqu'un trouve ou difficulté ou bien (à son advis) contradiction en quelques passages de ceste mienne Confession, je ai trouvé bon (afin de me mieux donner à entendre et oster toute occasion de l'interpreter hors de mon intention) d'ajouter ici quelque sommaire declaration es lieux où il me semble qu'on pourroit avoir semblable doute.

1. Premièrement du chap. 2. Je dis que je reçois et advoue pour fidele et chrestienne doctrine tout le corps de la doctrine que je ai ouie en l'eglise de Geneve, et aux eglises françoises auxquelles j'ai esté adjoint etc. Ceci on ne le doit prendre ou interpreter de male part, comme si je voudrois excepter quelque chose d'importance receue par le commun consentement de l'eglise, voyant principalement que je me declaire assez, disant que ce n'est pas n'y a esté mon intention de me separer des dites eglises aux principaux points de la doctrine etc., en quoi il me semble que je ai compris tout ce que modestement et à bon droit on me sauroit demander. Que si quelqu'un pour estre plus certifié et asseuré vouldra ici que je especifie quelque chose, je suis prest à le faire estant requis.

2. Au 3 chap. où est traité de la Cene du Seigneur, je ai adjousté ces mots „presentialement et sustantialement“ esquels je n'entend point autre presence du corps de Christ de celle (en quelque lieu qu'il soit) que l'esprit et vertu divine de Christ exhibe, et la foi aperçoive, ce qui est assez clair de tout le contenu au 4 chap. suivant. Desquels mots j'ai usé premierement, pour estre veritables au sens dit et selon la doctrine de la saint'escriture et des eglises auxquelles je ai protesté estre adjoint. Secondement, pour ce que l'occasion, qui estoit de restablir un'eglise entre les Almans, le requeroit. Tiercement, pour ce que les exemples de ceux qui prudemment les ont usurpés (voire des plus difficiles) en semblables occasions, m'estoint devant les yeux. Que s'il y avoit dangier que quelqu'un en abuseroit des dits mots pour les tirer en mauvais sens, le chapitre suivant y provoyoit assez clairement.

3. Au 4 chap. où est dit qu'il faut chercher le corps de Christ par foi plus haut, à savoir, en sa gloire et majesté, ceci n'est pas perversion des paroles du commun formulaire de la Cene (qui dit: Pour ce faire eslevons nos esprits et nos coeurs en haut, où est Jesus Christ en la gloire de Son Pere etc.), ains ou la sustance des mesmes paroles (à mon advis) ou la legitime declaration d'icelles, et

*) Geneva: cominari.

**) Carrasco: carta autografa.

le vrai objet de la foi là où elle cherche et trouve tout ce qu'elle requiert en Christ, non pas en quelque lieu corporel qui soit depuis que Dieu l'a une fois destaché de Jerusalem etc. (Joa. 4).

4. À ce mesme propos ai je amené au 5 chap. le passage de l'Apostre Rom. 10. pour monstrier que l'homme pour obtenir et jouir de tout ce qu'en Christ et en son evangile lui est présenté et en general et en especial n'a que faire de monter aux cieus visibles ne descendre aux enfers, car la foi lui presente le tout en son coeur, croyant de coeur et confessant de bouche. Que si quelques uns abusent de cest passage le tirant à l'orale manducation (qu'on dit), je ne l'ai point mené à tel propos, sinon pour monstrier seulement la nature de la foi au dit endroit, ce qui est assez evident et clair au dit lieu de ma Confession.

5. Au 8 chap. où je interprete l'article de l'Ascension du Seigneur par l'article de son Assiete à la dextre de Dieu, le chap. 7 precedent monstre que cela doit estre entendu de ceux qui sincerement liront ma confession sans nul prejudice de la verité de la limitation et circumscription quantitative du corps de Christ en son lieu naturel où il est, comme l'ont entendu ceux qui par ci devant ont interpreté le dit article sans en rien favoriser pourtant l'erreur de l'ubiquité, comm'à la verité la dite interpretation en rien favorise le dit erreur, veu que la puissance et majesté donnee à Christ signifiee par le triomphe de sa corporelle et visibl'ascension aux cieus ne vient, ne peut aussi venir jusques à la destruction de son corps et de sa nature humaine. Que si quelqu'uns abusent de tell'interpretation, la prenant pour fondement de leur ubiquité ou de quelqu'autre erreur (comm'aussi font ils de la gloire et majesté de Christ pour tirer son corps voire au et de soubz le pain), ce qui a esté de tout temps orthodoxe en l'eglise, ne doit pas pourtant estre maintenant chancellé comme nuisable à la verité, ains, puis qu'il est tout certain que jamais verité n'a fait appui à mensonge, nostre devoir est de retenir la verité, et monstrier l'abus qu'on en fait d'icelle.

Or, interpreter un article de foi par un autre, sans nier toutesfois la distinction qu'ils ont entre soi quant à l'histoire, ce n'est pas confusion des dits articles, mais chose usitée des fidels interprets de la foi, voire mesmes des Apostres. La mort, sepulture, resurrection, session de Christ à la dextre de Dieu, articles sont assez differents, selon l'histoire, de l'article de la remission de nos pechés et renouvellement de nostre vie, par lequel neanmoins l'Apostre interprete les autres, non seulement comme causes d'icelui, mais aussi comme symboles ou figures. Rom. 6. Coloss. 2 et 3. Ephes. 2. Certes quant est de cest'article de l'Ascension, le mesm'Apostre, au passage allegué en ma Confession, à savoir Ephes. 4, l'interprete de sa gloire et majesté respondante à sa precedente humiliation, à laquell'interpretation rien empesche que selon l'histoire l'un article soit du lieu, et l'autre de la condition ou dignité, non plus que si on diroit que l'entree triomphale des rois en leur villes capitales, ou leur trone et siege royale est comm'un symbole ou figure de leur inauguration au royaume ou de leur dignité et autorité royale.

Voila les passages qui pour le present je trouve qui pourront estre tirés en quelque sens estrange de mon intention. Que si en ceux ici, ou en autres on aura encores quelque doute, je demande et requiers par le Seigneur de en estre requis, afin que je puisse donner à son eglise toute satisfaction à moi possible. Donnee ce 28 de Janvier 1566. ans.

Cassiodore de Reyne
Espagnol.

9.

[*Reinius Bezae. Argentinae. Martius 1566*].*)

Eximio viro D. Theodoro Bezae, Ecclesiae Genevensis Ministro, domino ac fratri suo imprimis observando, Genevæ.

Mi domine et observande frater in Christo. Per me hactenus non stetit quominus ad binas tuas intra biennium ad me datas, alteras de confessione mea Londinensi, alteras de Argentinensi agentes, in tempore a me responsum tuleris. Neque enim is sum qui acceptum beneficium piæ aut admonitionis aut etiam correctionis, etsi minus opportuna illa foret, superbe contemnam.**)

Quod ad priores attinet, ut tuæ illius meæ confessionis correctiones mihi fuerint gratissimæ, utque quod exemplar meum, a quo tamen et modeste et religiosè, ut dicis, abstinuisti, quibus visum fuisset locis tua ipsius manu non correxeris, ægre tulerim, vetus ista epistola, quam cum isthac ad te mitto, testari potest. Eam cum meo illo exemplari, quod ad te remisera, Hispani fratres, qui Genevæ sunt, ad me remiserunt ante annum cum dimidio, quod gravioribus, nescio quibus, occupationibus ex tempore esses***) distractior, ut ipsis visum fuit, quam ut vacaret legendis meis. Itaque eandem eo tantum consilio nunc ad te mitto ut, si libuerit legere, ex ea discas et quantum tibi tribuerim, et infestas atque adeo duras censuras ut nihil moror, ita etiam piam tum admonitionem, tum etiam objurgationem, si sit opus, et expetere me, et pro summo ducere beneficio.

Quod ad postremas, in quibus de Argentinensi mea confessione agitur, hoc in summa tibi atque adeo universæ ecclesiæ responsum est: Christum glorificatione sua ejus conditionis corpus esse adeptum, quod omnis corporeæ dimensionis cancellos prætergressum, ubique diffusum sit atque distentum, ut sententiam ab omni scriptura et rei veritate prorsus alienam non recipio neque recepi unquam, quum potius sentio, ut verum hominis corpus certa dimensione et loco pro dimensionis ipsius habitudine circumscriptum ac limitatum, modo quo†) tantam majestatem deceat, supra cælos omnes constitutum, secundum quam corporalem ac localem habitudinem nobiscum amplius non versetur, neque uspiam quam in cælis sit, ubi etiam retineri ipsum oportebit usque ad tempora restitutionis omnium, Act. 3. Deinde Christum ipsum per spiritum suum ac divinitatis suæ vim, quæ nusquam non est, revera exhibere suis in sacra cœna corpus suum et sanguinem, atque adeo Christum ipsum totum, integrum, sedentem ad dexteram Patris, per eandem vim adesse suis, ubicumque gentium degant, citra cælestis loci illius corporalem mutationem, ut sententiam fidei et verbo Dei consentaneam amplector, et eandem per Dei gratiam spero me ad finem usque vitæ meæ retenturum. Hanc sententiam neque confessioni ecclesiæ vestræ neque sententiæ tuæ in literis ad Argentinenses peregrinos expressæ neque confessioni demum meæ, modo adsit in interpretando candor, arbitror ulla ex parte adversari.

Ecclesiæ Italicorum cui omnia debeo, tum quod, dum Genevæ vixi, fui ei adjunctus, tum etiam quod singularem et Christiano cœtu dignam erga me caritatem suam præteritis annis declaravit, eandem meam confessionem mitto, adjuncta mea declaratione in eos articulos, quos in tuis ad me literis secus quam mea habet sententia es interpretatus, ut jam nihil sit hac in parte in quo, si satisfactionem requiras, non putes abunde tibi satisfactum. Mitto præterea meam responsionem ad Servetismos illos quos dicunt, per meos Londinenses castigatores ex meis annotationi-

*) *Autograph letter.***) *Ms: contēnam.****) *Ms: esse.*†) *Ms: quem ..*

bus in Biblia Hispanica decerptos,*) cum ipsis eisdem exemplaribus unde illos excerpserunt, ut appareat primum, me lucem quærere, non tenebras, non latebras, quæ me meaque facta occultent; deinde, quam periculosum, temerarium, et probis viris, nedum Christianis, indignum sit, de re nondum ex integro perspecta quocumque tandem modo sententiam ferre; tertio demum, ad quantum impudentiæ culmen adversarii mei conscenderint, quod vel ex sycophantiis in unum 53 Jesaïæ caput erit indubitatum.

Quod ad spurca et humanis auribus indigna flagitia, quæ in me conjecerunt, spectat, propemodum pœnitet jam toties respondisse. non pudere vero non potest; credat quisque posthac quod volet, ego vero Dominum expectabo, expectabo Deum servatorem meum, audiet me Deus meus. Quum sedero in tenebris, ipse lux mea est. Perficiet tandem aliquando, ut cœpit, iudicium meum, educet me in lucem, videbo justitiam ejus [*Mich. 7, 7—9*]. Neque interea mea isthæc tam dura exercitatio mihi est omnino inutilis. Fortassis ex ea complura disco, eaque utiliora quam quæ ulli me unquam libri edocere possent. Episcopus Londinensis acta hujus causæ, ut audio, ad vos misit; an omnia, vel ea tantum quæ adversum me sunt, quo etiam consilio, quove auctore, hactenus ignoro; ex ipsius tamen tum pietate, tum literis ad me missis conjicio eum id fecisse animo sublevandi potius quam augendi calamitatem meam, neque ut ego novis iterum et argumentis et auctoribus per orbem diffamer, sed ut atroci alioqui infamiæ et ecclesiæ Christi imprimis perniciosæ, quoad fieri possit, remedium adhibeatur. Igitur quæ jam vestræ sint partes inspicite, summo omnium judici Christo in totius universitatis theatro rationem brevi reddituri. Ego interea assiduus precibus insistam, ut Dominus per Christum unigenitum Filium suum Spiritu suo gubernet vestra consilia, ut, quæ ad gloriam nominis sui et ecclesiæ suæ ædificationem sint conducibilia, proferatis.

Argentinae kalendis Martiis 1566. Tuus

Cassiodorus.

10.

[*Oporini et Zanchii quædam ad Reinium spectantia. 1567—68.*]

Joh. Oporinus, Joh. Huberto, Basilea Argentinam.

1567. Jun. 10: Misi ante paucos dies orationes duas adversarias Fran. Somii et Castritii, quarum inspectionem D. Sturmio et tibi committi petieram a Josia Rihelio cui easdem miseram; et simul vestrum de illis iudicium audire percuperem. Nunc etiam D. Cassiodoro easdem legendas exhiberi velim. Scire etiam cuperem quid de libello ejus, quo de Hispanica per Belgicum Inquisitione egit, fiat, exustusne is sit nec ne, aut, si non sit, an non excudendum curaturus sit, et forte etiam eorum, quæ interea acciderunt, auditu horrenda, historica narratione adjicere. Rescribe mihi quæso per hunc eundem qui hasce literas nostras tibi tradet, et a D. Sturmio vel tribus verbis iudicium ejus de istis duabus orationibus ut extorqueas [et] mihi significes, itemque a D. Cassiodoro, cura.**)

1567. Nov. 15: non potui differre longius quin te certiore redderem de Biblia nostra Hispanica, in qua, ut tandem prelo subjiciatur, nihil impedit aliud quam ut D. Cassiodorus a Sturmio nostra bona testimonia consequatur, id quod hactenus et

*) See our Document 2.

**) Compare above p. 118 and 172.

ipse, qui ter et quater jam scripsit ad eum, et nostri censores desiderant. Vellem itaque, mi D. Conrade, apud D. Sturmium efficeret, ut eo accuratius D. Cassiodorum commendaret: plurimi enim id proverbii negotium, quia censores nostri omnia, quae non intelligunt, suspecta habere iudicantur.

1567. Dec. 10: quod Hebraicos prophetas a Plantino editos expectas necdum vidisse te scribis miror, quod D. Cassiodorus eos jampridem ad te miserit, tuo nomine a me acceptos.

1567. Lunæ ante natalem Domini: Mitto per Cassiodorum nostrum ad Illyricum *) Annotationes Hermanni Bonni in totum Vetus Test.

1568. Jan. 7: Sripsi interea etiam ad D. Cassiodorum de Bibliis suis Hispanicis, permittere senatum nostrum ut excudantur, sed omissis omnibus annotationibus. Itaque si ita excudi ea velit, ut reditum ad nos maturet, nam in nobis nulla erit mora. Et consultius ipse etiam fore censeo ut vel absque annotationibus solus textus excudatur, quam ut propter annotationes omittendas ipso etiam textu carendum sit iis quibus aspirare etiam divinus spiritus solo textu perfecto poterit. Erit forte alio tempore etiam annotationes seorsim excudendi occasio. Id velim D. Cassiodoro significes, et ei simul ac D. Sturmio officiosissime meo nomine salutem dicas.

1568. Jan. 15: Hodie tabellarius Francofordiensis discessit, per quem ad te et Cassiodorum literas misi, et te oravi ut et ad illum literas curare et D. Illyrico quas scripsi, item reddere velis, simul addens, esse a Corio aliter primo quam post ab ipso Sulcero indicatum senatusconsultum, nempe licere una cum annotationibus, grammaticalibus saltem, Bib. Hisp. edere. Et ecce, dum id molior, supervenit Cassiodorus ipse et tuas adfert literas. Oro autem te, quod nostras ad Cassiodorum accipies, ad nos vel ipsum potius Cassiodorum eas remitti per occasionem cures, quo videat me de ipsius rebus, dum ipse in itinere reditus ad nos fuit, sollicitum fuisse.

1568. Febr. 6: De rebus nostris abunde te edocebit D. Cassiodorus noster, nempe de Bibliorum Hisp. editione quid actum sit, *and that a son had been born to Oporinus.*

Hieron. Zanchius Jo. Huberto Heidelbergæ Argentinam, die paschatis 1568: D. Cassiodoro reddes hæc scripta.

11.

Reina's friends Peter Ramus and Marcos Perez.

Petri Rami Basilea ad senatum populumque Basiliensem. Anno. M. D. LXXI. [BASLE, Public library]. No mention of printer or printingplace; according to Waddington, Ramus 1855 p. 467, it was printed by J. Probus at Lausanne. Typographus Lectori. Cum hæc P. Rami Basilea Basileæ scripta forte in nostras manus incidisset, eam maluimus illo in scio prælo committi, quæ adferret tibi nonnihil adjumenti, quam sepultum in tenebris delitescere.

Ramus had stayed at Basle, according to Waddington p. 193, la fin de l'année 1568 et la plus grande partie de l'année 1569.

[P. 12.] Si quis controversi juris nodus inter judicandum inciderit, quod rarum est, juris consultus pro tota civitate unicus (ut antea pater Bonifacius Amerbachius et hodie filius Basilius Amerbachius non solum jurisprudentia sed vera virtutis fama civis primarius) consulitur. O felices Basilienses . . . [P. 30. 31:] Quis vestrum oblitus est Bonifacium Amerbachium non modo Basileæ, sed universæ Germaniæ legum

*) *Matthiam Flacium.*

Romanarum sapientia velut Apollinem fuisse: et in filio Basilio Amerbachio patriam gloriam veluti hereditaria successione perpetuasae?

[P. 18. 19.] Sebastianus Castellio et Theodorus Zuingerus par alterum nobile faciunt. . . . Zuingerus Castellioni successit, nostrae quondam scholae alumnus, ed ideo verecundius voce nostra memorandus, ne magister e discipuli studiis laudem repetere videatur: sed tamen accurata Graecae literaturae professio studiosis fructuosa, academiae universae honorifica, civibus per jucunda: sed multo magis humanae vitae theatrum laboris infiniti ex infinitis authoribus conflatum: sed quoniam medicinae se praecipue dedit, Galenus praecipuis partibus, Hippocrates totus Zuingeri industriam doctrinamque etiam tacente me, amplissime demonstrabunt.

[P. 25.] Theologia nempe de professionibus ordinariis ut gradu summa est, sic divinis laudibus est amplissima. Professores ordinarii duo sunt professionis genere mihi imprimis laudato atque optato. Hic Simon Sulcerus et Huldricus Coccius nobis auditi assidue atque auscultati sunt: nec enim consolatio mihi major in his civilium tempestatum miseriis ulla fuit, quam ut assiduas utriusque praelectiones auscultarem: cum alter testamentum vetus Hebraice, alter novum Graece interpretaretur. Tum enim voti compos fieri mihi visus sum, pro quo proœmium Parisiensis academiae pæne capitale nobis extitisset, cum nostris Theologis optarem, ut tali professione puriorem verbi divini Theologiam e suis fontibus ita haurirent, et ita hauriendam discipulis ostenderent.

[P. 31 — 33.] Agedum Basiliensis academiae hospites, familiares etiam nostri in istam gratiae gratulationisque societatem succedite, huc enim nisi Andreæ Penam, Petrum Castelnovum, Petrum Pitheum, Joannem Bohinum, Cornelium Bombergam, Cassiodorum Rhemium, Franciscum Bethum, Sylvestrum Teglium adjunxero, eruditae mihi cum ipsis familiaritatis et philosophicae in quotidiana colloctione consuetudinis immemor parumque gratus existimer. . . . Cassiodorum Rhennium Hispanum labor ingens atque immensus amor patriae sacris studiis erudiendae et ab impia superstitione/s/ sævitia vindicandae quamvis taceri atque ignorari velit, minime tamen tacitum atque ignotum esse patietur. Francisco Betho et Sylvestro Teglio vix Italia duos Italos candidiores et veræ pietatis amantiores apposuerit. Bethus patriam patrio sermone christianismi sacris initiat. Teglius Machiavelli principem latine loquentem fecit, majoraque nominis sui monimenta quotidie molitur. Te vero Marce Peresi etsi Basiliensi civitate donatum tamen academiae vel hospitem praecipuum, vel certe municipem, quibus tandem laudum argumentis appellem? Etenim opibus magnis abundare, commercia cum omnibus christiani orbis gentibus perampla exercere: scire Flandricæ, Germanicæ, Italicae, Hispanicae, Gallicae: imo luculenter et eleganter Latine, liberalium artium studia coluisse, sacras imprimis literas evoluisse, de tam variis sæculo nostro tamque discrepantibus theologorum judiciis rectissima selegisse, magna quædam in te raraque ingenii atque industriae encomia sunt, sed opibus amicos et cives tuos juvare, commercio plurimarum rerum nationibus prodesse, linguarum communione cum tam differentibus populis doctis indoctisque scripto linguave communicare, e religionis intelligentia non orationis ornatum, sed cultum vitae melioris exquirere, afflicta Christianae ecclesiae membra consilio, opera, pecunia, cohortatione, periculo etiam salutis ac vitae instruere, tueri, sustentare, consolari, propugnare, in eoque summum sibi bonum collocare, denique virtutis instrumenta ad usum virtutis referre, ea domum tibi solida est constansque gloria. Itaque ex infinitis urbibus urbem maxime omnium hospitalem merito adamasti, in qua infinitis mortalibus communem quendam beneficentiae ac liberalitatis hospitem exhiberes.

[P. 33.] Amerbachii, Frobenii, Episcopii, Petrei, Curiones, Hervagii, Isingeri, Cratandri, Oporini, Bethelii, Guarini, Bryllingeri, Pernæ ceterique nobiles Typographi Basileam non tantum opibus, sed egregia liberalis industriæ apud omnes nationes fama decorarunt.*)

[P. 35.] Quapropter (viri Basilienses) P. Ramus discedens jucundi, liberalis, humani hospitii memor grati animi monimentum apud vos esse εὐφρημίας istam voluit, a Deo opt. max. precatus, ut Basilea in perpetuum opibus firma, copiis locuples, gloria ampla, virtute honesta, pietate præcipue insignis, religioneque sancta ac beata sit. Finis.

Reprinted 1575 (see Waddington p. 468). 1580: Petri Rami praelectiones in Ciceronis orationes octo consulares. Vna cum Ipsius Vita, per Ioann. Thomam Freigivm collecta. Quae hac editione accesserunt, sequens pagina dicet. Basileae, per Petrum Pernam. Anno CIO IO LXXX. [STRASSBURG Univ.] Rhemium and Rhennium are corrected into Rheinium. Superstitio (or superstio?) is corrected into superstitionis. Instead of christiani orbis is misprinted Christiani vrbis. Isingrinij and Bebelij instead of Isingeri and Bethelii. 1599 in Petri Rami professoris regii et Audomari Talæi collectaneæ Præfationes, epistolae, orationes. Marpurgi CIO IO XCIX. [ZURICH city]. Instead of Castellio and Castellioni is printed Castalio and Castalioni; also here, however, we read Rhemium and Rhennium; superstitio is corrected into superstitionis. (Another edition Marpurgi 1609? See Waddington p. 470.)

*Marcos Perez had come to Basle from the Netherlands. He had been a banker at Antwerp („which was to the rest of Europe in the sixteenth century what London is in the nineteenth, the great heart of commercial circulation“, as Prescott says, Philip II, book 2, chap. 1). He was of Jewish extraction. As President of the consistory of the Calvinists at Antwerp, he worked hand in hand with the Lutherans against the common enemy. His name was at the head of the document by which, in October 1566, the Calvinists and the Lutherans of Antwerp offered to their Sovereign thirty tons of gold, in addition to their ordinary contributions, if he would consent to ratify their agreement with the Regent of the Netherlands. In the beginning of 1567 Marcos Perez and his wife Ursula Lopez**) were by the Inquisitors put on the list of the suspected persons, and in an official list of the persons banished or executed during the years 1566—1569 he is among the banished. Rahlenbeck: L'Inq. et la réf. en Belg. 1857, p. 68. 91. 102. 131. 247. 259. 261. 263. 265. The remark p. 259 that he was propagateur de la Bible en Espagne seems to be Rahlenbeck's. Compare on this Perez the notice of Rahlenbeck concerning Reginaldus Gonsalvius Montanus in our article on this one, note 15. Probably Perez left Antwerp in April 1567 together with William of Orange.*

He is mentioned as living in Basle in the following extracts from letters to Theodore Zwinger (Variorum ad Theodorum Zuingerum epistolæ, originals in the

*) Melancthon says on the typographers of Basle in the Collectanea of Manlius (cum præfatione Simonis Sulceri, dated 1562. Edition Basileæ per Oporinum et Gemuseum s. a., p. 574. Edition Fref. a. M. 1594. p. 577): Unica ea urbs typographicis operis et officinis cum omnibus Germaniæ, imo (si quod res est fateamur) cum totius Europæ urbibus certat: sive species multitudinem optimorum autorum, tam veterum quam recentium, sive consideres diligentiam quæ in emendatis librorum editionibus insumitur. Adde quod tolerabili pretio comparantur boni autores. He speaks of Froben, Henricus Petri, Curio, Oporinus, Hervag, Bryllinger, Gymnicus, Parcus, Pernæ.

**) Also Martin Lopez (traducteur espagnol de livres protestants) was among those banished from Antwerp in 1566—69, Rahlenbeck p. 260.

Frey-Grynæus Institute at Basle, copies of the same in the University library there. Compare above p. 152. 189.)

Monsieur de Rochefort, Conseiller de Mons^r et de Madame de Savoie, Turin, 25 Novembre 1568: mes humbles recommandations a Mons^r votre beau pere, a Madame votre femme, a Mons^r Amerbachius, a Mons^r Sulzer, au Sr Marco Perez, a Mons^r le Prince Palatin et Mons^r son gouverneur, et autres qui vous semblera bon. *Idem* Augustæ Taurinorum, III Cal. Maias 1569: Interim D. Tribunal utrunque et conjugem tuam carissimam, Sulcerum, Amerbachium, Peresium, Platerum, [fratres] Curiones, Pantaleonem, et Ramum si adhuc apud vos est, meis verbis plurimum saluta.

From the letters of Peter Ramus, contained in the same volume and printed from it in Waddington's Ramus 1855: Heidelbergæ 10 Cal. Feb. 1570: Saluta uxorem et filiolum nostrum, item amicos nostros Platerum, Brandmulerum, Amerbachium, Hospinianum, Cassiodorum, Boinum. Vale. (Waddington p. 425). Geneva 4 Non. Jul. 1570: Saluta nostrum Peresium, itemque Amerbachium, Brandmulerum, Boinum, Hospinianum, neque quenquam ex amicis prætermittito. Vale. (Waddington p. 427.) Lausanæ 12 Cal. Aug. 1570: Habitatio, cum a patria discessi, nulla mihi gratior quam Basileæ accidit . . . Rescribe interea de rebus omnibus, sed imprimis de M. Perezio quem es oblitus extrema epistola, audiui Paiernam [Payerne in the Pays de Vaud] nuper venisse; saluta igitur ipsum meo nomine quamplurimum, et amicos ceteros. (Waddington p. 428.) Lutetiæ, Mart. 1571: Scribo ad M. Peresium, ad F. Platerum, ad Grynæum et Episcopium, quibus ista omnia communicabis. (Waddington p. 431.) Lutetiæ, 3 Non. Sep. 157[1]: Saluta nostros Basilienses M. Peresium, Amerbachium, Brandmillerum, Platerum, Boinum, Coccium, sed inter omnes D. Brandum. (Waddington p. 436.) Nonis Decemb. 1571: Saluta nostros Basilienses DD. Peresium, Amerbachium, Felicem [Platerum], Boinum, sed præcipue Brandmillerum monetoque ut bono sit animo. (Waddington p. 436.)

See Reina's letter to Zwinger, 13 July 1570, here p. 224.

Certainly Marcos Perez was that Perez who received Reina in his house when he fell ill at Basle (see here p. 177 and 222 f.; Wiffen was mistaken in thinking, Life of Valdés p. 43, that this Perez at Basle was Juan Perez de Pineda).

Compare above p. 172 and 185.

12.

[Beza de Reinio in epistola ad Corranum. Geneva 1569.]

Beza to Corro, epist. 59. speaking of a letter of Corro to Reina, whose name however in all editions of Beza's letters is replaced by N.

Tuum illum [ed. 2 foll. add. *conterraneum*] diu amavi ac etiam honesto testimonio ornavi. Is ad me aliquando confessionis cujusdam exemplar misit, de qua quid mihi videretur amice et familiariter ad ipsum scripsi. Quum postea quorum scelerum istic ubi nunc es accusatus esset, et quam turpiter sese subduxisset, cognovissem, fateor mihi valde jam tum [1597 eum *instead of this tum of the former editions*] fuisse suspectum, quum vero postea intellexissem quos sermones de Cæna Domini habuisset, et ipsemet ad me nonnulla ea de re scripsisset, coactus sum acerbius illum

reprehendere, non prius sane pro fratre illum habiturus, quam alium factum cognovero. Tu vero quocunque loco voles illum sane habeto.

.. Quomodo possimus Verbum a Deo pro hominis remedio promissum considerare antequam carnem assumeret, et in qua substantia sese Patribus veteris fœderis demonstrarit? Hanc porro quæstionem prorsus Servetanum esse si negas, negas solem meridie lucere ... cur etiam ex eo id quæris, quem tu minime ignoras ut Servetanum a quibusdam, utinam falso, accusatum? *The second edition has: (falso tamen, opinor) instead of utinam falso. Beza was right in changing his view of Reina, but he ought not to have changed the text of this document without saying that he introduced such a change. The editions of 1582 and 1597 of course follow the second.*

.. Altera quæstio est, Quomodo Christus dum in hoc mundo versaretur, sederet ad dexteram Patris ... Et scilicet hac in re tuus N. [Reinius] potuit novum tibi quippiam suppeditare, quod ex illo eruditissimo Theologo Petro Martyre discere non multo melius potueris, nisi tu istiusmodi libros fastidires ...

Refers quiddam satis obscure de ministro oppidi Sanctæ fidei,*) qui quum de N. [Reinio] tecum loqueretur, ais tibi tunc in mentem venisse illud Joannis Si scires donum Dei et quis est qui loquitur tecum, forsitan petiisses ab eo, etc. Hoc vero quinam vel de to sentire sine extrema arrogantia, vel de tuo N. [Reinio] scribere absque intolerabili adulatione potuisti? Denique quid est Scripturam turpiter profanare. si hoc non est?

In the same letter Beza treats Juan Valdés' Considerations disdainfully.

13.

[Reyne: Déclaration sur sa confession de foi de Strasbourg.
Francfort 12 Juillet 1571.]

A Mons^r Mons^r de Beze à Geneve.

Le sousigné Cassiodore de Reyne, aiant conversé**) avec les ministres de l'Eglise françoise recueillie en cette ville de Francfort sur les articles de ma confession de foi jadis par moi presentee à l'Eglise françoise de Strasbourg le 24 de Mars 1565, et estant par eux requis de leur bailler une plus claire declaration de ce que je sens principalement sus ces points, de la s^{te} Cene de nostre Sgr Jesus Christ, de son ascension au ciel, et session à la dextre de Dieu son pere, leur ai declairé et declaire en toute sincerité que j'entens les articles de ma dite confession tout ainsi qu'il est porté par ce present escrit signé de ma main.

À savoir: Qu'en premier lieu perseverant en l'approbation de tous les livres canoniques de la s^{te} escriture du viel et nouveau testament et des trois symboles receus de toute l'Eglise, à savoir celui qu'on appelle des Apostres, celui du Concile de Nicée et celui d'Athanase, et rejetant tous erreurs et heresies à iceux contraires (pour l'esgard principalement de la doctrine contenue et declairee es deux derniers touchant l'unique essence de Dieu et trinité des personnes), suivant le premier article de madite confession,

*) In the Spanish original: un ministro de Sancta foe. This must be Sainte-Foi in the Agenois, which had been taken by the Protestants in that year 1563 in which Corro's letter referred to by Beza was written.

**) Ms: conservo.

j'approuve aussi et reçois sans aucune exception ni restriction toute la doctrine comprinse en la confession de foi des Eglises reformees de France qui commence: nous croions, etc., comme estant vraiment fondee et entierement conforme en toutes ses parties à la pure parole de Dieu et doctrine des Prophetes et Apostres. Laquelle pour plus grande certitude je suis prest et promets signer toutesfois et quantes que j'en serai par eux requis (comme je l'ai desja approuvee et signee autresfois). Et ce pour satisfaire au 2^e point de ma dite confession.

Quant au 3^o, je declaire que mon intention n'a jamais esté et n'est encores de confondre par icelui la chose spirituelle qui nous est presentee au sacrement de la 1^{re} Cene, à savoir la chair et le sang du Seigneur et tous ses benefices, avec le moien par lequel nous en sommes faits participans et le droit et legitime usage de ce sacrement. Et quant à ces mots „presentiellement et substantiellement,“ je desire d'estre supporté si je les ai là usurpé outre leur naive signification (aiant esgard au lieu auquel j'estois) pour signifier la vraie presence et substance du corps et sang de Christ; protestant que je n'y recognoi toutesfois autre presence que celle que nostre foi y apprehende spirituellement, demeurant son dit corps au ciel et non ailleurs, comme il sera dit ci après.

Quant au 4 article, je recognoi y avoir usé de ce mot „necessaire“ non à autre intention que pour forclorre et rejeter du tout l'opinion de ceux qui attachent tellement le corps et le sang de Christ aux signes visibles du pain et du vin qu'ils estiment que nuls ne peuvent recevoir ces signes qu'il[s] ne reçoive[nt] aussi veritablement la chose par iceux signifiée, soit fidele ou infidele. Laquelle opinion je condamne là. Et touchant les mots symbolisans avec le formulaire de l'administration de la Cene qu'on recite communement en la celebration d'icelle, je les entens au mesme sens que portent les paroles du dit formulaire, n'ayant eu lors nullement intention de rien innover ou changer quant au dit sens, combien que j'aie usé d'autres paroles, ni moins d'establir quelque autre presence du corps de Christ en terre que celle dont j'ai parlé ci de sus.

Quant au 5 article, ce que j'y ai allegué, le passage de St. Paul [Rom.] 10, v.*) 6, 7 et 8, ç'a esté seulement pour declairer en general la vertu et efficace de la foi en l'apprehension des choses spirituelles de Christ qui nous sont proposees en sa parole, et non pour vouloir precisement l'appliquer à la manducation du corps d'icelui en la Cene, ou favoriser à l'opinion de la manducation orale et charnelle, comme je sai que l'Apostre n'a eu là ceste intention.

Pour l'esgard des paroles et sentences de feu Mons^r Bucere que j'ai alleguees tant au 6 qu'au 10 article, je n'ai nullement pretendu de les appliquer contre ceux qui suivent la confession des eglises reformees ou de France ou du pais des Suisses et les laisse au sens de l'auteur d'icelles, n'en voulant abuser contre personne.

Quant au 8 article, combien que j'aie estimé pouvoir sans reprehension declairer l'article de l'ascension de nostre Seigneur par celui de sa session à la dextre de Dieu pour l'affinité d'iceux, si est ce que je n'ai onques pretendu ni pensé de confondre les dits articles en leur substance et particuliere doctrine. Ains submettant ma dite interpretation au jugement de l'Eglise et fideles docteurs en icelle, je proteste de recognoistre la diversité et distinction des dits articles en ceste maniere: c'est que suivant le 7 article de ma dite confession, je recognoi que celui de l'ascension nous enseigne que le corps naturel de nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ a esté visiblement eslevé de la terre et de ce bas monde pour monter au

*) *Ms: et instead of v.*

ciel où il occupe un lieu certain circonscrit selon la dimension d'icelui, estant à present là et non ailleurs, voire pour y estre contenu jusques au temps de son dernier advenement, comme St. Pierre le tesmoigne, Act. 3, v. 2. Et quant à celui de sa session à la dextre de Dieu son pere, il nous monstre et declare simplement non point la deification de son corps ou quelque presence infinie et invisible d'icelui en la terre, mais la condition et estat de sa gloire, majesté et puissance, laquelle comme mediateur il a obtenue après sa resurrection, et obtient encores maintenant, aiant esté declairé et établi de Dieu son pere pour roi et dominateur du ciel et de la terre, comme lui mesme le tesmoigne, Math. 28, v. 18. Laquelle gloire, majesté et puissance signifiee par la dite session n'a point osté ni aboli les propriétés naturelles de son corps, ains les lui laisse toutes en leur entier, tellement qu'il n'est maintenant non plus exempt au ciel de la condition locale et circonscrite, qu'il estoit pendant qu'il conversoit encor ici bas après sa resurrection, ou que nos corps seront, après qu'ils seront aussi ressuscités pour estre faits conformes à son corps glorieux, comme parle St. Paul Philip. 3, v. 21. Voila quelle est mon intelligence quant à ces deux articles, par laquelle je declare aussi que je n'ai non plus voulu confondre au 9 article de ma confession l'article de la dite ascension au ciel avec la glorification de la chair de Christ, ni le lieu auquel son corps est contenu ou circonscrit au ciel avec la gloire de laquelle il a prins visiblement possession lorsqu'il y monta à la veue de ses Apostres. Suivant donc ceste mienne declaration touchant ces deux articles, je proteste n'approuver et n'avoir en rien voulu symboliser ni consentir à l'opinion de ceux qui imaginent une ubiquité ou omnipresence invisible du corps de Christ, par laquelle ils veulent qu'il soit present corporellement partout et mesmes conjoint inseparablement en ou avec ou sous le pain de la Cene, aneantissant, en tant qu'en eux est, par une telle opinion la verité du corps naturel de Christ, en tant qu'ils le pensent infini, incirconscrit et invisible, le feignant estre present en divers lieux, voire mesme partout en un mesme instant, ce qui ne peut competer qu'à la seule nature divine et non à l'humaine qui est finie, visible et circonscrite.

Finalemant pour comprendre toute la resolution de tous ces points et les appliquer à la doctrine de la ^{ste} Cene, je confesse en somme librement et de coeur qu'en icelle, et mesme en la simple parole de Dieu, Jesus Christ se donne soi mesme aux fideles avec tous ses biens, en vie eternelle, et que la foi est le seul moien ou instrument de ceste communication et union spirituelle que nous avons avec lui. Parquoi je conclus que Jesus Christ par sa vertu divine, spirituelle et incomprehensible, pour l'egard de laquelle seulement nous recognoissons sa presence en la terre, est vraiment present en son eglise, mais quant à la substance de la chair, elle a esté vraiment et realement eslevee aux cieus hors de ce bas monde, n'estant plus en la terre ni ailleurs qu'aux cieus et par ainsi autant esloingnee, quant à la distance locale, de nous qui sommes en terre, comme ce qui est par de sus tous les cieus est esloingné de ces bas lieux terrestres; et neanmoins que par foi nous ne laissons d'estre faits participans d'icelle spirituellement, avec une telle efficace et certitude que nostre ame en est vraiment nourrie et sustentee en esperance de la vie eternelle, et ainsi estant incorporés avec Christ par ceste communication spirituelle nous sommes faits os de ses os et chair de sa chair en vertu de sa promesse.

Voila quelle est ma foi pure et simple, suivant laquelle je desire et requiers que tout ce que je peux jamais avoir dit et escrit de ceste matiere soit prins et

entendu. Je voi que par faute de me pouvoir si bien expliquer comme j'eusse désiré, aucuns aiant peu prendre occasion d'estimer que j'aie creu ou senti autrement que je ne sens ou croi à present, et afin que nul ne doute ci après de ma sincerité et droite craiance en tous ces points, j'ai signé de ma main la presente declaration à la requeste des dits ministres qui ont conferé avec moi, promettant au surplus de perseverer en ceste foi et doctrine et de me rengier en toutes choses au jugement de l'Eglise du Seigneur, à laquelle je submets et ma personne et tous mes escrits, desirant estre tenu et recogneu pour vrai membre d'icelle.

Fait à Francfort ce XII de Juliet 1571. *)

14.

Lettre de Cassiodore à Mr de Beze. **)

[*Francfort 25 Novembre 1571*].

Monsieur, la paix du Seigneur soit aveque vous.

Ces jours ici estant au point d'aler à la communion de la Cene du Seigneur, le Consistoire de l'Eglise françoise de ceste ville, ayant entendu qu'il y a eu par le passé entre vous et moi quelques differents, pour l'esgard de leur office et de ma conscience m'ont requis qu'avant que d'aler à la Cene j'eusse à vous escrire quelques lettres de reconciliation, ce que je fais maintenant volontiers, veu qu'en cela je ne suis pas requis que de mon devoir, encores que j'aie desja à mon advis souffisanment acquitté ma conscience en cest endroit, l'ayant fait plus d'une fois; neanmoins pour leur consentement et satisfaction je me suis mis maintenant à vous escrire derechef ce mot de lettre, par laquelle vous soyez certifié de ma part que je ne vous porte nulle haine ne rancune qui me charge la conscience devant Dieu pour l'esgard de ce que je vous dois comm'à mon prochain et frere en Christ, comme je vous prie aussi au nom du Seigneur de me porter pareille affection, attendu mesmes que, quant à la doctrine dont estoit procedé le principal different, j'en ai satisfait par declaration signee de ma main aux ministres de cest' Eglise, dont j'espere qu'elle contentera tous ceux qui la verront. Quant à la lettre que quelques uns de mes amis, à ce qui semble, de par deça ont envoyee à Geneve, dont j'entens qu'il y en a eu plusieurs offensés, vous veus je aussi certifier devant Dieu qu'elle n'a point esté faite ne de ma volonté ne de mon conseil ne de mon seu, et que mesmes il m'a despleu et desplait encores, qu'elle aie esté faite. Que s'il y a encores quelques differents entre nous, j'espere que le Seigneur Dieu à qui j'ai tousjours remis ma cause les esclaircira quelque jour, afin qu'un chacun aie le paiement de sa justice, auquel je prie nous vouloir tous tellement conduire par son esprit que nos consciences soient en repos devant son jugement et nos prochains bien edifiés. De Frankfort ce 25 de Novembre 1571.

Vostre serviteur et frere en Christ
Cassiodore de Reyne.

*) *Dufour: n'est pas signé, doit être une copie. Collé: Lettre de Cassiodore.*

**) *Carrasco on this notice: Escritura posterior. The letter itself is autograph.*

15.

Declaration et protestation de Cassiodore sur le crime de sodomie
dont il etait accusé. *)

[Francfort 25 Novembre 1571.]

Je Cassiodore de Reyna, Espagnol, ministre de la parole du Seigneur, par le passé de l'Eglise des Espagnols à Londres, bourgeois à present de la ville de Francfort, estant requis de Messieurs et freres en Christ les ministres, deputés et diacres de l'Eglise Françoisie recueillie en ceste ville de Francfort, de laquelle aussi je suis receu membre, de declarer ma conscience et faire solemnelle protestation de mon innocence touchant le crime nefande et detestable de sodomie contre moi pretendu entre plusieurs autres blasmes qui me furent à tort mises de sus à Londres au cours de mon ministere, il y ait environ 8 ans, ce que les sus dits ont requis de moi pour leur satisfaction avant que de m'admettre à la communication de la sainte Cene du Seigneur (comm' aussi je en suis esté depuis et à Londres, et en France en l'Eglise de Montargis sous le ministere de Messieurs Pierius et Corranus, et en Bergerac sous le ministere du dit Corranus et Broikius), d'autant que mon innocence n'est pas encores declaree par sentence de juge competente, — confesse et proteste devant Dieu juge des vivans et des morts, que ç'a esté une pure calomnie, et que j'en suis innocent et de fait et de volonté, ainsi que je l'ai par plusieurs fois protesté et confessé tant au Consistoire de l'Eglise françoise de Londres, de laquelle j'estois membre, qu'ailleurs.

Item, promets et proteste de le faire ainsi apparoirre por juge legitime, et qu'il ne tiendra pas à moi que je n'aie ma legitime purgation dedens un an au plus tost, dont j'en fairai apparoirre ma diligence au Consistoire de cest' Eglise, si Dieu m'en donne la vie et l'opportunité, et qu'il n'a pas tenu à moi qu'elle n'aie esté faite, il y a longtemps, mais à quelques empeschemens de consequence qui se sont interposés.

Item, d'autant que les sus dits S^s ministres m'ont monstté un escrit lequél ils estiment estre un tesmoignage du Consistoire de l'Eglise françoise de Londres des propos que j'y avois touchant le mesm' affaire, lequél escrit je n'ai pas recognu ne advoué pour certaines raisons, neanmoins, estant requis d'eux d'advouer ou declarer le mot de pollution y contenu, je declare sous la mesme protestation, qu'aux propos que j'ai tenus au dit Consistoire ou ailleurs touchant la declaration de ma conscience au dit affaire, je puis avoir usé en mon discours de ces mots de pollution ou polluer ou pollué, disant m'estre trouvé quelques fois en des songes et fantasies pollues et ordes en dormant pendant que le garson couchoit pres de moi; ce que je n'entens pas de quelque effusion de semence, de laquelle j'en suis bien certain et asseuré que jamais ne m'est advenue alentour ou sus le corps du dit garson, ainsi qu'on m'a enjoint de declarer, mais seulement l'entens je des songes et fantasies viles, ordes et pollues, ainsi qu'il advient aux hommes en dormant. Et d'autant que la question est maintenant d'un esclaireissement de ma conscience, et que j'ai entendu qu'aucuns ont prins en mauvaise part les dits mots de pollution, voire jusques là que de me charger comme d'avoir confessé es dits mots ou l'acte ou pour le moins quelque grande partie, je declare, sous la mesme protestation, qu'en cest endroit, quant à ce qui concerne la signification des dits mots, rien ne m'est à moi advenu qui ne puiss' advenir à tout homme de bien, demorant encores homme

*) *Dufour on this notice: annotation moderne. The text is autograph.*

de bien. Item que ces dits mots là en rien m'ont gravé devant le dit Consistoire où je les puis avoir usurpé pour me defendre, ou empesché,*) en quelque maniere qui soit, la communion de la Cene, à laquelle j'ai esté par après avecue eux par quelquesfois sans aucune contradiction d'homme vivant jusques au jour de mon departement d'Angleterre.

Et en tesmoignage de ceste mienne protestation et declaration j'ai donné cest present escrit sousigné de ma main. Fait à Frankfort ce 25 de Novembre 1571.

Cassiodore de Reyne.

À monssur Monssur de Beze, ministre de la parole du Seigneur, Geneve.

16.

[*Reinius Sturmio. Francofurti 1573.*

Ex epistola dedicatorio præfixa libro de Evangelio Joannis.]

[*Fol. a 2:*] Clarissimo viro Joanni Sturmio, compatri suo inprimis venerando, Cassiodorus Reinius s. p. d.

Haud me multum pudet pigetve, quod officio manuum et industria mea victus mihi et familiæ meæ demum quæritandus sit, senectutem præsertim jamdudum ingresso, neque firmæ admodum valetudinis, qui sacris oraculis, quorum studiis ab ineunte ætate addictus fui, edocear, homini ex originali illa et primæva justitia in corruptionem lapso ac proinde in statu pœnitentiæ constituto labores manuum, ad quos divino decreto, ut inde sibi victum paret, damnatus est (Gen. 1), quovis illi otio adeo esse salubriores, ut in illis ipsis, fide et timore Dei susceptis et conditis, haud parvam amissæ felicitatis partem recuperare liceat. Labores, inquit propheta (psalm. 128), manuum tuarum manducabis: beatus es et bene tibi erit. Illud autem in hoc statu felici aliqui, licet operoso ac negotioso, non possum non moleste ferre, quod occupationibus hisce sæcularibus, quas etiam vocant sacræ literæ (2 Tim. 2, 4), ab studiis sacrarum literarum et legitima vocatione mea inserviendi ecclesiæ Christi pro ratione accepti talenti mei, aut si mavis nummuli, plus distrahar**) quam vellem aut etiam in initio putaram suscepti operis. Hinc factum est ut nonnulla scripta, quæ usui ecclesiæ esse possent, tum mea, tum etiam aliena, cæterum fidei meæ commissa, apud me diutius delitescant,***) tum maxime editio versionis Latinæ novi testamenti Syri, a Tremellio, viro inprimis docto et pio, et utrique nostrum amico, quinque abhinc annis elaboratæ, et cum ipso Syro textu Græco etiam e regione cum sua versione Latina, ingenti et pretioso sane volumine, emissæ in lucem,†) quam, ut pauperioribus studiosis sacrarum literarum gratificarer, seorsim cum nonnullis meis annotationibus emittere ipse in lucem constitueram, plus justo, hoc est quarto abhinc anno, supprimatur, quæ si otium mediocre suppetiisset, vix unius anni esset opus. Verum cum invita fame et paupertate, quacum toto hoc tempore (ut anteactum prætermittam) consertis lacertis dimicandum fuit, opus jam prope finem esset (neque enim, quod pudet dicere, est absolutum), Joannis evangelium seorsim prius emittere consilium fuit . . .

[*Fol. 6:*] Dum enim in paranda editione Latina novi testamenti Syri pro mei ordinis scholasticis, ut supra dixi, incumbo, et ad Joannis evangelii venio, quod arbitror me aliqui plusquam centies legisse, ita novum visum est . . . Poteram

*) *Ms: empeschor.*

**) *My transcript has distrahat.*

***) *Compare above p. 118.*

†) *Published in 1569 by Henricus Stephanus.*

equidem ab hoc labore supersedere, quum alii pii et docti viri eandem sibi delegerint provinciam confutandi scilicet eosdem errores adversus orthodoxam fidei Christianæ confessionem de æterna Christi et Spiritus sancti divinitate, inprimis vero edito in lucem doctoris Zanchii, amici inprimis observandi, ejusdem argumenti locupletissimo ac pererudito commentario, in quo universum pæne Joannis evangelium in hunc eundem finem excutitur diligentissime, verum jam hoc quicquid est laboris erat a me paratum quum ille prodiret in lucem, imo, ni fallor, antequam typographiæ committeretur.

17.

[*Reinius Sultzero et Coctio. Francofurti 1573.*

Ex dedicatione expositioni capitis quarti evangelii Matthæi præmissa.]

[*Fol. a 2:*] Piiis juxta ac doctis veris Simoni Sultzero et Huldrico Coctio, s. theologiæ doctoribus, ecclesiæ Basiliensis pastoribus pientissimis ac vigilantissimis atque academiciæ s. theologiæ professoribus, amicis ac patribus suis unice colendis, Cassiodorus Reinius s. p. d.

.. quum primum solus Basileam veni, initurus rationem imprimendi Biblia nostra Hispanica, intellecta per vos adventus mei causa, dignissima quæ piorum omnium et votis et conatibus promoveretur, eos vos continuo viros in ea promovenda præstitistis, in quibus, cum in inquirendo diligenter quæ ego essem prelo commissurus, tum in senatu postea adeundo ac interpellando, ut revisa ac inspecta, quoad fieri potuit, per viros qui de Hispanice scriptis verum testimonium ferre possent, committi prelo in isthac urbe pateretur, quod ad officium Christiani pastoris pertineret, nihil desiderari, multum vero quo sedulitas ac diligentia vestra et insigne pietatis studium conspiceret quivis posset; et ut rebus meis privatis ac domesticis valde accisis etiam consuleretis, effecistis me academiciæ alumnum, ut citra ulla impensas integro civitatis jure frui possem. quo liceret, dum ipse prelo adessem, honesta uxoris meæ diligentia victum nobis facilius comparare. Jam quanto me vinculo gratitudinis perpetuo devinxistis, quum me gravissimus ac plane letalis morbus Basileam cum uxore et familiola recenter ingressum corripuisset? quam assidue aderatis, relictis aut intermissis studiis vestris adhortando, consolando, precando, fidam Christi confessionem a moribundo expetendo, neque enim aliud aut medici aut vos aut amici aut demum ego ipse judicabam. Namque, ut ingenue fatear quod res est, in ea præsentis mortis certitudine, dum compos eram mei, haud me deterrebat mortis species quam iniquissimi sæculi malitiam abundanter expertus absentem et meo judicio trahentem moras desiderabam, præsentem jam lætissimo animo amplexabar. Peccatorum memoria, licet esset præsentissima, acuebat potius desiderium exuendi in totum veteres peccati exuvias et esse cum Christo quam aut conscientię metum incuteret aut quoquo modo illius pacem turbaret, Christi sanguine per Dei spiritum in ea obsignatam, pro indubitato habenti nullum superesse judicium credenti in Christum, translato nempe a morte in vitam. Uxoris et parvulorum liberorum memoria, quos idcirco tantum videbar comportasse Basileam ut procul ab amicis et notis inter ignotos soli ac me præsertim destituti novum exilium inchoarent, nonnihil mæstitiæ injiciebat, sed et illam facile ac cito excutiebam paternæ Dei providentiæ illos committens, qui et me ipsum primum et illos mecum postea inter tot discrimina et labores crebros paternam sane ipsius curam fecisset experiri. Illam ipsum erga relictos nequaquam intermissurum, indicium mihi certum erat Perizii mei domus, qui, ut de me fuit semper egregie benemeritus, ita etiam tunc caritate

ac pietate insigni, neque a me aut quovis alio, qui illius beneficentiam sit expertus, unquam satis laudata, me periculose decumbentem familiolamque meam in domum suam transtulerat, curabatque tum ægrotos tum recte valentes humanissime. Hoc unum summo me afficiebat dolore, videlicet quod quum in vertendis Hispanico sermone sacris bibliis per integrum decennium laborassem atque in ea occupatione multum pertulissem tum invidiæ tum etiam calumniarum ab iis quibus illa haud erat æque grata atque mihi, adeo ut præ hac molestia levissimus mihi fuerit ipse vertendi labor, quum jam pro foribus essemus typographiæ ac fruges maturæ essent ad messem et fructuum tanti laboris collectionem, relinquendi essent aliis labores mei quos ignorarem qua cura et sollicitudine absoluturi essent opus, quique etsi maxime futuri essent fidi ac diligentes, ut de Perezio non dubitabam, opus demum non erat per me absolvendum. Hæc mæstitia vel in tanta virium cum corporis tum animi debilitate excitabat tamen ardentes ad Deum preces ut mihi tantum adhuc vitæ permitteret quantum ad sacrum illud opus ad gloriam nominis sui publicandum foret satis, decessuro postea ex vita cum integra animi lætitia. Hanc meam sollicitudinem quum vobis indicassem, auctis tum publicis ecclesiæ precibus tum privatis tanta contentione Deum interpellastis ut me demum vobis concederet et intra paucos dies periculi suspicione liberaret, redderet vero integram valetudinem haudquaquam ante tres menses. Itaque pro compertissimo tunc habui habeoque adhuc, vitam mihi ac valetudinem pro absolvendis sacris bibliis e mortis faucibus erepto fuisse concessam, atque eam me secundum Deum debere primum vestris precibus, deinde summæ Perezii in me curando diligentia et optimorum medicorum summæ industriæ, qui, ut erant etiam amicissimi, nihil sibi aut arti in me curando pepercere. Neque minore studio ac diligentia me ac negotia mea tum consilio tum etiam opere quum opus fuit curastis postea per triennium, quo Basileæ fuit, quam ægrotanti feceratis, ut sacras prælectiones vestras præteream, utpote publicum ac vulgatum omnibus beneficium eruditione summa ac pietate plenas, quibus quam sæpe [fol. a 3] interfuerim, prout licebat per occupationes cum typographicas tum domesticas, utilissimas mihi fuisse fateor ingenue Quum quarto abhinc anno constituissom edere seorsim versionem novi testamenti Syriaci doctissimam et elaboratissimam doctoris Tremellii in gratiam vulgi studiosorum sacrarum literarum, ne ob pecuniæ inopiam tanto præsidio ad novi testamenti aditum faciliorem fraudarentur eique adjungere decrevissem cogitationes nonnullas meas in selectiora aliquot loca: quum ad quartum Matthæi caput ventum est . . . *then he had been so absorbed by the subject, that this lucubratiuncula had grown too large for the frame of his annotations upon the New Testament.*

18.

[Cassiodori Reini]

epistolæ duodecim ad Theodorum Zwingerum datæ].

Theodore Zwinger was born at Basle 1533. His mother was a sister of Joh. Oporinus, the learned printer. He studied philosophy at Paris under Peter Ramus, and at Padua medicine. At Basle University he was professor of Greek, then of moral philosophy, lastly of medicine. He died 54 years of age. A biographical sketch by Felix Plater is inserted in the preface dated 1604 of Theodore Zwinger's Theatrum humanæ vitæ, edition of his son James Zwinger, Basileæ (in folio). Compare our excerpts from Ramus here p. 213, and Reina's letter of 15 May 1569.

I.

Domino Theodoro Zuingero, Doctori Medico, compatri et amico suo unice colendo,
Basileæ.

Gratiam et pacem per Christum.

Carissime domine compater. Dominus Perezius noster,*) intellecta in discessu meo mea indigentia, pro singulari sua pietate me viatico instruxit adeo liberali ut non modo ad itineris expensas, verum etiam ad debito nunc maxime urgenti satisfaciendum, in quod tuam illam pecuniam requisiveram, suffecturum sit. Reliqui itaque apud eundem tuos 30 florenos plane intactos ut tibi eos redderet, uti spero te jam accepisse, atque pro eisdem tibi non minus gratias ago quam si usus essem: quodsi quando indigere contingat, præsentiore auxilio exclusus utar pia illa liberalitate tua, ea tamen lege ut prius experiar, mea omnia tibi vicissim communia existimare atque habere te. Hoc ut firmum ratum perpetuumque ex me tibi sit, hæc literæ mea exaratæ manu et sigillo obsignatæ publicarum vice tabularum esto. Vale plurimum, mi compater amantissime, cum honestissima uxore et universa familia. Argentorato 13 Julii 1570.

Tuus Cassiodorus Reinius.

II.

Clarissimis viris, domino Doctori Adampetro et domino Doctori Theodoro Zuingero,
dominis suis . . amicis unice colendis. Basileæ.

Gratiam et pacem per Christum.

Non miror tam diu literarum me nihil accepisse de negotio bibliothecæ Oporinianæ,**) qui sciam haud facile inveniri tabellarium cui isthinc Francofurtum epistolæ tuto committi possint. Cæterum vehementer scire cupio, quid tandem in eo negotio vestra diligentia promoveritis. Ego certe eo consilio profectus Francoforto, ut, quid effectum esset quidve effici adhuc superesset, præsens viderem, Argentinam usque devectus sum, at veritus ne temporis angustia instantibus jam nundinis excluderer, hinc domum reverti constitui, per hasce literas vos admonens desiderii mei, oransque per communem amicitiam ut ejus me rei, quam primum dabitur, faciatis certiore. Quodsi nihil hactenus (ut equidem puto) est effectum, d. doctorem Adampetrum unice oratum volo ut rem promoveat urgeatque, adhibito etiam cum in consilio tum in opera parente optimo compatre meo, quem credo id beneficii pro sua erga me benevolentia minime denegatum ire. Postulabitur venire bibliothecam (prout a majore parte creditorum, quum postremum ipse Basileæ essem, decretum est) præconis voce, ut habeat qui ex creditoribus licitatione superaverit, vos vero ex me pro bala usque ad 17. 18. 19. 20 demum si minoris haberi non liceat, licitabimini, non amplius. Si vobis cesserit, dabitur opera ut per viros fidos balæ

*) See above p. 213 f.

**) Hieronymus Wolfius [*at Augsburg, died 1580*] Theodoro Zwingero, 17 Oct. [1570?]: *Etsi, clarissime vir, domine et amice colende, invitatus facio ut te et philosophia nostra et Harpyis Oporinianis occupatissimum interpellem, tamen veniam ab humanitate tua mihi datum iri spero, qui sum de meis liberis, chartaceis illis quidem, et quavis simia deformioribus, sollicitus . . . Scire etiam cupio quemadmodum se Oporiniana negotia habeant? E bibliopolis nostratibus spe meliora audivi: hereditatem esse fl. 18000, æs alienum 12000, et ipse mihi abhinc triennium narrabat, sibi, dissoluto omni ære alieno, amplius 8000 fl. superfore.* Copy in *Basle Univ. libr. in the same volume.*

numerentur bona fide tam ex compactis libris quam incompactis; deinde vasibus inclusi ad nos Francofortum transmittantur. Quodsi debitum meum bibliothecæ pretium superabit, tantundem mihi adhuc debebunt creditores. Si superabimur, fidejubeat obsecro pro me, et ego non deero quin ad redditum ex nundinis pecuniam qua superabimur transmittam per eum quem ipsi constitueritis. Ex acceptis libris nullum Basileæ vendi cupio: nam certiori commodo vendentur Francoforti: et quia certo scio me integram meam pecuniam ex distractis libris nequaquam recepturum, quum multi sint minime venales, nisi forte obolo, oportebit ex selectioribus vilium jacturam resarcire. Illud summopere cavendum est ne (ut in ejusmodi licitationibus evenire solet) confictorum licitatorum contentione decipiamini, qui cum viderint nos solutionem ex bibliotheca expetere, tamdiu licitabuntur ipsi ficta contentione quandiu viderint nos a se nolle superari. Si quid ejusmodi deprehenderitis, præstabit opportune illis cedere quam pretio immodico libris potiri. Neque me pigebit multum si ejusmodi contentiosis præter illorum spem libros relinqueritis ante constitutum a me superius postremum pretium. Non arbitror prolixa mihi erga vos oratione opus esse ut molestiæ hujus veniam deprecet, aut negotium studiosius commendem, quos certo certius sciam summa erga me benevolentia esse propensos: neque ignoretis cum homine nequaquam legum amicitiae ignaro aut acceptorum beneficiorum immemore vobis negotium esse. Valete in Christo, viri clarissimi et mihi amantissimi. Argentorati 9 Mart. 1574. Vester ex animo
Cass. Reinus.

III.

Clarissimo viro, d. Doctori Theodoro Zuingero, compatri et amico summo,
Basileæ.

Gratiam et pacem per Christum.

Carissime compater. Nundinæ non successerunt ex voto, vix vendidi ex bibliotheca pro 60 florenis, partim quod nundinæ fuerint solito infrequentiores et bibliotheca nondum venerit in hominum notitiam, partim quod non satis mihi fuerit aut temporis aut loci ad eam eo ordine disponendam quo libri essent inventu faciliores. Itaque creditores orare constitui ut rejecta in insequentes nundinas utraque solutione mihi et fidejussori meo sint mitiores, et pro hac primæ solutionis mora fructum pecuniæ suæ a me accipiant quem ipsi constituerint. Ea de re libellum supplicem ad ipsos mitto, quem a Balbano accipies; oro, domine compater, ut, quum primum convenerint, eis legas, et officium quod soles præstes, negotio prius cum d. doctore Grinnæo et aliis bonis amicis communicato. Quod si nobis concesserint, bene erit, facientque mihi rem oppido quam gratissimam. Sin minus, ex pactis solvendum est, fateor. Cum Henrico Petri ne unum quidem verbum contuli de negotio Thalmudico, nam certiore ratione agere constituo, videlicet tentare prius ut et illius et aliorum amicorum opera recipiar in civem, et ut mihi etiam auxilio sint ut possim uno aut altero prelo typographicam exercere ad depellendam famem; hoc impetrato cætera, quum libuerit, exequi erit facile. Communicavi hoc meum consilium Episcopo (nihil de Thalmude), orans ut me vellet ad id juvare, aut, si e re sit, ut ad suam cum d. Grinnæo societatem admittat. *) Pollicetur omnem amicam operam, consulit ut ad

*) Here and in the following letters to Zwinger, Reina means Eusebius Episcopus, born 1540, who died 1599, and Samuel Grynaeus, son of Simon. In letter XII Samuel Grynaeus is expressly called with his Christian name. Samuel, Dr. juris, married the widow of Nicolaus Episcopus who died 1565, a brother

te scribam et ad d. Grinæum ea de re. Scribo igitur oroque ut communicato cum Grinæo consilio (de Thalmude ne verbum quidem) una deliberetis quæ ego Basiliensis fiam; nam omnino constitui, si vobis ita videbitur, et facultas detur prelum unum erigendi, ad proximas nundinas Basileam commigrare. Epistolæ Guevaræ inveniri hîc non potuerunt, curabo ut Antuerpia adferantur. Narrabo tibi rem tristem, sed tibi fortassis ridiculam, ut es meorum infortuniorum malus irrisor. Momum meum amisi. Amisi, inquam, meum Momum, absque ulla recuperationis spe. Qua ratione, nescio, amisi tandem. Invidebat credo malus quispiam genius orbi tantam fortunam. Luge mecum, si amicus es, amissum Momum. Sed tu rides. Vale ergo, et ride felix. Commatri optimæ ex me et uxore et familiæ universæ multam salutem dices. Francoforti 24 Septembris 1574.

Tuus Cass. R.

De exemplo illo Sambucciano quod scribis, nunc memini. Habeo. Sed jam mecum considera an meum sit. Sambucus*) repetiit; accepit jam a creditoribus, ut intelligo, pro non invento 20 coronatos; ergo creditorum jam erat, non Sambuci, qui mihi illud postea etiam dinumeratis foliis vendiderunt, ego emerim. Hæc si tibi videntur justa, bona conscientia retinebo, neque indicabo tamen me habere; sin minus tibi probantur, restituam pro tuo arbitrio. Iterum vale, compater amantissime.

IV.

Clarissimo viro, d. Doctori Theodoro Zuingero, amico et compatri suavissimo,
Basileæ.

Gratiam et pacem per Christum.

Venerande compater, scire cupio primum, grassante ubique peste, quænam valeatis vos Basileæ. Deinde quid de meo debito creditores constituerint: repetierintne a meo fidejussore an conditione a me proposita fuerint contenti. Hisce de rebus ut me, per hunc qui has literas tibi reddet, certiore facias, etiam atque etiam rogo. D. doctori Grinæo et Episcopio, amicis colendissimis, multam ex me salutem dicito. Eisdem etiam indicato, per me non stetisse hactenus quin lucubrationes in Ciceronem et in Plinium, quemadmodum sum eis pollicitus, non receperint, quippe qui et collegerim omnes quotquot habeo et parvulo dolio inclusas ad adventum primæ navis Argentoratensis, cui commendem importandas, apud me asservo; expectatur autem navis singulis horis. Ego hîc imprimendum curavi librum theologicum magni, ut credo, momenti, Bibliothecam Sanctam F. Sixti Senensis, cui etiam ex meo addam Castigationes sub finem breves, quibus quæ ille tradit in controversiis religionis veluti antidoto apposito corrigantur. Liber sub prelo est, bonis ni fallor auspiciis. An de amisso Momo meo, quem alias unice curabam, risum ipse deposueris nescio, mærorem certe deponere ipse non possum. Vale,

of Eusebius. The father of these brothers Episcopus had died in 1564. Compare Rechnungsbuch der Froben & Episcopus, 1557—1564. Herausg. durch Rud. Wackernagel. Basel 1881. and Beiträge zur Basler Buchdruckergeschichte. Von Stockmeyer and Reber. Basel 1840. From Reina's words it appears that Samuel Grynaeus was a partner in the typographical business of Eusebius Episcopus. In those Beiträge see also notices on the printer family Petri, whose members were Henry Petri, mentioned here, and Adam Petri mentioned in letter II; compare p. 20. 21. and p. 214.

*) The learned Hungarian who died in 1584—?

compater suavissime atque exoptatissime, cum domina uxore commatre nostra et universa familia, quam officiose ex nobis salutabis una cum bono sene vicino et amicis omnibus. Francoforti 27 Octobris 1574. Tuus perpetuo Cass. Rein.

Rumores sunt haud omnino vani Aragoniæ et Cathalonæ regna non satis pacata esse propter Inquisitionis Sanctæ tyrannidem, quam exactam volunt; idem fertur de universa Sicilia. Si serio res agatur, ego ne Basiliensis quidem esse volo. Fertur etiam classes Turcicam et Christianam cruentissimo prælio conflixisse; utra vicerit, adhuc incertum; expectamus hodie Antuerpienses litteras, ex quibus rescire speramus veritatem etc.

V.

Clarissimo viro, domino Doctori Theodoro Zuingeri, amico summo et compatri carissimo,
Basileæ.

Gratiam et pacem per Christum.

Suavissime compater. Facies mihi rem magnopere gratam si quanta potueris diligentia me instruxeris de controversia heredum Wessalii cum creditoribus Op[orini], item in quo nunc temporis statu sit ea controversia. Peto autem id a te tanquam amico fidissimo et cupidissimo utilitatis meæ propterea quod jam agitur de translatione juris illorum in me in eo negotio, quod et amici intercessores cuperent mea cum utilitate fieri. Itaque secretum tibi hac in parte primum ac vehementer commendo; deinde ut illud nos diligenter ac cito edoceas, ac præterea si quid habes quod e re sit. Vale in Christo cum universa familia; nostra valet adhuc Dei beneficio et vobis omnibus lætam salutem cupit. Francofurti 23 Novembris 1574.

Tuus Cass. R.

Litteras ad me tuas poteris d. Manfredo Bal[bani] commendare ut quam fieri potest cito ac tuto ad me perveniant. Iterum vale.

VI.

Clarissimo viro, domino Doctori Theodoro Zuingeri, amico summo et compatri carissimo,
Basileæ.

Gratiam et pacem per Christum.

Carissime domine compater. Cum hac epistola mitto ad te aliam ad d. doctorem Grinæum eamque apertam ut legere tibi liceat et si libuerit ridere stoliditatem meam. Sed, crede mihi, adeo gravabar per illos dies atque distendebar, ut ita dicam, curis multis et molestissimis ut vix essem mei compos. Bibliothecæ distractio non succedit ex voto atque adeo multum ab eo abest; solutiones sunt faciendæ neque unde fiant abunde suppetit. Oro te itaque ut apud d. Grinæum et Episcopium pro me qua soles efficacia intercedas ne jacturis jam pæne obruto nova hæc quinquaginta ad minus florenorum addatur jactura. Libros habent selectissimos, quos etiam, ut illis servarem, e manibus multorum abstuli multo cum meo incommodo, quando aliis non tam parvo vendidissem; requiruntur diligenter ac studiose a multis neque grave illis est vel dimidium bationem pro folio numerare. Bationem pro folio numeravit

Perna*) pro nonnullis in Aristotelem et in Ciceronem, qui meam in Ciceronianis pro d. Grinæo et Episcopio conquirendis diligentiam effugerant in quodam fasciculo. Commendo ergo tibi hanc causam et ex tuo patrocinio, tum etiam ex Grinæi et Episcopii integritate spero fore ut mihi satisfiat. Bene vale, compater amantissime, cum honestissima uxore et universa familia. Francofurti 6 Aprilis 1575.

Tuus Cassiodorus.

Libenter gratificarer Canthero, viro probo et docto, sed poetam illum in meis jam non invenio.

VII.

Clarissimo viro, domino Theodoro Zuingero, Doctori Medico, compatri carissimo et amico summo, Basileæ.

Gratiam et pacem per Christum.

Carissime domine compater. Cum dominis D. Grinæo et Episcopio, qui vas meorum librorum se nondum aperuisse causabantur, ita conveni ut, aperto coram te vase et inspectis libris, una tecum statuam de corrigendo meo errore atque adeo de integra solutione. Conventum erat inter me et Episcopium ut cruciferum pro folio essem accepturus, quando libri ut vides sunt selecti et majori ex parte impressionis peregrinæ, et Perna pro nonnullis ejusmodi, qui duplicati erant, pro folio bationem solvit. Ratione deinde a me male subducta erratum fuit, qui viginti duobus florenis, quos ab Episcopio accepi, eam summam confici existimaverim. Error tamen in calculo pro jure arripi non debet, inter amicos præsertim, et ab iis inprimis quibus susceperis gratificari. Sed de eo conventum jam est inter nos, ut puto. Obsecro igitur, domine compater, ut efficias ut primo quoque tempore vas aperiatur, et quod pecuniæ rependi mihi statueritis inter vos, commendetur Pellizariis ad ferias d. Joannis ut Argentorato ad me transmittant. Epistolæ Hisp. Guevaræ nondum sunt recusæ, sed sub prelo adhuc. Vale in Christo, compater suavissime, cum uxore honestissima et familia universa, quam obsecro salutabis officiosissime ex me et meis. Francofurti 22 Aprilis 1576.

Tuus Cass. Reinius.

Domino Doctori Amerbachio**) multam ex me salutem ut dicas oro.

VIII.

Clarissimo viro, domino Theodoro Zuingero, Doctori Medico, amico summo et compatri observando, Basileæ.

Gratiam et pacem per Christum.

Diu est, compater amantissime, ex quo nihil literarum a me acceperis, videlicet quia, in quo tua pro amicitiae nostræ jure uterer opera, nihil fuit. Nunc ex d.

*) Pietro Perna from Lucca. Compare above, p. 214, and Rud. Wackernagel's edition of the Rechnungsbuch der Froben and Episcopus p. 101 f.

**) Basilius Amerbach, see letter X. Born 1534, died 1591. Compare Stockmeyer's and Reber's Beiträge. And Ramus, here p. 212—215.

Manfredo Balbani intelligo, chirographum meum octingentorum illorum florenorum, quos pro Oporiniana bibliotheca jam persolvi, hæere apud creditores. Id et periculosum mihi, et iniquum illis merito censeo. Quare obsecro ut tua (uti alias soles) me hoc metu diligentia liberes, petito et recepto (meo et fidejussoris mei nomine) ab eis chirographo, quod discerpes aut igni trades. Bene vale, compater observandissime, cum commatre honestissima atque pientissima et familia universa, quam ex me et uxore officiosissime salutabis, et si quid fuerit, in quo velis meam erga te sedulitatem experiri, utere pro arbitrio. Francofurti 7 Aprilis 1577.

Perpetuo amoris vinculo tuus

Cassiodorus R.

IX.

Domino Doctori Theodoro Zuingero, compatri carissimo et amico summo, Basileæ.

Gratiam et pacem per Christum.

Carissime domine compater. Quod attinet profectionem meam in Poloniam, res adhuc sub deliberatione est. Neque enim tam difficilem et multis nominibus laboriosam provinciam temere suscipiendam arbitror, in hac præsertim ætate, quantumvis conditio sit amplissima et valde honorifica. Cæterum, si Deus ita disposuerit, ut abeam, senties in illo tuo negotio haud frustra te meam coluisse amicitiam, atque de bono successu nihil dubito, cum sciam negotium tibi esse cum viro bono et qui multis scyphis aureis existimationem suam anteferat. Tu itaque ut bono quoque animo sis velim. Vale, compater amantissime, cum uxore honestissima et familia universa, quam et meo et uxoris meæ nomine plurimum ut salutes oro. Francofurti 23 Septembris 1577.

Cassiodorus tuus.

Quantum me exercuerint seu potius torserint characteres illi scriptionis tuæ, dici vix potest, adeo ut nisi abbatis Tritemii, qui de Polygraphia libr[os] edidit, non evocassem manes, Basileam ad te currendum esset, ut ipse interpretareris potius quam legeres. Vale rursus, et sæpius ad me scribe, ut lectioni illi difficillimæ assuescens postea legam facilius.

X.

Clarissimo viro, domino Theodoro Zuingero, Doctori Medico, amico suo et compatri carissimo, Basileæ.

Gratiam et pacem per Christum.

Carissime compater. Qui has tibi reddet literas, juvenis est Anglus generosus et in bonis literis non mediocriter (ut mihi quidem videtur) institutus. In quibus persequendis juventutem, periculosam alioqui ætatis partem, impendere constituit. Ejus rei gratia contendit in Italiam, et oravit me ut, quibus in eo itinere nossem viris doctis se commendarem. Dignum arbitror ob egregium virtutis specimen, quod præ se fert, cum commendatione mea, tum bonorum omnium virorum, in quos inciderit, amicitia. Tu vero, qui ejus Deæ haud vulgaris es cultor, quam vicissim debeas humanitatem ejus cultoribus neque ignoras neque negligenter præstas. Excipies igitur

hunc et favore tuo prosequeris, et studio tuo et commendatione mea. Commendabis præterea illum domino D. Basilio Amerbachio, quem, puto, consulat de ratione studii juris, in quo operam aliquam ponendam censet. Vide quam sim in te imperiosus pro veteris amicitiae nostrae jure, cum ipse nihil unquam imperes, imo ne commendes quidem.

De mea protectione in Poloniam nosse cupis? Quiesco. Idque non sine Dei providentia, ut semper aliàs, qui meas sortes in manu habens, et quidem valde commendatas, eas gubernat pro sua voluntate. Si illuc venissem, sensisses fructum commendationis tuæ cum D. Firleio*) in illo negotio, de quo intelligo nondum tibi satisfactum. Vale, compater amantissime, cum uxore et familia universa, cui mea plurimam salutem dicit. D. Amerbachium quam officiosissime salutatum cupio et D. Samuelem Grinæum. Francofurti 1. Aprilis 1578.

Tuus Cassiodorus Reinus.

Ad D. Franciscum Bettum**) daturus sum literas si per negotia licuerit. Sin minus, has illi tecum communes velim. Et ut intelligat in liberatione filii dominæ Claræ me hactenus fecisse quod in me fuit, neque frustra, spero enim intra paucos dies nos compotes voti futuros. Hæ D. Claræ aut per ipsum aut per se renunciari cupio. Vale iterum et rescribe aliquando.

Nobilis iste juvenis si forte, cum apud vos venerit, habuerit opus pecunia ad conficiendum iter Venetias usque, obsecro, domine compater, curabis illi ad viginti coronatos meo nomine, pro quibus, si ad me in tempore rescripseris, curabo tibi satisfieri ad nundinas Argentoratenses proximas, aut ad nostrates, si magis libuerit, per Guarinum aut Episcopium.

XI.

Clarissimo viro, domino Theodoro Zuingero, Doctori Medico, compatri amantissimo
et amico summo, Basileæ.

Gratiam et pacem per Christum.

Carissime domine compater. Hermannus, qui has literas reddet, apud nos per aliquot annos fuit, nunc vero melioris conditionis desiderio cum uxore et prole una ad vos migrat, ab Episcopo, ni fallor, conductus ad operas typographicas. Est pro sua conditione doctus, probus et pius, præ nimia quoque simplicitate hominum fraudibus valde expositus, denique dignus auxilio et ope vestra. Arbitror, quicquid in illum beneficii posueritis, Christo ipsi fore impensum, cujus nomine mihi valde commendatum illum rursus vobis commendo. Pollicitus illi sum de vobis, quam ipse sæpius sim expertus, omnem humanitatem. Ipsi videte ut cum fidem meam, tum vestram existimationem liberetis, quod, vel me nihil pollicente, facturos vos esse non dubito. Hæ ad te primum, compater suavissime, deinde ad dominos Doctores Amerbachium et Grynæum, vetere observantia mihi colendissimos, ut dum deterioris fortunæ injuria nos hinc amittit, isthic appulsus patronos et amicos non amisisse, sed una cum fortuna ipsa se in melius commutasse deprehendat. Eos

*) The Public library at Basle has a copy of a letter to Theod. Zwingler, written by Nicolaus Firleij in Dambrowicza Castellanus Visliciensis, dated 11 Maii 1576. See the article Firlei in Ersch and Gruber's Encyclopædie.

**) Compare above p. 213.

obsecro salutabis meo nomine amantissime, quibus et has literas per te communes esse cupio. Salutabis item quam officiosissime ex me et uxore mea et universa familia uxorem tuam, commatrem nostram, quibus omnibus omnem in Christo felicitatem precamur. Vale, compater amantissime, et de nobili illo juvene Anglo, quem tibi nuper commendavi, rescribe cum primum potueris. Francoforti 13 Aprilis 1578.

Tuus Cassiodorus Reinius.

XII.

Clarissimo viro, domino Theodoro Zuingeri, Doctori Medico, compatri carissimo et amico summo, Basileæ.

Gratiam et pacem per Christum.

Clarissime atque observande domine compater. Accepi literas tuas 18 Novembris Basilea datas quas præ desiderio tuo profecto exosculatus sum. Gratularis mihi; de mutato vitæ genere habeo gratiam, sed de otio et quiete in hac præsertim ætate post tot labores et vitæ difficultates ut gratulari posses magis vellem. Nunc vero cum in eis verser negotiis, quæ et afflictionis et fellis etiam multum secum ferant et infractas jam dudum vires superent, juvari velim potius piis tuis votis et precibus. De afflicta atque adeo periculose intercepta valetudine optimi pastoris vestri D. Sultzeri*) vehementer doleo. Precandus est Deus ut de bono et æque fido successore ecclesiæ vestræ prospiciat. Si adhuc est in vivis, ut metuo non fore, oro ut illum ex me officiosissime salutes, cui ex animo precor felicem ex hoc miseriarum lacu exitum, in Domino videlicet et in cælestem patriam migrationem ad eum qui nos expectat. De negotio Oporiniano scripsi ad d. Manfredum Balb[ani] quod mihi factu opus esse videtur. Doleo in vestra republica, cui ego ob hospitium et accepta beneficia bene cupio, iniquitati ejusmodi aliquem locum esse, quæ aucta in dies similibus occasionibus attractura demum sit publicas calamitates. In bonis ab Oporino relictis et in debitis erat satis (ut intellexi) unde creditoribus civibus ex integro potuisset satisfieri, nisi vafri creditores, qui et simul debitores essent, solutiones impeditissent suis artibus, et curatores fidi scilicet ita rem curassent ut major pecuniæ pars in eorum unguibus hæserit, jactura universa recidat in simplices et innocuos, vidente interea et connivente M. et prædam, quoque ad satietatem sese expleverint, harpyis permittente. Ego vero, quia et officii et existimationis esse puto, interposita præsertim mea fide, injuriam potius ferre quam detrectari solutionem, non detrecto. Ego una cum uxore et familia universa felicitatis vestræ cupidissimi te cum honestissima ac pientissima uxore tua et liberis amantissime salutamus. Salutes vero reddes duplicatas amicissimis ac dominis meis DD. Amerbachio et Coctio. Salutabis vero DD. Grinæum Samuelem, d. Bettum cui vehementer gratulor secundam prolem. Bene vale, compater suavissime et venerande, et tuis literis, licet tam male scriptis ut ad eas legendas evocandus mihi fuerit abbas Trittemius, me frequentius quam facis exhilara. Antuerpia 17 Januarii 1581.

Tuus ex animo

Cassiodorus Rein.

Si de statu harum regionum quæras, Fertur equis auriga etc. Avertat Deus pro sua clementia quæ impendunt, neque ulla alia ratione averti poterunt.

*) *Simon Sultzer, died 1585. Compare p. 177 and 213.*

Bibliography.

Cassiodorus Reimius [*sic*] is a first class prohibited author. *Index Sandoral y Rojas* 1612, *Palermo reprint* 1628, *Prohib.* p. 20 and 100. — *Index, Juxta Exemplar excusum Madriti* M. DC. LXVII p. 229: En Castellano. Casiodoro de la Reyna.

326. 1882.

Petition for a public place of worship in the name of the evangelical Spaniards in London 1559, here p. 190 f.

Confession of faith of the evangelical Spaniards in London.

327. 1577.

Declaracion, o | confession de fe hecha por | ciertos fieles
Espa- | ñoles, que huyendo los abusos de la iglesia | Romana, y la
crueldad de la Inquisicion d' | España hizieron a la Iglesia de los |
fieles para ser en ella recebi- | dos por hermanos en | Christo. |
Declaranse en este perqueño [*sic*] volumen los | principales Funda-
mentos de la Fe y Reli- | gion Christiana necesarios à la salud
con- | forme a la Diuina Escritura de donde | son sacados con toda
fide- | dad y breuedad. | Francford. | M. D. LXXVII. |

This title in a frame.

Small, octavo. Forty unnumbered leaves, title included. Aviso al lector on the back of the title. Epistola del | Autor al Lector fol. A 2 — A 5 recto. A la iglesia | del señor Iesvs el | Christo congrega- | da en Londres &c. fol. A 5 verso — A 7 recto. Declaracion, o | confession, twenty one chapters, fol. A 7 verso — E 5 recto. Apendice | al Lector fol. E 5 verso — E 8 recto.

FRANKFORT o. M. City.

Prohibited in the Index of 1583, see de Castro Hist. de los prot. Esp. p. 441 f. The title Declaracion . . en Christo agrees with the above; place and year of publication are not mentioned.

The Epistola del Autor begins: Aviendo releydo muchas vezes esta Confession, à la fin me determiné de publicarla despues de mas de quinze años que fue hecha, y de auer seruido para el fin que se hizo. *It is clear that Reina means, that the Confession had never then been printed. Nor does Retoldt contradict him, when saying, in the preface of his reprint of 1601 (see next n°):* haben sie Anno 1559 . . ein . . Bekenntnis jhres Glaubens in jhrer Mütterlichen Hispanischen Sprachen auszugehen lassen. *The expression ausgehn lassen, to issue, to set forth, is not equivalent to printing. In Lessing's article (see here p. 166) there is no trace that he knew another edition besides that of 1601. — Reina wrote the above passage more than fifteen years after that the Confession had been drawn up and that it had effected the aim for which it had been intended, viz. to procure for evangelical Spaniards in London admission into the Church of Protestant foreigners there.*

The preface to the Confession is dated January 4. 1559. This date being according to the old English style (compare above p. 167 f.), it corresponds to 1560 new style; the admission desired by the Spaniards will have been granted some months after the presentation of the Confession; it is, therefore, improbable that Reina wrote the above later than the end of 1575. We must not, however, conclude that the edition of 1577 was not the first.

328. 1601.

Confession de fe | Christiana, | hecha por ciertos | fieles Espannoles [*sic*], los | qvales hyendo los abvsos de | la Iglesia Romana, y la crueldad de la Inquisition d'E- | spaña, dexaron su patria, para ser recebidos de | la Iglesia de los fieles, por hermanos | en Christo: | Das ist, | Bekenntnis des Christlichen | Glaubens, gestellt durch etliche Christ- | gleubige Hispanier, welche wegen der Misz- | breuch der Roemischen Kirchen, vnnd Tyranny der Hi- | spanischen Inquisition, ihr Vatterland verlassen, | damit sie von der Christgleubigen Kirchen | als Mittbrüder in Christo auffge- | nommen würden. | Anfänglich in Hispanischer Sprachen be- | schrieben, jetzt aber allen frommen Christen zu | nütz vnd Trost verteutschet, | Durch Eberhardten von Retrodt, Fürstl. Hes- | sischen bestelten Hauptman vber I. F. G. Leib- | guardia im Schlosz vnd Vestung Cassel. | Gedruckt zu Cassel, | Durch Wilhelm Wessel, 1601. |

Octavo. 69 leaves, not numbered.

On the reverse of the title Aviso al Lector with German translation at the side. Translator's prefatory dedication, dated Cassel May 29. 1601, seven pages. Poems addressed to the translator, 8 pages. Index of the Confession, 3 pages. The Spaniards' letter to the London evangelical church, 5 pages. Confession, Spanish and German side by side, from signature A iij verso to G VI verso. Lastly 5 leaves on the Auto de fe celebrated at Valladolid in May 1559 (Retrodt: 1558).

Retrodt has not the epistola del autor prefixed to the edition of 1577. That edition had no Index; the index added to Retrodt's edition has the inscription: Indices de todos Capítulos de la Confession Espannola (without article after todos).

HALLE o. S., S. Mary's library (annexed in the volume X. 1. 38).

On Retrodt's edition Theophili Sinceri Notitia historico-critica. Frkf. u. Lpz. 1753, p. 119 f.; more extensively, reprinting also the Spanish table of the contents of the 21 articles, F. G. Freytag in his Adparatus litterarius, t. 3, Lps. 1755, p. 196 f.

Catalogi librorvm Germanicorvm alphabetici . . . secvnda pars . . . Franckfort am Meyn . . . in Verlegung Petri Kopffen. M. DC. II. [HALLE Univ.] P. 12: Bekanntnusz desz Christlichen Glaubens, gestelt durch etliche Christliche Hispanier, welche wegen der miszbräuch der Römischen Kirchen vnd Hispanischen Inquisition ihr Vatterland verlassen, Spanisch vnd Teutsch. Basel, 1600. in 8. — Basel 1600 must be a mistake for Cassel 1601. The Catalogvs vniversalis pro vnvdinis Franco-

fvrt. autumn. de anno 1601. Francof. In Petri Kopffen Buchladen zu finden. *has fol. E 1*: Bekandtnusz desz Christlichen Glaubens, gestellt durch etliche Christliche Hispanier, welche wegen der miszbräuch der Römischen Kirchen vnd Hispanischen Inquisition jhr Vatterland verlassen. Spanisch vnd Teutsch. Ibid. in 8. *On the margin*: 1601. *This Ibid. means*: Cassel bey Wilhelm Wessel.

329. 1611.

Christl. und in Gottes wort wolgegründetes Glaubens Bekäntnus der verfolgten Evangel. Kirchen in und ausser Hispanien gestellet durch etliche Christgläubige Hispanier, welche wegen der Inquisition ihr Vatterland verlassen. Amberg. 1611. 8.

From Bibliotheca symbolica evangelica Lvttherana quam descripsit Jac. Wilh. Feverlinvs, Gottingae 1752 p. 277. where also the following notice: Ex Editoris Joach. Ursini (qui etiam Beringer et Salmuth dicebatur) praefatione discimus, Exules quosdam Hispanos Evangelicos hanc Confessionem a. 1559. Hispanice primum editam Ecclesiis Evangelicis Itolorum et Hispanorum in Anglia obtulisse; eandemquo Hispanice saepius, cum versione autem Germanica Cassellis a. 1601. recusam esse. Conf. de hac Confessione Buddeus in Addendis ad Isagogen p. 73 sq. et ibidem laudatus Lessingius in Analectis Societatis caritatis et scientiarum tom. II. p. 632. sqq. *This notice, together with the above title, is simply repeated in the enlarged edition made of this Biblioth. symb. Luth. by Joh. Barth. Riederer, Norimbergae 1768, part. prior. p. 256.*

Daniel Gerdes, *subscribed to the dedication, in the Florilegium librorum rariorum*, ed. III, Groningae et Bremae 1763, p. 87: Germanicam editionem Ambergae 1611. 8. plagis quatuor cum dimid. procuravit Joach. Ursinus sive (ut proprium ejus nomen erat) Beringer, Scholae Ambergensis Rector, qui in Praefat. docet A. 1601. 8. hunc librum lingua Hispanica simul et Germanica fuisse Cassellis editum, nunc autem edi solo sermone Germanico.

330. 1651.

Pierre Loyseleur, Seigneur de Villiers, counsellor and preacher of William I of Orange, says in Ministrorum qui verbum Dei in reformatis in Belgio ecclesiis concionantur ad autores libri Bergensis, qui etiam Concordiae dicitur, epistola 1579: Hæc est nostra de sacra cæna sententia, quam consentientibus animis una cum Gallicis, Anglicis, Scotiis, Helveticis ecclesiis et fratribus Romae et in Italia atque Hispania sub cruce laborantibus confitemur. *L. G. à Renesse, in his edition of this epistola Loyseleur's, Bredæ 1651, says in an annotation to this passage*: Confessiones Galliae &c. sunt obviæ, at fratrum Hispanorum non item, et Itolorum rarissimæ peculiare sunt declarationes; dabo itaque etiam in publicum suo tempore quas habeo; jam gustum aliquem in hoc articulo breviter exhibebo avido lectori ex Confessione Hispanica (quæ Cassellis anno 1601 ex Hispanica in linguam Germanicam, et a me in Belgicam versa est). C. 13 sic sonat. *The text follows in Latin.*

331. 1748.

The just extracted passages of Loyseleur and Renesse I have copied from the Scrinium antiquarium, tomi I pars I, Groningae & Bremæ, p. 149. 150. The preface (by Gerdesius) is dated 1748.

Pellicer, Ensayo p. 32, on the Spanish London confession of 1559: Pedro Villero la traduxo en flamenco, y en el Scrinium antiquarium publicado por Daniel Gerdes se traduce al latin todo el capitulo 13. *Certainly Pellicer had no other sources besides that note in the Scrin. antiq., the note is, however, not Loyseleur's but Renesse's.*

332. 1882.

Geneva papers 1563—71. *Here* p. 191 f.

La Biblia.

Prohibited together with all Bibles in popular languages, and especially as the translator is a first class heretic (see above p. 232).

Llorente, Hist. de la Inq., cap. XIII. art. 1. §. 49: En 19 de enero de 1571 se mandó recoger una Biblia en romance impresa en Basilea.

333. 1569.

Reina, in his autograph dedication of a copy of his Bible to the University library at Basle: typis ab honesto viro Thoma Guarino cive Basiliensi excusam. *Valera*, in the Exhortacion prefixed to his Bible of 1602, fol. *3: La Biblia de Cassiodoro de Reyna impressa en Basilea año de 1569.

Iselin in Historisch- und Geographisches Lexicon, Basel vol. 4. 1727, p. 63 said when publishing *Reina's* autograph dedication of his Bible to the University of Basle, that the honey-sucking bear is the device of Thomas Guarin, printer at Basle. And likewise in the Beiträge zur Basler Buchdruckergeschichte. Von Stockmeyer and Reber. Basel 1840. p. 157 among the Baslerische Buchdruckerzeichen the honey-bear is given with the subscription: Thomas Guarinus (von 1564); the publication from which it is taken is not mentioned. But Professor Sieber, chief librarian of the Basle University library, wrote me, that he does not know any publication in which the name of Guarinus is found together with the honey-bear; Sieber examined ten publications: one of the year 1564 is without Guarin's name and with the Palma Isingrinii, his father-in-law, who died in 1557, nine others 1564—1580 bear the name of Guarinus and his own Palma in different size and design, some moreover at the end the Palma of his father-in-law. I may add that the Hebrew grammar of Aretius, Basileæ, per Thomam Gverinvm MDLXI [VIENNA Court], has no emblem whatever. In the Supplement to Brunet's Manuel by Deschamps and G. Brunet, vol. 1. 1878; col. 127 is said: Thomas Guarin (ou Garin) était né à Berne, which statement seems to be intended to show that he was entitled to use a bear-device (compare here p. 243), but the fact is that he was from Tournay in Belgium, see Rechnungsbuch der Froben und Episcopius, 1557—1564. Hrg. durch Rudolf Wackernagel. Basel 1881. p. 102. Guarin's epitaph stating the same is still extant at Basle.

Some doubt about the printer was hinted at by Sam. Engel, in republ. Helveto-Bernensi bibliothecarius primarius, in his Bibliotheca selectissima. Bernæ 1743, p. 17: Vulgò perhibetur Impressionem à Guarino Typograph. Basil. procuratam fuisse, etai insignia Apiarii Typogr. Bernensis præ se ferat. And Butsch, die Bücherornamentik,

II. Theil, 1881, p. 28, is right in saying that that device represented by Stockbauer and Reher does not belong to Guarinus, but to Mathias Apiarius at Berne. The honey-bear on the last page of the Beschreibung vnd Geschicht desz Meylandischen kriegsz, published together with the Müsserrieg, Getruckt zû Bern durch Matthiam Apiarium M. D. XXXIX. is so completely resembling that, which is together with the year 1569 on the title of Reina's Bible (both books in my possession) that I should think both could well have come from the same stock. — In the Bernese impression of 1539 the woodcut is sided by the following inscriptions which are wanting on the title of the Bible. Above: ΕΡΕΥΡΑΤΕ ΤΑΣ ΓΥΑΓΑΣ, δι' ἐν αὐταῖς | ζωὴν αἰώνιον ἔχετε. Ioan. 5. Below: Omnia probate, quod bonum | fuerit tenete. 1. Thess. 5. Right hand: Quàm dulcia faucibus meis eloquia tua, super mel | ori meo. Psal. 118. Left hand: Vrsus insidians & esuriens, princeps super populum pauperem. Thro. 3. Prouerb. 28. The full tenor of the last quoted verses is in the Vulgate, Lam. 3, 10: Ursus insidians factus est mihi, leo in absconditis. Pror. 28, 15: Leo rugiens et ursus esuriens, princeps impius super populum pauperem. The inscriptions help to explain the meaning of the cut. It represents bees flying about and some sitting upon an open book which is characterised as the Bible by the word בִּיבְלְיָה written in it. A bear, standing upright before a hole of a tree, is about to remove a huge mallet hung upon a branch before the hole which contains honey; the mallet will naturally always fall back on him. — The device alludes to the name of the printer. Apiarius is the latinized German family-name Biener, which means bee-master (for which the general German expression is Bienenvater; this latter, however, is not the family-name of Apiarius. G. Rettig: Notizen über Math. Apiarius, in Archiv für Gesch. des Deutschen Buchhandels. IV. Lpz. 1879. p. 32). Mathias Apiarius was in 1537 called to Berne from Strassburg, where the theologians Ecolampadius, Butzer and Capito were highly satisfied with him and certainly had recommended him to the Bernese authorities with whom they were on very good terms (G. Rettig in the Berner Taschenbuch auf das Jahr 1880. Bern 1879. p. 44). He used the emblem of the honey-bear in the years 1534 f. at Strassburg (Riederer, quoted in our n° 333^s, p. 269). In the Roman prohibitory Index of 1558 he is still registered only as Argentoratensis impressor. He died some years before that Reina's Bible went to the press. After his death his son Samuel continued printing at Berne. In March 1564 Samuel Apiarius was banished from the town and territory of Berne, because he had, as they called it, falsified (by several alterations) a popular song which he had reprinted, of Hans Krafft of Lucerne, affecting a battle in France, of which perpetration Lucerne had complained, and because he had printed a satirical poem by which some places were offended (Anzeiger für Schweizerische Geschichte. 1873. N° 3. p. 326 f.). He went to Solothurn, where he printed in the years 1565 and 66, being the earliest printer of that town. Some publications of his of the year 1566 are without an imprint; one of them treats a strange appearance in the heavens seen in July and August 1566 at Basle, described by Samuel Coccius der heylgen Geschrift vnnnd freyen Künsten studiosus zû Basel im Vatterland. (See in the Anzeiger für Schweizerische Geschichte. Neue Folge. Dritter Band. Solothurn. N° 3 of 1879, p. 166 f., an article written by Frz. Jos. Schiffmann [librarian at Lucerne]: Samuel Apiarius, der älteste Buchdrucker Solothurns. Schiffmann asks in a note to the title of that publication on the phenomenon at Basle: Apiarius damals schon in Basel?). If he was not yet living at Basle when he printed this pamphlet, he certainly printed there in 1568. The printing place Basle and Samuel Apiarius as printer are named together on

newspapers printed by him in the years 1568 and 1569 and as late as 1589 (Weller, *Die ersten deutschen Zeitungen*, in *Bibliothek des litter. vereins zu Stuttgart*, CXI, 1872, under the year 1568 n° 336, under 1569 n° 352, under 1571—89 nos 379. 385. 391. 435. 436. 656. 692. It is Weller who in two publications of the year 1566, nos 295. 315, adds to the name of Samuel Apiarius the printing place Basle). I find it expressly stated that the emblem of the honey-bear was used by him at Basle in 1575 (Riederer p. 270).

G. Rettig says, with reference to the bear-emblem ascribed to Guarinus by Stockmeyer and Reber (see above), that it seems that at Basle Thomas Guarinus lent for a while his name to the business of Samuel Apiarius. (In the above quoted *Notizen in the Archiv d. Deutschen Buchhandels* IV. 1879. p. 32 f.: Inzwischen hatte er sich in Solothurn und Basel aufgehalten und hier gedruckt. An letzterem Orte scheint Thom. Guarinus eine Zeit lang den Namen für das Geschäft hergegeben zu haben.) More accurate is the conjecture of Professor Sieber, expressed to me in a letter: that Apiarius printed Reina's Bible at Guarin's expense, perhaps working in Guarin's office, and that, Guarin not putting his name in the book, Apiarius was at liberty to employ his own emblem. Dr. Göldlin, Scriptor of the Court library in Vienna, observed that this conjecture was so much the more likely, as Samuel Apiarius, even while still at Berne, printed for a publisher at Frankfurt: Die Guldin Arch. . . . durch Sebastian Francken von Wörd. M. D. LVII. has the colophon: Getruckt inn der Loblichen Statt Bernn, Bey Samuel Apiario, Inn kosten vnd verlegung desz Ersamen David Zäpfels, Bûchtrucker vnnnd Burger zû Franckfurt, Im M. D. Lvij. Jar. [VIENNA Court.] Matthias Apiarius had in 1550 printed at Berne a cosmography Inn Costen vnd vorlegung Cyriaci Jacobi zu Franckfurt am Meyn (Riederer, *Nachrichten*, vol. 4, p. 269). What Reina says of the typographer in the letter of 4 Aug. 1568: typographus eludit nos, does not appear to be applicable to Guarin; whilst the other circumstance, stated in Reina's letter of 23 Dec. of the same year, that Reina's typographer was hard to his debtor, is natural enough, if he was Samuel Apiarius who during his exile from Berne was himself accused there of debts by some creditor of Solothurn or Basle (for this fact see Rettig in the *Archiv l. c.* p. 331). His exile ended in 1575. (Historische Ztg. Hrg. v. d. Schweizer. . . geschichtsforschenden Gallsch. 1853. Bern. P. 77: Samuel Apiarius wurde mit Verlust des Bürgerrechts auf zehn Jahre von Stadt und Land verwiesen, nach deren Verlauf er sich um Aufhebung der obigen Strafe bewarb: klug begleitete er sein Gesuch mit einer Ihr Gnaden dedicirten Schrift. So wurde nun Samuel Apiario, unserm gewesenen Burger und Buchdrucker, vor zehn Jahren von Stadt und Land verwiesen, das Land wieder geöffnet, ihm auch für sein dedicirtes Büchlein zwei Kronen geschenkt. 1575 Apr. 7. — T. Spr. B. ZZ. 776 und RM. 389 s 7 IV 1575.) He nevertheless continued to print at Basle. His last publication, of which I know, is of 1589 (see above here). In 1591 a Lied appeared at Basel bey S. Apiarii Erben (registered by Weller, *Annalen der poet. National-Lit.* Vol. 1. 1862, p. 257, n° 311).

In 1567 Reina, on his way to Basle where the Bible was to be printed, wrote to a friend: it was settled that Oporinus should print 1100 copies of it (see my *Romanische Studien* IV, 485). The printing was, however, not begun till after the death of Oporinus (see Reina's letters to Hubert, and compare, among our Documents, the extracts from letters of Oporinus) who died on the 6th of July 1568, having, a short time before, sold his printing-establishment (to two persons, each of whom Basiliensis, divitiis et generis splendore insignis, as is stated in an

*Epistola on Oporinus printed on a separate leaf in 1568. Apiarius therefore was not one of the buyers). In 1602, Cipriano de Valera reports in the Exhortacion prefixed to his Bible fol. *6: 1569 imprimiō [Reina] dos mil y seiscientos exemplares. There is no reason to doubt this. Valera continues: Los quales por la misericordia de Dios se han repartido por muchas regiones. De tal manera que hoy casi no se hallan exemplares, si alguno los quiere comprar. It is, however, certain that there still remained a store of them at Frankfort. For not only did the booksellers, in that same year 1602 and in the next, issue copies with titles bearing the dates of 1602 and 1603, but even twenty years later new titles with the date of 1622 were printed. — The Supplément 2 to Brunet, vol. 1. 1878, col. 127: la Bible de l'Ours a été tirée à 2,600 exempl., ce qui n'empêche qu'elle soit devenue fort rare.*

Ticknor says on this Bible: It is paged in three different portions, as if they were all advancing through the press at one and the same time. (See Catalogue of the Spanish Library and of the Portuguese books bequeathed by George Ticknor to the Boston Public Library together with the collection of Spanish and Portuguese literature in the general library by James Lyman Whitney. Boston 1879. P. 33.) Possibly the two parts of the Old Testament were proceeding simultaneously, the New Testament certainly was not given to the press before the Old was finished; compare here p. 173 f.

My proof-leaves containing the numbers 333 and 334 were sent to several friends and public libraries; at Basle, Frankfort, Gotha, Halle, Saint Gall, Stuttgart, Wernigerode the librarians have kindly revised and completed the notices formerly made by myself in these towns; my colleague E. Reuss at Strassburg has done the same concerning his own copy; from other places I have been informed by librarians on copies which I have not seen, viz. from Berlin by Dr. Joh. Müller, from Dresden by Professor E. Förstemaun, from Leipzig by Professor Krehl, from Munich by Dr. G. Laubmann, from London, British Museum, by Mr. R. Martineau, from Oxford, Wadham College, by Mr. Thorley, from Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale by Mr. L. Delisle, Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève, by Mr. F. Deni; Rev. Edward W. Gilman, Corresponding Secretary of the American Bible Society, informed me of the copies in the library of that society in New York, I. W. Knapp, New Haven, wrote me about the copies in his possession and the particulars concerning the copy in Boston Public library, Menendez Pelayo did so about those copies which he himself has got.

333^a. 1569. Without name. With heading ornament.

At the head an ornamental border running over the whole breadth. (19 times the same ornamental type. Identically in the copies Basle, Halle, Vienna, Reuss, B—r, and the border in the other copies is probably the same) | La biblia, | qve es, los sa- | cros libros del | vieio y nveyo te- | stamento. | Trasladata en Español. | The woodcut described here p. 236. | דבר אלהינו יקנו לעולם | The letter at the end of יקנו is not a final mem like that of the following word. | La Palabra del Dios nuestro permanece para siempre. Isa. 40. | M. D. LXIX. | The first five lines in capitals, the other two Spanish lines in Italics. Colophon: Anno del Señor M. D LIX. en | Septiembre. | The D in the year is not followed by a full stop, but is distanced from L.

Large octavo, viz. eight leaves under one signature.

On the verso of the title two decrees of the Council of Trent, in Latin and Spanish.

Some copies have a blank leaf after the title-leaf.

Ad sereniss. . . . Reges . . . Praefatio . . . Interpretis, in qua ex prima visione Ezechielis . . . disserit de officio . . . Principum . . . seven leaves, signature † 1—7. With two woodcuts, Ezechiel's vision on the verso of the first leaf, Svppliviv regis Tyrii on the verso of the fifth.

*Amonestacion del interprete . . . al Lector . . . seven leaves: the eighth of †, and * * 1—6.*

Bible-translation in two columns. Genesis to Ecclesiastico inclusive, 1438 columns. Under the text-columns 1437—1438 Prefacion del primer tradutor del libro, viz. the prologue of the Greek translator of Ecclesiasticus. Verso (1439—40) blank. (Instead of the column-numbers 533. 534. 540. 636. 651. 726. 829. 830. 894.

is misprinted 501. 502. 504. 436. 451. 720. 729. 730. 849.

The misprint 451 was noticed by Ebert, Bibliogr. Lex., vol. 1. 1821, col. 183, the others were stated by Custos Verner of Halle University library, who adds: &c. All these misprints are in my copy likewise, except 720 where my copy has 726.) Second numeration: the 12 Prophets with Baruch and two books on the Macca-beans 544 columns. New Testament, without separate title-leaf, at the head of St. Matthew: El nvevo testamento, | qve es, los escriptos | Euangelicos, y Apostolicos. column 1—508. —>

Under the short columns 507 and 508 begin on the same page Errores, continued over the next page and ending on the third, where the colophon follows. Verso blank.

Annotationes breves sobre los lugares mas difficiles. Three leaves, α. α ij. α iij. Fourth leaf blank. These annotationes are mentioned in the Amonestacion (fourth page from the end) as belonging to this edition: al cabo del libro las annotationes que no cupieron on sus propios lugares. — Brunet t. 1. 1860 mentions the Annotationes breves, 3 ff. between the Old and the New Testament. Salvá, Catálogo 1872. II, 763: deben ir al fin, á pesar de estar á veces encuadernadas ontre los preliminares. In the Stuttgart copy the Annotationes stand between the Amonestacion and Genesis. — As far as I can gather from the notices of my correspondents, the types and the dimensions of the columns of the Annotationes do not differ from the Bible, but the paper is different from that of the Bible in quality, and is, in some copies (Frankfort, Halle), smaller than the size of the Bible.

BASLE Public. A copy with Reina's autograph dedication to Basilius Amerbach, written in 1569 (see below). A label written by the librarian Pfister, who in 1622 catalogued the library, is pasted in the volume: Biblia sacra utriusque testamenti Hispanicâ linguâ optimè versa per Cassiodorum Reinium Hispano-Hispalensem academîæ Basiliensis alumnum per decennium, cum luculentâ eiusdem præfatione . . . Blank leaf after the title. Without the Annotationes. — Professor Ed. REUSS at Strassburg has a copy with Reina's autograph dedication to Dr. Adam Petri, written in 1569 (see below). Without the Annotationes and the blank leaf after the title. — FRANKFORT o. M. City. A copy with Reina's autograph dedication to the city library of Frankfort o. M., written January 1573. With the Annotationes, without fourth leaf following them and without blank leaf after the title. — BOSTON Public. Ticknor's copy, see Catalogue (quoted here p. 238) p. 33. With Reina's autograph presentation to Jean Taffin, undated (see below).

Without Annotationes: *DRESDEN* Royal. Without blank leaf after the title. — *MUNICH* Royal. Many leaves are wanting, also the end of the Apocalypse. — *VIENNA* Court, from Prince Eugene's collection, a copy presented in 1603 by the translator's son Augustino to a friend (see below). No blank leaf after the title. — *WERNIGERODE*, the Count's library. No blank leaf after the title. — *B—r*. No blank leaf after the title. — *MENENDEZ PELAYO*.

The original impression of the Annotationes is found in the following copies: *Frankfort o. M.*, as we have already stated. — *HALLE* University. Blank fourth leaf following them, and blank leaf after the title. Some wanting leaves of Exodus and Leviticus (col. 153—168. 185—192. 201—216) are replaced in ms. by a hand of about a. 1600. The second numeration is placed between the columns 736 and 737. — *STUTTGART* Royal. Without blank leaf after the title. — *BRITISH MUSEUM*. No blank leaf neither after the Annotationes nor after the title. — *OXFORD*, Wadham college, Wiffen's copy. It had the Annotationes already in 1716, when Don Juan Isidro Fazienda was permitted by the Inquisitor General to keep and read it for three years; see John T. Betts' article The Governor of Madrid's Bible, in the *Friend's Quarterly Examiner*, April 1871. — *PARIS* National. Of the four copies there, all belonging to this n° 333^a, one is complete, with the Annotationes.

Professor I. W. KNAPP, Yale college, New Haven, has two copies of 333^a, one of them with the Annotationes, but only in ms. of the 18. century.

The Annotationes are supplied by Wiffen's reprint of them (see below), in the copies of *GOTHA* Ducal (blank leaf after the title) and of John T. BETTS, Pembury.

In all varieties of n° 333, the text of the Bible is of the same impression.

333^b. 1569. Without name. Without heading ornament.

La | biblia | qve es, los | sacros libros | del vieio y nveyo |
testamento. | The rest of the title as in n° a. Also יְקִרְבִּי. The first six lines in capitals, the other two Spanish lines in Italics. No comma after biblia. No border above the whole. On the verso the decrees.

Without Annotationes: *BASLE* Public. A copy with the translator's dedication to the Academy of Basle, autograph of June 1570 (see below). Without blank leaf after the title. — The same library has another copy of this variety. A former possessor has written on the title: Rem. Feschii, and on the fore-leaf: Cassiodorus Reinius Hispanus Hispalensis, inclytæ Academiæ Basiliensis Alumnus, huius sacrorum librorum versionis Hispanicæ author, quam per integrum decennium elaboravit, et auxilio pientissimorum ministrorum Ecclesiæ Basiliensis, ex decreto prudentissimi Senatus typis ab honesto viro Thoma Guarino cive Basiliensi excusum demum emisit in lucem.

Ex Exemplari Biblioth. publicæ Acad. Basil. ab autore dicato secundum eius ἀπογράφον hæc exscripsit Rem. Fesch. A: 1624. 23 Jun.

Quum sedero in tenebris Jehova lux mea est. Mich. 6. CASS. R.

A blank leaf after the title in the Fesch copy. — *DRESDEN* Royal. Ebert, l. c. on Reina's Bible with the year 1569 on the title: Exx., in den. d. Tit. verschied. abgesetzt ist. (Beide Art. zu Dresd.) — *VIENNA* Court. Between title and preface a blank leaf. The copy with which the Suplicacion a la reyna de Francia is bound up. I had to observe above p. 142 that the richly bound volume, framed

throughout in red ink, probably was a presentation copy to Emperor Maximilian II, in whose library it already was in 1576.)*

ROME Casanatensis. Two leaves of the Amonestacion are bound up misplaced: after the title-leaf follow leaves iij. and IV of the Amonestacion, then a blank leaf of the same paper, then Praefatio and Amonest.

With Annotations: BERLIN Royal.

The following antiquarian prices seem to concern copies with the year 1569 on the title, but without name; it is impossible to discern to which of the two varieties each copy belonged.

Brunet, Manuel t. I. 1860: Vend. 48 fr. La Vallière; 1 liv. 3 sh. Pinelli; 40 fr. Gomet, et 29 fr. Bearzi.

Vincent Salvá, A catalogue of Spanish and Portuguese books, part II, London 1829 [Halle Univ.], p. 13 offered a beautiful copy in the original binding, gilt leaves, for £ 2. 2 sh. — In Quaritch's catalogue n° 295, London, March 1875, p. 297, n° 3540, on fine paper, a superb copy of the Bear Bible, bound in red morocco, gilt edges, in the style of de Rome, £ 5. 5 s. — La Biblia, que es los sacros libros del Viejo y Nuevo Testamento. Tradladado en español (por Cassiodoro Reyna). (Basilea, Apiario), 1569. In-4, rel. en bois, rec. de veau gaufr. 90 francs. In Tross' Paris Catalogue, Année 1874. — N° VIII, p. 515, n° 4174. Another copy: Tradladada .. (Basilea, Apiario), 1569. In-4, bas. was offered by the same bookseller in his Catalogue, Année 1875 — N° VI, p. 365 for 40 francs.

333^c. 1569. Aubrij y Schleich.

La Biblia, que es, los sacro libro [sic] del vieio y nuevo Testamento: trasladada en español (por Cassiodoro Reyna). S. l. (Basilea), en la Libreria de Daniel y David Aubrij, y de Clement Schleich, 1569; in-4°; fig., mar., fil., tr. dor. Très-bel exemplaire de cette édition très-rare, comme [read connue] sous le nom de Bible de l'Ours.

Catalogue de la biblioth. de feu M. le marquis de Morante [to be sold]. Nouvelle série — première partie. Paris 1878. n° 217. Is certainly the copy from Morante's Catalogus, t. VI, Matriti 1859, n° 11162 .. Sacros Libros .., where Precio rs 210.

La Biblia, que es los sacros libros del veio [sic] y nuevo Testamēto trasladada en Espaniol. 4. 1570. A. In Nic. Bassæi Collectio in unum corpus 1592, pars tertia, p. 4 (among the works Pontificiorum Theologorum). This notice means only that Reina's Bible was not sold in Frankfort before the autumnal fair of 1570.

La Biblia, que es los sacros libros del vejo y nuevo Testamento trasladada en Espaniol. Venetia 1570. in 4. This title is found in Vnivs seculi ... Elenchus ... Avctore Joanne Clessio. Francofvrti ... M. DC. II. Almost the same is read in

*) Le Long's Biblioth. sacra, Paris 1723, I, p. 363 in the section inscribed Biblia Hispanica à Calvinianis edita, has in the first place: Biblia Hispanica, in 4°. Cosmopoli, Christophori Philalothi 1567. Eadem est forsan ac sequens editio: servatur in bibliotheca Casarea Vendobonensi. This sequens editio is Reina's bible of 1569. Denis in his catalogue of Codices manuscripti theologici bibliothecæ palatinæ Vindobonensis, vol. I, pars II, Vindob. 1794, col. 1993 states that with a copy of Reina's bible of 1569 in the Court library in Vienna, a Suplicacion etc. is bound together, quo, cum ad calcem notetur impressa: En Cosmopoli por Christophoro Philaléto. 1567. nescio quo modo Longium in errorem induxit ut Bibliorum hisp. anni predicti editionem inde effingeret. Ne igitur Editionem ejusmodi apud nos quaeras. (Compare here p. 88). The editions of Le Long's Biblth. sacra. Pars altera. 1709. Parisiis, p. 120 f. Lipsio, p. 147 have not the article on the Cosmopolis Spanish Bible of 1567.

Draudius *Bibliotheca exotica* 1610, p. 210: La Biblia, que es los sacros libros del veio y nuevo Testamento, trasladada en Espaniol. in Venetia 1570. 4. *Probably Cless and Draudius copied from some earlier catalogue, perhaps from the original Frankfort one, where Venice may have been named erroneously, the real printing place being unknown. Bassæus, who used the same original catalogue, may have left out Venice, knowing that the book was not printed there (Nic. Bassæus published in 1573 two works of Reina, see below).*

333^d. 1586.

Vincent Salvá, *A catalogue of Spanish and Portuguese books*, part II, London 1829, p. 13, *having given the title of 1569, says*: It reappeared afterwards with different dates on the title-page, viz. 1586 and 1622. — Brunet, t. 1. 1860: Les exemplaires de ce même livre, qui portent la date de 1586 et de 1622, ne diffèrent des autres que par le changement de frontispice et l'addition de 4 ff. placés avant la Genèse (dans les exemplaires de 1622 seulement); d'ailleurs on trouve toujours la date de 1569 à la fin de l'errata. Vend. 13 fr. La Serna.

333^e. 1587.

In the City library at St. GALL is a copy of those described here under n° a, in which the year M D LIX has been cut out, as well on the title as also in the colophon, and has been replaced by the year 1587, printed with Arabic numerals. In order that the patch-work might not strike at the first glance, red lines are drawn in both places, and a system of such lines is, as if for ornament's sake, but indeed with very bad taste, extended over the whole title.

In all other respects the copy is exactly like mine. The identical border above the title. No blank leaf after the title. Misprint 451 instead of 651. No Annotationes.

The notice in the Verzeichniss der Manuscripte und Incunabeln der Vadianischen Bibliothek in St. Gallen. St. Gallen 1864. p. 171, n° 205 is not exact. The title is given thus: La Biblia Que es los sacros libros d. v. e. n. Testam. Trasladata en Espanjol. Ohne Anz. It is however identical with that of our n° a (having also Español). The Verzeichniss continues: 4°. 1438 [add: + 544] und 508 Spalten, mit dem Druckerzeichen e. Bären auf d. Titelbl. Die gedruckte Jahrzahl 1587 ist auf d. Tit. u. am Ende (in eine leere Stelle zwischen die Worte: Anno del Sennor [write Señor] ... en Septiembre) aufgepappt. The word leere is interspaced in the Verzeichniss.

This is the only variety in which the true year is not left in the colophon.

333^f. 1596.

Ducatiana ou remarques de feu M. Le Duchat sur divers sujets, t. 1, Amsterdam 1738, p. 130 f.: Moreri, au mot Reyna, a cru sur la parole du Pere Simon, dans son *Supplément à Leon de Modène*, que l'Edition de 1596. étoit unique, & comme d'ailleurs on prenoit le Livre, pour l'ouvrage d'un Juif, Gaffarel le vendit fort cher à M. Carcavi pour la Bibliothèque du Roi, & moi-même sur ce pied-là en 1697. j'en fis présent à l'Archevêque de Reims, qui se félicita d'avoir enrichi sa Bibliothèque d'un Livre si rare. Mais le P. Simon s'est trompé, y ayant de cette Bible une Edition de 1569. laquelle est la plus ancienne comme nous l'apprend le

Pere le Long, dans sa Bibliothèque Sacrée, au Chapitre des Bibles en Langue Espagnole. Il s'en fit une seconde en 1596. avec la figure de l'Ours dans le titre, comme à la première; & je les crois l'une & l'autre, non pas de Bâle, .. mais de Berne, puisque c'est cette dernière Ville, & non pas celle de Bâle, qui a un Ours pour Armoiries. Depuis il s'est fait encore deux autres Editions de la même Bible, l'une en 1603, l'autre en 1622. toutes deux à Francfort sur le Mein, & avec une autre figure que l'Ours dans le Frontispice. A cela près la dernière répond en tout & page pour page à l'édition de 1569 laquelle pourtant est la plus belle de toutes, soit pour le papier, soit pour l'Impression. In a letter, written in 1684, Lettre XVIII of the Lettres choisies de M. Simon. Nouvelle édition. T. I. Amsterdam 1730. P. 189, Richard Simon says, that Reina's Bible of 1569 [sic] had been sold to M. Carcavi, alors Bibliothécaire du Roi, as a version made by the Jews of Granada. And Mr. L. Delisle, director of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, writes me: J'ai sous les yeux l'exemplaire de la Bible espagnole que Carcavi acheta pour la Bibliothèque du roi; c'est l'édition que vous décrivez sous le n° 333^a. In R. Simon's Hist. crit. du vieux test. Suivant la copie imprimée à Paris 1680, p. 380, and in his Hist. crit. des versions du n. t. Rotterdam 1690, p. 496 f., only the year 1569 is given as that of the impression of Reina's Bible, without mention of the varieties with different years. The year 1596 in Moreri's Dictionnaire is certainly a mistake in writing or a misprint. Already Pellicer Ensayo p. 35 f. said: Ni es mas verdadera [que la edición de 1603] la que trae Moreri hecha año de 1596. procediendo quiza esta equivocacion de trocar los numeros de 1569. en 1596. A title with 1603 exists, however (see n° 333^b), and it would not surprise if a new title with the year 1596 had been printed in consequence of the publication of Valera's N. T. in that year. One could say, as for the copy of the archbishop of Reims, that it is registered thus in the Bibliotheca Telleriana p. 3: La Biblia trasladada en Español. Francfort, en la Libreria de Daniel Aubry, 1622. in 4°, and that this variety is really, with other books of archbishop Letellier, in the Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève in Paris. But the Biblioth. Telleriana was published in 1693, and Le Duchat says that he in 1697 presented his copy to the archbishop (who died in 1710), and he seems to state that he did not know of an earlier edition than that of 1596 until he learned from Le Long's Bibliotheca sacra, first published in 1709, that Reina's Bible had been printed already in 1569. Sure enough, Le Duchat did not examine the copies accurately, otherwise he would have discovered that the text is in all of them of the same impression. But the question as to the existence of a title with the year 1596 remains still unsettled.

333^a. 1602.

La Biblia, | que es, los sa | cros libros del | vieio y nuevo
te | stamento. | Transladada de los fuentes Hebreos en Español por |
Cassiodoro de Reina. | Isa. 40. | La Palabra del Dios nuestro per-
manece para siempre. | A Francoforte | En casa de Wolfgang. Richter
con las expensas de los here | deros del trasladador. | Anno M. DCII.

On this title the honey hunting bear of 1569, only less well printed (nach allen Umständen einerley, in dem Nachdrucke aber nicht so sauber und scharf ausgefallen). No Hebrew on the title. At the end of the errata after the New Testament:

Anno del Sennor M. DLXIX en Septiembre. *It is the old edition of this year, from Genesis to the end of the N. T. The N. T. has no special title. On the back of the general title the two decrees of Trent, Latin and Spanish; then the Latin and the Spanish prefaces of Reina, both reprinted from the edition of 1569. This description (excepting the strokes marking the divisions of the lines) is given by Johann Bartholomæus Riederer: Nachrichten zur Kirchen- Gelehrten- und Bücher-Geschichte, Funfzehendes Stück, Altdorf 1767, p. 265 f. As for the last mentioned point he says: Alles (the decrees and the two prefaces) ist in dieser Ausgabe mit der ursprünglichen einerley, auch Blat für Blat nachgedruckt; nur zeigen teils die verschiedenen Buchstaben und Zalen, teils die verschiedenen Ausgänge mancher Zeilen, auf denen etwan ein oder ein Paar Wörtlein oder Sylben mer oder weniger in dem Nachdrucke stehen, deutlich an, dass es wirklich zweyerley Druck ist, und also nicht das Titelblatt alleine, sondern 15 Blätter umgedruckt worden. The three leaves of Annotations breues are found at the end of the copy described by Riederer.*

A copy in the Royal library at DRESDEN (see Ebert). In the colophon, D is distanced from L. Without Annotations. Preliminaries reprinted?

MUNICH Royal. From the Munich copy the division of the lines has been added here to Riederer's title-copy. The colophon has Señor. The Annotations are wanting. Blank leaf after the title. The leaves between the title and Genesis are reported to be of the same impression with those in 333^a.

Riederer is most likely right in thinking that this new edition of Reina's Bible of 1569 was occasioned by Valera's Bible being published in the same year 1602: Da in eben dem 1602 Jare zu Amsterdam eben diese Übersetzung, iedoch mit Cypr. de Valera Verbesserungen, herausgekommen, so hat man one Zweifel, um den noch übrigen Exemplaren der ersten Ausgabe fortzuhelfen, dieses Mittel ergriffen, die erstern Bögen umdrucken zu lassen.

Valera's Bible, according to its colophon, se acabó en Septiembre 1602. The Catalogvs vniversalis pro nvndinis Francofvrtensibus autumnalibus de anno 1602. Francofvrti, excudebat Io. Saur. In Petri Kopffen Buchladen. has, fol. E 4, among Libri fvtvris nvndinis prodituri: La Biblia, que es los sacros libros del viuio [sic] y Nuevo Testam [sic], trasladada de los fuentes Hebreos en Espagnol, por Cassiodoro de Reina. A Francoforte por las expensas de los herederos del trasladador. It really appears in the Catalogvs vniversalis pro nvndinis Francofvrtensibus vernalibus de anno 1603. Francofvrti, excudebat Io. Saur. In Petri Kopffen Buchladen zu finden. Fol. F 4 verso: La Biblia, trasladada de los fuentes Hebreos en Espannol par [sic] Cassiodore de Reina. Francof. apud Richterum. This article has, like all articles, the year 1603 on the margin. Also Draudius, Bibliotheca exotica, 1610, p. 211 registers: La Biblia trasladada de los fuentes Hebreos en Espannol por Cassiodoro de Reina. Francofurt apud Richterum 1603. 4. I think the year 1603 was not on the title of the Bible to be sold en casa de Richter, but it doubtless was the year in which the book with the new title appeared for sale at the fair.

333^b. 1603. *Marnius and Aubry.*

„Another spurious title has the imprint: Francofvrti. Apud Claudium Marnium & Hæredes Johannis Aubrij M. D. C. III.“ Notice by Wiffen.

Compare here under 333¹.

Clement, Bblth. curieuse t. 3. 1752 p. 455: L'Edition de 1603. est imaginaire ou n'a qu'un nouveau Titre.

Krantzii Metropolis. Francofvrti Apud herodes Andreæ Wecholi, Claudium Marnium & Ioann. Aubrium. 1590. and *Andr. Schott's Hispaniæ bibliotheca*. Francofvrti Apud Claudium Marnium & hæredes Ioann. Aubrii. 1608. *have the device representing a Pegasus and below a caduceus with other signs; that of 1590 is more similar to the reproduction in Silvestre's Marques typographiques n° 1225 than that of 1608.*

333¹. 1622. *Without name.*

La biblia, | qve es, los | sacros libros del | vieio y nvevo te- | stamento. [*The a in TESTAMENTO is a capital V reversed.* Knapp.] | Trasladata en Español. | A woodcut, imitating that of 1569. On the leaves of the open book two bees, whilst in the cut of 1569 five; instead of ירהור, which, however, is not cut very well in 1569 neither, in 1622 something like ירהור. | רבה instead of דבר in the verse: רבה אלהינו יקום לעולם | La Palabra del Dios nuestro permanece para siempre. Isa. 40. | M. DC. XXII. |

This title in a frame of two parallel lines. On the reverse the two extracts from the decrees of the Council of Trent, with Spanish translation. Then preface with Ezechiel's vision on the second page.

The Annotations are wanting in the copies of DRESDEN Royal (the copy is mentioned by Ebert), GÖTTA Ducal, HALLE University, of the count's library at WERNIGERODE, of the Casanatensis in ROME, of the National in PALERMO, of Prof. KNAPP. — PARIS National. Without Annotations? — With the Annotations: LEIPZIG University, with fourth leaf blank. BRITISH MUSEUM. — The American Bible Society's library in NEW YORK has two copies. One of them is enriched throughout by red lines on every page, and this copy has the Annotations, which the other lacks; one has Español, the other Espanol. It may be that some of the other copies likewise have Espanol.

To this variety belongs the copy registered by Siegm. Jac. Baumgarten in his Nachrichten von merkwürdigen Büchern, Band 7, Halle 1755, n° 2278, p. 190. He states that the title has not the names of Aubry and Schleich, and that the old colophon of September 1569 is left. In Baumgarten's title-copy, nostro certainly is an error of the copyist for nuestro.

Hidalgo, Diccion. de bibliografía Esp. t. 1. Madrid 1862, p. 209—210 from a copy in the Bib. del Ministerio de Fomento: La Biblia, qve es, los sacros libros del vieio y nvevo Testamento. Trasladata en español. M. DC. XXII. En el centro de esta portada hay un grabado de madera que representa un árbol hendido por medio de una de cuyas ramas pende un mazo de madera; en el tronco se ve un oso puesto en dos pies como queriendo lamer la miel que destila la hendidura, al rededor de la cual se ve un enjambre de abejas. Por bajo del grabado está una linea en hebreo, cuya traduccion La Palabra del Dios nuestro permanece para siempre. Isa. 40 se contiene en otra linea. El titulo va orludo con dos filetes. Al respaldo de esta primera hoja se halla el decreto del concilio de Trento en latin y castellano, sobre libros prohibidos . . . Tambien esta edicion . . . es la misma de 1569.

333^k. 1622. *Aubry y Schleich.*

La biblia, | qve es, los | sacros libros del | vieio y nvevo
te- | stamento. | Traslada da en Español. | *Figure of a flying horse over*
other emblems and signs. | דבר אלהינו יקום לעולם | La Palabra del Dios
nuestro permanece para siempre. Isa. 40. | En la libreria, de Daniel
y David Aubrij, y de | Clement Schleich. | M. DC. XXII. |

The title framed by two parallel lines on each side. On the verso of the title the decrees Latin and Spanish. Second leaf blank. On the third begins the preface, on the verso the cut is found. At the end 1569.

BERLIN Royal. With the Annotationes. Another copy without them, with second leaf blank. — STUTTGART Royal. No blank leaf after title; no Annotationes. — ZURICH City. — BRITISH MUSEUM. With blank leaf after title, with the Annotationes (identical impression with that of the copy dated on the title: 1569). — OXFORD, Wadham college, Wiffen's copy. The Annotationes are supplied by Wiffen's reprint. Blank leaf after title.

Compare Le Duchat, here 333^f. — A copy with the names of Daniel and David Aubrij and Clement Schleich on the title, and 1569 at the end, is registered in: Bibliotheca biblica das ist Verzeichnis der Bibel-sammlung welche . . . Elisabeth Sophia Maria, . . . Herzogin zu Braunschweig . . . gesammelt . . . Braunschweig 1752 [HALLE Univ.], p. 163, with the following notice: Der Titel dieser Bibel ist anno 1622. zu Frankfurt in der Wechelianschen Druckerey, deren Wapen auch darauf stehet [compare above under the letter ^h], nur neu abgedruckt, sonst ist sie mit der Nro. 2. [edition of 1569] einerley. — Pellicer, Ensayo 1778, p. 35: La Biblia, que es los Sacros Libros del viejo y nuevo Testamento. Traslada da en Español דבר אלהינו יקום לעולם La palabra de Dios nuestro permanece para siempre. Isa. 40. En la libreria de Daniel y David Aubry, y de Clemente Schleich. M. DC. XXII. (1622) en 4^o grande. Al fin se lee: Anno del Señor M. D. LXIX. (1569) en septiembre. El frontis tiene una estampa que representa un Pegaso sobre un caducéo, asido de dos manos que salen de entre unas nubes. Leense esparcidas por ella estas letras iniciales D. D. A. C. S. que lo son de estos nombres: Daniel y David Aubry, y Clemente Schleich. El exemplar, de donde se ha copiado este titulo, le poseia Don Vicente Pardo, Agente Fiscal del Consejo de Hacienda. Pero ésta no es nueva edición de la Biblia de Reyna; sino engaño de los Impresores, que para dar mas estimacion a los exemplares de la antigua impresion, o por otros fines, les pusieron otra portada para venderlos por de nueva edición, y aun hicieron esto con tan poco disimulo, que conservaron al fin la fecha de los exemplares antiguos. — Catalogue des livres de la bibliotheque de M. C. de la Serna Santander, t. 1, Bruxelles, an XI (1803) p. 16 f., after mentioning that Reina's Bible is known as Bible de l'ours: Cette dénomination est cependant, très-impropre; car le plus grand nombre d'exemplaire[s] portent dans le titre une gravure en bois, représentant un Pegase sur un Caducée, et au bas = En la libreria de Daniel y David Aubry, y de Clement Schleich, M. DC. XXII. He adds that the book is no new print and that at the end are the words: Anno del Senor 1569, en Septiembre. — Hidalgo l. c., p. 209 describes a copy belonging to the Bib. de San Isidro. — The same variety in Salvá's Cat. 1872, t. 2, p. 763, n° 3848.

*Revisions of Reina's Bible.
By Valera in 1602.*

334. 1602.

La Biblia. | Que es, | los sacros libros | del vieio y nvevo |
testamento. | Segunda Edicion. | Revista y conferida con los textos
Hebreos y Griegos | y con diversas translaciones. | Por Cypriano de
Valera. | *Emblem* | La palabra de Dios permanece para siempre.
Esayas 40. 8. | En Amsterdam, En Casa de Lorenzo Iacobi. |
M. DC. II. | *Colophon*: Para gloria de Dios y bien de la Iglesia
Española esta Biblia se acabô en Septiembre. | Año M. DC. II. |

Exhortacion al Lector, 6 leaves. Amonestacion de Cassiodoro de Reyna al lector
and Nombres de los libros de la Biblia, 5 leaves. *These twelve leaves (including
title) in two layers of six. The Bible generally in layers of eight. Folio. The
Old Testament numbered in folios 1—268. (Instead of 37. 44. 133.*

*is misprinted 38. 37. 125. Between Fol.
139 and 140 a leaf, numbered: 2 Fol. 129, not 139, with the signature 2S3; sheet S
has therefore nine leaves. Noticed by Verner. Instead of 234 the misprint 134.
Noticed by Knapp.) Los libros apocryphos 1—67. (Instead of 25 is misprinted 35.
Verner. All those misprints have not influenced the right paging of the following
leaves.) The New Testament 1—88. Interpretacion de algunas palabras . . . two pages
fol. 88^b and 89^a. Faltas one p. fol. 89^b.*

Wiffen: „An additional leaf was printed to follow the title, probably for
presentation copies, addressed: A Los illustrissimos y potentissimos Estados de las
Provincias confederadas, Y al Excellentissimo Principe de Orange Don Mavricio Nassovio
Governador de las dichas Provincias &c. Signed de Amsterdam, vuestro nobilissimo
Emporio 25. de Septiembre 1602. Humilde Orador de vuestras Excel. C. D. V. Two
copies with this address are in Spain.“ Compare here vol. 1, p. 37.

Usó's copy is now most likely in MADRID National. — Catálogo de la
bblt. Salvá t. 2. 1872, p. 764 has a copy with 13 hojas preliminares, which, therefore,
probably contains the dedication. — Professor W. I. KNAPP, Yale College, has
a copy with the original congratulatory leaf. See his catalogue: Biblioteca escogida
de literatura española. Madrid 1875. P. 10. His copy was bought in Madrid of
Murillo in 1875. — MUNICH Royal. With the original additional leaf.

Copies without the additional leaf in BASLE Univ. BERLIN Royal.
DRESDEN Royal (copy mentioned by Ebert). HALLE Univ. LAUSANNE
Cantonal. STUTTGART Royal. VIENNA Court. WOLFENBÜTTEL Ducal
(two copies, in one the woodcut carefully painted in colours and gold). ZURICH
City. Prof. E. REUSS of Strassburg. B—r. MENENDEZ PELAYO (he
got his copy at Amsterdam. Heterod. Esp. 2, p. 496 f.). BOSTON Public (Ticknor
cat. p. 33).

Wiffen's copy, in Wadham college, OXFORD, and the copy in the BRITISH
MUSEUM have Wiffen's reprint of the additional leaf (see below), not the
original.

Giovanni Diodati, in a letter, dated Geneva 1 May 1637, to the Pastors
and Elders of the Reformed churches of France, assembled in the national synod

of Alanson, says, craving their licence for the printing of his Latin and French translation of the Bible: „The new Spanish Translation of Cyprian de Vallera, hath produced incredible effects in Spain, no less than three thousand copies having penetrated by secret ways and conveyances into the very Bowels of that Kingdom.“ (Quick's Synodicon vol. II. London 1692, p. 418. In Aymon this letter is wanting.) Wiffen considers this statement as quite exaggerated (M'Crie's Reform. in Spain. 1856. P. 211).

Vincent Salvá, catalogue of Spanish and Portuguese books, London 1826, p. 17: Half bound £ 1. 10. — *The marquis de Morante possessed four copies.* Catal. t. VI. Matriti 1859. n° 9703—6. Precio rs 70. 160. 270. 320. — Brunet, t. 1. 1860: vend. 16 fr. Molini; 15 fr. de Tersan; 12 fr. Rodriguez. — Bernard Quaritch, catalogue n° 297, London, June 1875, p. 485, n° 6166: large copy, title and some margins somewhat stained, old calf gilt, gilt „gauffré“ edges, £ 2. 10 s.

The apocrypha have not been reprinted after this edition of 1602.

Valera's Bible revised for RFBS.

335. 1861.

La Biblia: | que es, | Los sacros libros del | Viejo y Nuevo
Testamento. | Revista y confrontada con los textos Hebreos y Grie-
gos, | y con diversas traducciones. | Por Cipriano de Valera. |
Londres | 1861. | Octavo 656 and 216 pages.

Printed by William Clowes and Sons; for the British and Foreign Bible Society.

Title-copy and notice by Wiffen. BOSTON Public library, in the Ticknor collection; see the Ticknor catalogue p. 33, where the size is said to be 12°, the number of pages of the N. T.: 214, (1), and the notice is given: from Valera's edition of 1602.

This is probably the edition of which is spoken in Bagster's publication The Bible of every land. New edition. London. With preface of 1860. P. 264: „An edition of the N. T. from Valera's version was completed by the [B & F'B] Society in 1858, and the Old Test. from the same version is now in progress.“ (On the same page is read: „In the early part of the present year (1860) . . .“) It would seem that the N. T. was published separately in 1858.

Some alterations besides modernized orthography?

Valera's Bible revised for SPCK by Lucena. Published by SPCK.

336*. 1862.

LA SANTA BIBLIA, que contiene los sagrados libros del antiguo y nuevo Testamento. Antigua version de Cipriano de Valera, cotejada con diversas traducciones y revisada con arreglo á los originales hebreo y griego. Oxford, 1862, impr. de la Universidad. En 8°, pasta, 752 páginas á dos columnas, letra microscópica.

This from Don Dionisio Hidalgo's Diccionario de bibliografía española. T. I. Madrid: 1862. P. 202. The Bible will have 747 pages text, and two leaves title and index, just as n° 336^b; like that, it has the emblem of the SPCK on the title. I used a copy in PALERMO University library.

The Bible of Every Land. New edition. London: Bagster. Preface of 1860. P. 264 states that the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge undertook (I should think, in 1856 or 57) the task of revision and re-issue of the Valera Bible, and reports: „The revised version is now in course of printing at the Clarendon Press, Oxford, under the careful superintendence of the Rev. Dr. Lorenzo Lucena, Professor of Spanish in the Taylor Institution, who has throughout modernised the spelling, and, where absolutely necessary, substituted other phraseology for those terms and modes of expression which would be unintelligible to ordinary Spanish readers of the present day. In the early part of the present year (1860) it had advanced as far as Isaiah.“

Lucena wrote to me in 1878 (in English): „The first edition of the Spanish Bible prepared by me at the expense and under the superintendence of the Society for promoting Christian knowledge took place in 1862, and as it was stereotyped, other editions were easily made. I would recommend you that of 1869, which contains several corrections, made by myself, of mistakes of the printers in that first edition.“

336^b. 1865.

La | santa biblia, | que contiene | los sagrados libros | del | antiguo y nuevo testamento. | Antigua version de Cipriano de Valera, | cotejada con diversas traducciones, | y revisada | con arreglo á los originales Hebréo y Griego. | *Emblem with the surrounding inscription: Society for promoting Christian knowledge. 1698.* | Oxford: | imprenta de la universidad. | 1865. *Second leaf* Tabla. *Text of the old testament* p. 1—562.

El | nuevo testamento | de | nuestro señor Jesu-Christo. | Antigua version de Cipriano de Valera, | cotejada con diversas traducciones, y revisada | con arreglo al texto Griego. | Oxford: | Imprenta de la universidad. | 1865. | *Second leaf* the table. *Text* p. 565—547.

Two columns with marginal parallels, the whole framed by a simple line, height 143 millim. Octavo.

Stereotyped from the plates of 1862, see Lucena's notice above. •

B—r.

336^c. 1876.

Identical with the edition of 1865, only the year has been changed into 1876 on both titles. I found no differences in the text.

B—r.

337^a. 1869.

See Lucena's notice here under 336^a.

337^b. 1870.

The titles of the Old Testament and of the N. T. in all respects, including the frame, like those of 336^b and c, except the year. Second leaf Tabla of both testaments. Text of the whole Bible p. 1—787, N. T. 597 f. The line separating the two columns 138 millim. No frame, except title-pages. No marginals. Octavo.

Probably from stereotype plates of 1869. I noticed that Isaiah 53, 11 the y before será is italicized, whilst in 336^b and c it is Roman.

B—r.

Lucena's Old Testament published by BFBS

together with a N. T. which is on the whole that of London, Clowes 1866. 1867 (see below), and perhaps that of n° 335.

338. 1867.

La biblia: | que es, | los sacros libros | del | viejo y nuevo
testamento. | Version revista y confrontada con los textos Hebreos | y
Griegos, y con diversas traducciones, | Por Cipriano de Valera. |
Nueva edicion con algunas emendaciones. | Londres. | 1867. | *This title*
in a frame formed by four simple lines. Verso: London: printed by William
Clowes and sons, Stamford street, | and Charing Cross. |

Second leaf table of both testaments. Text of the whole bible p. 5—883.
Line dividing the two columns 170 centim. Large 12mo.

El | nuevo testamento | de | nuestro señor Jesu-Cristo, | ó sean |
los escritos evangélicos y apostolicos. | Version revista y confrontada
con el texto Griego, y con diversas traducciones, | por | Cipriano de
Valera. | Londres. | 1867. | *This title in a frame formed by four simple lines.*
Text p. 671 f. Colophon 883 recto: Londres: Imprenta de Clowes é hijos,
Duke street, Stamford street, | y Charing Cross. |

Printed for the British and Foreign Bible Society, as Rev Pratt wrote me.

B—r.

339. 1869.

La biblia: | que es, | los sacros libros | del | viejo y nuevo testa-
mento. | Version revista | y confrontada con los textos Hebreos y
Griegos, y con diversas traducciones, | por | Cipriano de Valera. |
Nueva edicion con algunas emendaciones. | Londres. | 1869. | *Colophon*
at the end of the N. T.: Londres: Imprenta de W. M. Watts, 80 Gray's
Inn Road. | Second leaf Tabla of both testaments. Text of O. T. p. 1—886.

El | nuevo testamento | de | nuestro señor Jesu Cristo, : ó sean |
los escritos evangélicos y apostólicos. | Version revista | y confrontada

con el texto Griego, y con diversas traducciones, | por | Cipriano de Valera. | Londres. | 1869. | *Text* p. 1—282.

Line dividing the two columns 20 centim. Octavo.

Printed for the British and Foreign Bible Society.

STRASSBURG Univ. B—r.

Lucena's Bible published by BFBS.

340. 1869.

La | santa biblia, | que contiene | los sagrados libros | del | antiguo y nuevo testamento. | Antigua version de Cipriano de Valera, | cotejada con diversas traducciones, | y revisada | con arreglo á los originales Hebréo y Griego. | Madrid: | Se halla en el depósito de la sociedad bíblica, B. y e., | calle de Preciados, número 19. | 1869. | *Verso*: Imprenta de la Viuda é Hijos de D. F. Abienzo, | calle de Luciente, núm. 11. | *Third page* Tabla. *Old testament* p. 5—797.

El | nuevo testamento | de | nuestro señor Jesu-Christo, | antigua version de Cipriano de Varela [*sic*], | cotejada con diversas traducciones, | y revisada | con arreglo al texto Griego. | Madrid. | Imprenta de la viuda é hijos de D. F. Abienzo, | calle de Luciente, núm. 11. | 1869. | *Text* p. 3—256.

Line, separating the two columns, 132 millim.

Octavo, called Popular. First ed.

B—r.

341. 1869.

La | santa biblia, | que contiene | los sagrados libros | del | antiguo y nuevo testamento. | Antigua version de Cipriano de Valera, | cotejada con diversas traducciones, | y revisada | con arreglo á los originales Hebréo y Griego. | Madrid. | Se halla en el Depósito Central de la Sociedad Bíblica, B. y E., | calle de Preciados, número 19. | 1869. | *Verso*: Imprenta de José Cruzado, calle del Olivar, | número 14 y 16. | *Folio 2* Tabla. *Old testament* p. 5—778.

El | nuevo testamento | de | nuestro señor Jesu-Cristo, | antigua version de Cipriano de Valera, | cotejada con diversas traducciones, | y revisada | con arreglo al texto Griego, | Madrid. | Imprenta de José Cruzado, Olivar, 14 y 16. | 1869. | *Text* p. 3—248.

Summaries. Line separating the two columns 188 millim.

Octavo, called 4°. First ed.

B—r.

342. 1870.

La | santa biblia | que contiene | los sagrados libros | del | antiguo y nuevo testamento. | Antigua version de Cipriano de Valera, | cotejada con diversas traducciones, | y revisada | con arreglo á los originales Hebréo y Griego. | Madrid. | Se halla en el Depósito Central de la Sociedad Bíblica, B. y E., | calle de Preciados, número 46. | 1870. | *Verso*: Imprenta de José Cruzado, | Calle de los Dos Amigos, 10. | *Page 3* Tabla. *Old testament* p. 5—980.

El | nuevo testamento | de | nuestro señor Jesu-Christo. | Que contiene | los escritos evangélicos y apostólicos. | Antigua version de Cipriano de Valera | revisada | con arreglo al original Griego. | Madrid: — 1870. | Se halla en el Depósito Central de la Sociedad Bíblica B. y E., | Calle de Preciados, núm. 46. | *Text* p. 3—300.

Summaries and parallels.

Throughout in a frame of four lines, height about 240 millim.

Layers of 16 pages.

Called Folio. Only this edition.

B—r.

343. 1870.

La | santa biblia, | que contiene | los sagrados libros | del | antiguo y nuevo testamento. | Antigua version de Cipriano de Valera, | cotejada con diversas traducciones, | y revisada | con arreglo a los originales Hebreo y Griego. | Madrid: | Se halla en el Depósito Central de la Sociedad Bíblica B. y E., | Calle de Preciados, número 46. | 1870. | *Verso*: Imprenta de Jose Cruzado, | Calle del Peñon, 7. | *Third page* Tabla. *The texte of the whole Bible* p. 5—1048.

El | nuevo testamento | de | nuestro señor Jesu-Cristo, | antigua version de Cipriano de Valera, | cotejada con diversas traducciones, | y revisada | con arreglo al texto Griego. | Madrid. | Imprenta de J. Cruzado, | calle del Peñon, núm. 7. | 1870. *Text* p. 797 f.

Octavo, called Popular. 2ª ed. Summaries are added to the first ed.

B—r.

344. 1870.

La | santa biblia, | que contiene | los sagrados libros | del | antiguo y nuevo testamento. | Antigua version de Cipriano de Valera, | cotejada con diversas traducciones, | y revisada | con arreglo á los

originales Hebréo y Griego. | Madrid: | se halla en el Depósito Central de la Sociedad Bíblica, B. y E., | Calle de Preciados, número 46. | 1870. | *Verso*: Madrid: — Imprenta de José Cruzado, | Calle de los Dos Amigos, núm. 10. | *Page 3* Tabla. *Old testament* p. 5—778.

El | nuevo testamento | de | nuestro señor Jesu-Cristo, | antigua version de Cipriano de Valera, | cotejada con diversas traducciones, | y revisada | con arreglo al texto Griego. | Madrid: | imprenta de José Cruzado, Dos amigos, 10. | 1870. *Text* p. 3—248.

Octavo, called 4°. 2ª ed. Composed afresh.

345. 1871.

La | santa biblia, | que contiene | los sagrados libros | del | antiguo y nuevo testamento. | Antigua version de Cipriano de Valera, | cotejada con diversas traducciones, | y revisada | con arreglo á los originales Hebréo y Griego. | Madrid: | se halla en el deposito central de la sociedad biblica, B. y e. | Calle de Preciados, número 46. | 1871. | *Verso*: Imp. de José Cruzado, Peñon, 7. | *Page 3* Tabla. *The text of the whole Bible* p. 5—825.

El | nuevo testamento | de | nuestro señor Jesu-Cristo. | Antigua version de Cipriano de Valera, | cotejada con diversas traducciones, | y revisada | con arreglo al texto Griego. | Madrid. | Imprenta de J. Cruzado, calle del Peñon, núm. 7. | 1871. | *Under the frame the number of the sheet*: 40. *Text* p. 627 f.

Summaries and parallels. Throughout in a frame of four lines, height about 150 centim.

Octavo, types Perla. Only ed.

B—r.

346. 1873.

La | santa biblia | que contiene | los sagrados libros | del | antiguo y nuevo testamento. | Antigua version de Cipriano de Valera, | cotejada con diversas traducciones, | y revisada | con arreglo á los originales Hebréo y Griego. | Madrid. | Se halla en el Depósito de la Sociedad Bíblica, B. y E. | Calle de Preciados, número 46. | 1873. | *Verso*: Imprenta de José Cruzado, calle del Peñon, núm. 7. | *Third page* Tabla. *The text of the whole Bible* p. 5—1048.

El | nuevo testamento | de | nuestro señor Jesu-Cristo, | que contiene | los escritos evangélicos y apostólicos. | Antigua version de

Cipriano de Valera, | revisada con arreglo al texto Griego. | Madrid. | Se halla en el Depósito Central de la Sociedad Bíblica, B. y E. | Calle de Preciados, número 46. | 1873. *This title in a frame like that of the general title. Verso: Imprenta de José Cruzado, Peñon, 7. | Text of the N. T. p. 797 f.*

Both titles framed by single lines, height 14 centim. Text not framed.

Summaries.

Octavo, called Popular. 3ª ed. Composed afresh.

B—r.

347. 1876.

La | santa biblia | que contiene | los sagrados libros | del | antiguo y nuevo testamento. | Antigua version de Cipriano de Valera, | cotejada con diversas traducciones, | y revisada | con arreglo a los originales Hebréo y Griego. | Madrid. | Se halla en el Depósito Central de la Sociedad Bíblica B. y E. | Calle de Preciados, número 46. | 1876. | *Verso: Madrid: 1876. — Imp. de J. Cruzado, Peñon, 7. | Third page Tabla. Text of the whole Bible p. 5—992.*

El | nuevo testamento | de | nuestro señor Jesu-Cristo, | que contiene | los escritos evangélicos y apostólicos. | Antigua version de Cipriano de Valera, | revisada | con arreglo el texto Griego. | Madrid. | Se halla en el Depósito Central de la Sociedad Bíblica B. y E. | Calle de Preciados, número 46. | 1876. | *Under the frame the number of the sheet: 48. Text of the N. T. p. 755 f.*

Both titles framed by single lines, height 185 millim. The text not framed.

Octavo, called 4º. 3ª ed. Composed afresh.

B—r.

348. 1880.

Description the same with that of the Madrid edition. of 1876. The only changes are the year 1880 on the title of the Bible, on the verso of it, and on the title of the N. T., and on the title of the Bible Á instead of A.

Octavo, called 4º. 4ª ed. Composed afresh.

B—r.

Lucena's Bible published by TBS.

349. 1875.

La biblia | ó las | sagradas escrituras, | que contienen los libros | del | antiguo y nuevo testamento. | Antigua version de Cipriano de Valera, | cotejada con diversas traducciones, | y revisada | con arreglo

a los originales Hebréo y Griego. | Barcelona: | se halla en la calle de San Juan, 35, bajos, Gracia. | 1875. | *Verso*: Imp. de La Aurora de Gracia.

Second leaf Tabla of both testam. *Verso* a notice on the italicized words.

Text of the Old Test. p. 1—800. Follow two blank leaves, each headed: Registro de Familia. Then:

El | nuevo testamento | de | nuestro señor Jesu-Cristo. | Antigua version de Cipriano de Valera, | cotejada con diversas traducciones, | y revisada | con arreglo al texto Griego. | Barcelona. | Imprenta de La Aurora de Gracia. | San Juan, 35. | Gracia. | 1875. | *Text* p. 803—1059. *Verso* blank.

Three pages Erratas for both test.

Parallels on the margin, and summaries.

Titles, text, errata, family-register, all framed by single lines. Height of the frame about 175 millim.

Mr. J. C. Pund sack, the fellow-labourer of Mr. George Lawrence, the director of the work, wrote me on this Bible: 4°, letra del 7° (*Minion* ó *Colonel*). From the Oxford edition of 1869. Composed in London and stereotyped there for the TBS. Printed at Barcelona where the titles and the erratas were added.

B—r. The „Spanish Bible (Valera), 12^{mo}. Barcelona 1875,“ in the ABS's library at NEW YORK (according to the Sixty third annual report of the ABS. New York. 1879. P. 121) must be of this edition.

Lucena's Bible revised by Lawrence.

350. 1882.

Edicion popular, con Citas paralelo-aclaratorias y Notas textuales. | La biblia | ó las | sagradas escrituras | que contienen los libros | del | antiguo y nuevo testamento. | Antigua version traducida de los originales Hebréo y Griego | por | Casiodoro de Reyna, | revisada y cotejada con diversas traducciones | por Cipriano de Valera y otros. | «La palabra del Dios nuestro, permanece | para siempre.» | Isaías, 40. 8. | *The Spanish arms* | Barcelona | imprenta de George Lawrence. | Calle de la encarnacion, 42, Gracia. | 1882. |

Second leaf index of the books of the Old Testament. *Verso*: Al lector. Among other things, there is said that in this edition the Psalms are taken from Pratt's version and Isaiah from Usó's i Rio; that in the poetical books of the O. T. the rhythmical character is represented for the eye by typographical arrangement; and that Se han añadido abundantes Notas textuales, conteniendo enmiendas de la version aprobadas por los más eminentes críticos.

Text of the Old Test. p. 1—796. On the last page, under the text: Las profecias sobre Cristo.

Las escrituras | del | nuevo testamento | traduccion del texto Griego. | List of the books of the N. T. *Verso*: Mejoras en la traduccion de algunos pasajes (*emendations in the translation of some passages of this N. T.*). Nombres, titulos y comparaciones aplicadas á Cristo. Tipos y figuras de Cristo. *Text of N. T. paged*: 1—240.

Two columns text, and between them a small column with parallels and notes. Height of the lines at the sides of the middle column 247 millim. Layers of four. Called Folio. Letra 11° (Pica).

The TBS commenced the work in 1876, and the two first books of the Old Test., as also half of the New, were printed at their expense. Mr. George Lawrence, who, in 1878, bought the machinery, plant and stock which the Society had at Barcelona, continued the work, directed by him from the beginning, and completed it according to his own views. See his and Pundsack's circular of Sept. 1881 on the Large-type Spanish Bible, with a Specimen of Errata found in the various Spanish Bibles now in circulation.

Valera's Bible revised for ABS by de Mora and Pratt.

351^a. 1865.

La | santa biblia, | que contiene | el antiguo y el nuevo testamento. | Version de Cipriano de Valera: | revisada y corregida. | **Nueva York: |** impresa por la | sociedad biblica Americana. | Fundada en el ano de MDCCCXVI. | 1865. | [Spanish, Minion 12mo.]

Second leaf Los nombres de todos los libros &c.; *below*: 1st Edition. *The Old Test.* p. 5—806. *Four blank pages, each with the title*: Registro de Familia.

El | nuevo testamento | de nuestro | señor y salvador Jesucristo: | version de Cipriano de Valera: | revisada y corregida. | **Impresa por la |** sociedad Americana de la biblia. | **Nueva York: |** 1865. | **N. T. p. 3—264.**

Summaries. „With some emendations and corrections made by de Mora and Pratt. Electrotipe.“ Notice by Rev^d M'Lean, Corresponding Secretary of the ABS, 1879. Line, separating the two columns, about 164 millim. Octavo, called 12°.

B—r.

351^b. 1866.

Minion. Second edition. I think to this edition belongs the N. T. registered in the Catalogue of the Ticknor collection, Boston, p. 35: El Nuevo Testamento: version de Cipriano de Valera. Revisada y corregida. La sociedad americana de la Biblia. Nueva York. 1866. 264 pp. 8°.

351^c. 1868.

Minion. Third edition. Seems to be a reprint from plates. Description agreeing with that of the first edition [n° 351^a], only with the notice 3^d Edition

on the second leaf under the contents, instead of 1st Edition, and with the correction año instead of ano on the general title.

B—r.

352^a. 1876.

Agate. First edition.

352^b. 1878.

La | santa biblia, | que contiene | el antiguo y el nuevo testamento. | Version de Cipriano de Valera: | revisada y corregida. | Nueva York: | sociedad bíblica Americana, | fundada en el año de MDCCCXVI. | 1878. | [Spanish Ref. 16mo, Agate.] *Second leaf*: Los nombres de todos los libros &c. *Below*: 2^d Edition. *Old Testament* p. 5—738.

El | nuevo testamento | de nuestro | señor y salvador Jesu Cristo: | version de Cipriano de Valera: | revisada y corregida. | Nueva York: | sociedad bíblica Americana, | fundada en el año de MDCCCXVI. | 1878. | [Spanish Ref. 16mo, Agate.] | *Text* p. 3—244.

P. 245—256: Índice of the contents of each chapter of the single books of the Bible.

Summaries, parallels, chronological dates. Both titles embordered by a double line, height of the outer one 148 millim., breadth 98. In both Test. the page framed by a single line.

Octavo, called 16^{mo}.

Probably from plates of the former edition.

B—r.

353^a. 1876.

Small Pica. First edition.

353^b. 1878.

La | santa biblia, | que contiene | el antiguo y el nuevo testamento. | Version de Cipriano de Valera: | revisada y corregida. | Nueva York: | sociedad bíblica Americana, | fundada en el año de MDCCCXVI. | 1878. | [Spanish, Royal Octavo, Sm. Pica.]. *Second leaf*: Los nombres de todos los libros &c. *Below*: 2^d Edition. *Old Test. paged* 5—937. *Two leaves blank with the headings*: Registro de Familia. Matrimonios. Nacimientos. Defunciones.

El | nuevo testamento | de nuestro | señor y salvador Jesu Cristo: | version de Cipriano de Valera: | revisada y corregida. | Nueva York: | sociedad bíblica Americana, | fundada en el año de MDCCCXVI. | 1878. | *Text* p. 3—308.

P. 309—315: Índice of the contents of the single chapters of both Testaments.

Biblioth. Witten. II.

Summaries, marginal parallels and chronological numbers.

The page, also the title, framed by a single line, height 230 millim.

Probably from plates of the former ed.

M^r Lean says of n° 352 and 353: „1876. With changes of accents and of the orthography of proper names.“

B—r.

Reina's N. T. reprinted.

354. 1599—1600.

In: Novvm | testamentvm | dñi: nr̄i: | Jesv. Christi. | Then in two columns:

Syriacè	Italicè
Ebraicè	Hispanicè
Græcè	Gallicè
Latinè	Anglicè
Germanicè	Danicè
Bohemicè	Polonicè

Studio & Labore | Eliæ. Hvttteri, | Germani, | Noribergæ. | Cum gratia et priuilegio Sac. Cæs. Mtis: | ad quindecim annos. | M. D. XCIX. | This title in a rich frame, with the notice: H. Vllrich. scul.

Two huge volumes, the second with this title: Novi testa- | menti secvn- | dvs tomvs; | continens | epistolas | S. Pavli, XV. | S. Petri, II. | S. Iacobi, I. | S. Iohannis, III. | S. Ivdæ, I. | et | apocalypsin | Iohannis. | S. l. e. a. Preface in vol. 2 dated: 1600.

Folio, layers of three.

Reina's text without marginals and summaries. In the preface of vol. 2. Hutter observes on Hebr. 12, 29: In Hispanicis Bibliis hic versus plane omissus fuit, and translates it: Porque Iehoua nuestro Dios es fuego que consume. Valera 1596 had translated: Porque nuestro Dios es fuego consumidor; and so 1602 likewise.

STUTTGART Royal. HALLE Univ. ROME Casanatensis. B—r.

In 1881 offered for marks 24 by Weigel at Leipzig in Cat. Neue Folge N° 1. p. 9.

Reina's N. T. revised by Valera in 1596.

355. 1596.

El | testamento | nvevo de nve- | stro Señor Iesu Cristo. | Luc. 2. 10. | Heaqui os doy nuevas de gran gozo, | que será â todo el pueblo. | [Richard Field's device with the words on two sides: Ancho | ra spei] | En casa de Ricardo del Campo. | M. D. XCVI. | Blank leaf, title, preface and El orden de los libros [on 8 verso], total 8 leaves, text p. 1—742; on this last page also Correccion de las faltas de la impression.

Small octavo.

BODLEIAN, two copies. Wadham College, OXFORD, Wiffen's two copies. BOSTON Public (Catal. of the Ticknor collection p. 34). KNAPP, Yale college (see his Bibliotecâ escogida. Madrid 1875. P. 64). STUTTGART Royal. WERNIGERODE, the Count's library. WOLFENBÜTTEL Ducal. B—r (title mounted, no blank leaf). ROME Casanatensis (last three pages of the

*preface, the Orden, and p. 737 f. are wanting. I noted: „Preface begins leaf *3.“ There are no signatures in the preface in my own copy).*

*In the London Stationers' register, 4. June 1596: Thomas Chard. Entred for his copie vnder the handes of my lordes grace of Canterbury and the wardens, a booke intituled El Sancto Euangelio De Jesu Christo segun San Mathei &c and so the whole newe testament to be printed in the Spanishe tonge vj^d. (A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London; 1554 - 1640. Edited by Edward Arber. Vol. III. London 1876. p. 65.) Valera says in the Exhortacion prefixed to his Bible of 1602, fol. *3: Año de 1596 imprimimos el Testamento nuevo.*

Richard Simon, Histoire critique du nouveau testament, Rotterdam 1690, chap. 41, p. 503: On y a seulement fait quelques petits changemens de nulle importance dans le texte de la Version [de Reina]. On a aussi retranché une bonne partie des notes qui sont à la marge de la premiere Edition. On n'a point de plus conservé les diverses leçons que Reyna avoit enfermées entre deux crochets. — Pellicer, Ensayo p. 44: En el Prologo de este Testamento Nuevo se contienen las mismas noticias acerca de la historia de las Biblias en vulgar, que despues dilató con mas estension en la Exhortacion que precede a su Biblia de el año de 1602. Y el mismo empeño en que se traduzca y lea indiferentemente por todo genero de personas la Sagrada Escritura, es otro argumento que el autor de los dos Prologos es uno mismo. Pero en este Testamento no tuvo mas parte Valera, que solicitar su publicacion; porque es el de Casiodoro de Reyna, de donde le copió este Editor sin declararlo, haciendo algunas leves alteraciones en la version, suprimiendo casi todas las notas marginales, abreviando los sumarios de los capitulos, y aplicandose solo a expresar lo que se halla en el griego corriente, sin tener respeto a las variantes, fuesen del griego, fuesen de la edicion Latina antigua. — De Castro, Bibliot. Españ., t. 1. 1781, p. 476: en esta [viz. 1596] quitó Valera tales quales palabras que Casiodoro de Reyna añadió, y puso de letra cursiva en su edicion ... las quales volvió á poner el mismo Valera ... 1602 y 1625. — Catálogo de la biblioteca de Salvá 1872. t. 2, p. 818: son infinitas las variantes que contiene, viz. the differences from Reina.

Vincent Salvá, A catalogue of spanish and portuguese books, part II, London 1829, p. 202: This translation is the one of Casiodoro de la Reyna with some very slight corrections by Cipriano de Valera. It is priced there sh. 10. — Morante, Catal. t. V. Matriti 1859. n° 9257: Bonita encuad. Precioso exemplar, con todas sus márgenes, de un libro muy raro. Rs 204. — Quaritch's catalogue n° 280, London, October 1871, p. 196: calf, 21. s., and a beautiful copy in old blue morocco, gilt edges, the initial H. L(umley) beneath a coronet, stamped on the sides. £ 2. — Bachelin-Deflorenne's catalogue, Paris 1872, p. 180, n° 2366: mar. rouge, jans., tr. dor. (Hardy.) Précieux exemplaire à toutes marges d'un livre très-rare. 70 francs.

Vnivs seculi ... ab Anno Dom. 1500 ad 1602 ... Elenchus consummatissimus librorvm ... typorum aeternitati conservatorum ... Avctore Ioanne Clessio ... Franco-fvrti ... M. DC. II. p. 561: El Testamento Nuevo de nuestro Senor Iesu Christo. En casa de Ricardo del Campo. 1597. in 8. The same in Dravidius Bibliotheca exotica 1610, p. 211. The year 1597 means that the book was not sold at Frankfurt before that year.

356. 1708.

El nuevo | testamento | de Nuestro Señor | Jesu Christo | Nueva-
mente Sacado a luz, | corregido y revisto | Por | Dn. Sebastián de la

Enzina, | Ministro de la Yglesia Anglicana y | Predicador a la Ilustre
Congrega- | cion de los Honorables Señores | tratantes en España. |
Luc. 2: 10. | Heaqui os doy nuevas de gran gozo, que | sera a todo
el Pueblo. | x | En Amsteldam, | Impresso por Jacobo Borstio Librero. |
CICIOCCVIII. |

Title, preface, table, together four leaves, N. T. p. 1—491. Two blank leaves at the end. Octavo.

STUTTGART Royal. *Wiffen's copy in Wadham college, OXFORD. Usó's copy in MADRID National (Menendez 3, 99 f. where the date 1718 is a misprint). BOSTON Public (Catal. Ticknor, p. 34). B—r.*

Pellicer, who used the copy of the Bea Rl, says in the Ensayo p. 156: Impresion hermosísima. Aunque este Testamento se dice corregido y revisto, se conforma segun consta del cotejo con el reimpreso por Cyprian Valera el año de 1596. cuyo Prologo copia aunque en extracto Solamente se diferencia en que omite todas las notas marginales, que tiene el de Valera. — De Castro, Bblt. Españ., 1, 500: La Traduccion es identica con la de . . . 1596; sin otra variedad, que la material de haber omitido Enzina en su edicion los epigrafs de los capitulos, y haber puesto al pie de las paginas algunas de las Notas marginales de la impresion de Valera. — De la Serna Santander in his Catalogue des livres de la bibliotheque de M. C. de la Serna Santander, t. 1, Bruxelles, au XI (1803) p. 20: Cette edition qui surpasse toutes les autres [of the Spanish N. T. printed before] quant à la partie typographique, n'est qu'une réimpression de l'édition de Valera de 1596. On y a supprimé les sommaires des chapitres, et les notes marginales.

357. 1806.

„En 1806, sin lugar ni más señas que el nombre del impresor (S. Rousseau), se habia impreso El Testamento Nuevo de N. S. Jesucristo. 12°.“ *Menendez, t. 3, p. 660. In Usó's collection, Madrid National?*

Probably from Enzina 1708.

358. 1812?

El | nuevo | testamento | de | nuestro señor | Iesu Christo. |
Luc. II. 10. | Heaqui os doy nuevas de gran gozo, que será à todo
el pueblo. | Bungay: | impresso por Carlos Brightly. | Colophon: Impresso
por Charles Brightly. | Fol. 2: Orden. Text 380 pages. Sexto; p. 1 signature B,
p. 13 C; and so on.

STUTTGART Royal. B—r.

Bungay is a town of 3500 inhabitants, situate on the Waveney, the country river, dividing Norfolk from Suffolk, near Yarmouth. George Bullen in his Catalogue of the library of the British and Foreign Bible Society. London 1857. p. 145 registers El Nuevo Testamento. Bungay, 12°. with the question: circa 1815? I think that it is previous to the Bermondsey edition of 1813. The Bungay ed. has for instance p. 1. always engendrò à, on the last page rayz, the Bermondsey ed. has engendrò à and raiz, according to the modern orthography.

Menendez t. 3, p. 660: „En 1811 (Bungay) El Nuevo Testamento, de Cipriano de Valera.“

*Valera's N. T. of 1596 revised.***359. 1813.**

El | nuevo testamento | de | nuestro señor | Jesu Christo. |
 Luc. 2. 10. | He aquí os doy nuevas de gran gozo, que | será a todo
 el pueblo. | En Bermondsey: | impreso por Diego Powell. | 1813. |
Colophon: En Bermondsey: | impreso por Diego Powell. | *Second leaf* El
 orden de los libros. *Text* 380 pages. *Sexto.*

Coinciding page for page with the Bungay edition.

STUTTGART Royal. BASLE Public. VIENNA Court. WOLFEN-
 BÜTTTEL. B—r.

360. 1817.

El | nuevo testamento | de | nuestro señor y redentor | Jesu Cristo. |
 Nueva edicion, | cuidadosamente corregida. | Año de 1817. | *Verso:* En
 la Imprenta de P. White, New Street, | Bishopsgate, London. *The*
same printer's notice on the last page; in my copy the notice has been cut away
so that only some traces are left discernible.

Second leaf Indice. *Verso* Erratas. *Text* 336 pages. *Sexto.*

Menendez t. 3, p. 660: En 1817 (sin lugar) el N. T. He probably has over-
looked the notice on the verso of the title.

Por fe [πίστει] Rom. 3, 28 is left out by Reina, Valera 1596, Hutter 1600,
 Enzina 1708, Bungay s. a, Bermondsey 1813, London 1817; — Por fe is found
 in Valera 1602, his N. T. 1625.

*Wiffen: „There is a reprint of Valera's N. T. omitting the references of 1596:
 printed at Bungay por Carlos Brightly, no date, octavo; it has the same omission
 in Romans III 28 of the words por la fe. There is also another printed
 Bermondsey por Powell 1813.“*

The Bible of Every Land, new ed., London, Bagster, with preface dated 1860,
 p. 263: The first editions of the British and Foreign Bible Society were printed from
 Enzina's edition of 1708, and were primarily designed for the benefit of the Spanish
 prisoners of war; but the copies found so rapid a circulation in Spain and in Spanish
 South America, that other and larger editions of 5000 copies each were issued from
 time to time, according to the opportunities for distributing them. From the reluctance
 of the British and Foreign Bible Society, in the early period of its history, to print
 any Catholic version of the Scriptures, it was long before any other version was issued
 except that of Enzina . . . At length, in 1820, . . . Scio's New Testament was
 printed in London, followed, in 1821, by an edition of the entire Bible of this
 version.

From this notice it would seem to follow that the BFBS reprinted Enzina's
N. T. four times at least. Probably they are those editions registered here under
nos 357—360.

361. 1823?

The Rev^d Mr. Pratt wrote me: „I ought to have (but can't lay hands on, and so
fear it is lost) a N. T. published, without the name of anybody but the printer, in
New York in 1823, I think. It is so much like the revised Valera of the ABS,

that I have always set it down as his. It is possible, it may have been a revision of Casiodoro de Reina's, on which Valera's was founded." It may belong to this class 359. 360.

Valera's N. T. of 1602 reprinted.

362. 1625.

El nuevo | testamento | Que es, | los Escriptos | Evangelicos y | Apostolicos. | Revisto y Conferido con | el texto Griego. | Por. Cypriano de Valera. | En Amsterdam. | En casa de Henrico | Lorençi, 1625. | Con Privileg. de 10. Ann. | *This in a nicely engraved frame. Text p. 1—765.*

Verso and last leaf (766—8) blank. Octavo.

STUTTGART Royal. BASLE Univ. WERNIGERODE the Count's libr. WOLFENBÜTTEL Ducal. B—r.

Pellicer. Ensayo p. 44 f.: Esta edicion se conforma, no con la del año de 1597. [say 1596] ni con la primitiva de Casiodoro de Reyna; sino con el Testamento Nuevo revisto por el mismo Valera, y publicado año de 1602. I have found Pellicer's notice exact by a comparison of the chapter 1 Cor. XIII. — *De Castro*, Bibliot. Españ., t. 1, p. 473 f.: No tiene el Prologo ni el orden de los Libros del nuevo Testamento con el numero de los Capítulos, ni las citas y notas marginales, que se leen en la edicion del mismo Testamento nuevo del año 1596. P. 475 f. Estos Epigrafs, ó Sumarios, de capítulos de la edicion del año 1625 son los mismos que tiene la edicion de la Traducción de Cassiodoro de Reyna del año 1569, y la del de 1602 que revió Cypriano de Valera. *De Castro reprints p. 474—5, in parallel columns, some summaries from the editions of 1596 and 1625, and the first six verses of St. John's gospel from both.*

In the Catalogue D'une precieuse Collection de livres du XVI^e siècle sur la réformation, to be sold in the maison Silvestre in November 1867, Paris librairie Tross 1867, n^o 547: très-rare. — In Quaritch's catalogue n^o 265, November 1870, p. 159, n^o 278 a copy in old calf with gill back was offered for 24 shillings . .

Valera's N. T. of 1602 revised in 1831.

363. 1831.

El Nuevo Testamento traducido al Castellano por C. de Valera, revisado. 1831. *Compare the title of the edition of 1849.*

Revised for the Trinitarian Bible Society?

364. 1845.

El nuevo testamento, traducido al Castellano por Cipriano de Valera en 1602. Nueva York. 1845. *Published by the American Bible Society. Registered in O' Callaghan's List of editions of the Holy Scriptures and parts thereof, printed in America previous to 1860. Albany 1861.*

The Catalogue of the American Bible Society's Library 1863 registers a copy of Valera's N. T. of 1602. New York 1845. 12°.

With both these notices I was favored by James L. Whitney of the Public library in Boston.

Mr. Gilman noted as printed by the ABS in New York: „N. T. from the version of 1602 revised (in England?) in 1831. 12°. 1845.“

Menendez t. 3, p. 660: En 1845 (Nueva-York) El Nuevo Testamento, de Cipriano de Valera, revisado en 1831.

365. 1849.

El Nuevo Testamento, traducido al Castellano por C. De Valera en 1602, y revisado en 1831. Glasgow, 1849. 12°.

In Bullen's Catalogue of the library of the British and Foreign Bible Society. London 1857. p. 145.

Menendez t. 3, p. 660 f.: En 1849 (Glasgow, imp. de W. G. Blackie et C.) el mismo Nuevo Testamento de la misma revision [of 1831].

In Usó's collection?

366. 1865.

El | nuevo testamento | de | nuestro señor Jesu-Cristo: | que es, | los escritos evangelicos y apostolicos. | Version revista y confrontada con | el texto Griego, | y con diversas traducciones, | por Cipriano de Valera. | I. R. de M. | 1865.

Text p. 3—400. One column. No summaries nor parallels. Small quarto.

This certainly is the edition of which the Secretary of the National Bible Society of Scotland wrote to me in 1878: „We printed an edition also at Malaga in 1865. But it too is out of print.“ Profesía, profesías 1 Cor. 13 show the Andalusian composer.

It is the only Spanish N. T. printed in Andalusia, the native country of Reina and Valera.

B—r.

367. 1866.

El | nuevo testamento | de | nuestro señor Jesu Cristo: | que es, | los escritos evangelicos y apostolicos. | Version revista y confrontada con el texto | Griego, y con diversas traducciones, | Por Cipriano de Valera. | Londres: | 1866. | *This title in a border of a simple line, height 95 millim. Colophon p. 367: London: printed by W. Clowes and sons, Stamford street | and Charing Cross. | Verso of the title: Indice. Text p. 3 to 367. Two columns. Small Octavo. Nonpareil. BFBS.*

STRASSBURG Univ. B—r.

368. 1867.

El | nuevo testamento | de | nuestro señor Jesu Cristo: | que es, | los escritos evangelicos y apostolicos. | Version revista y confrontada

con | el texto Griego, | y con diversas traducciones, | por Cipriano de Valera. | Londres. | 1867. |

Verso: London: printed by William Clowes and sons, Stamford street | and Charing Cross. *Text* p. 3 to 547. *One column. Colophon* p. 547 *the same as the words on the verso of the title. Duodecimo, called 24°.* *BFBS.*

B—r.

From the same plates the following separate editions:

368. *Separate Gospels* a 1862 or 63.

To be concluded from the existence of Acts 1863.

368. *Mat^b.* 1867.

El santo evangelio | de | nuestro señor Jesu Cristo | segun | s. Mateo. | Version revista | por | Cipriano de Valera. | Londres. | 1867. | *Verso*: Printed by Harrison and sons, St. Martins' lane. *Text* p. 1—71. *Title and text one layer, called 24°.*

B—r.

368. *Mrc^b.* 1867.

Title like that of Mateo, only with the name Marcos. Text begins on the verso of the title, p. 72, ends p. 115, where Printed by Harrison and sons, St. Martin's lane. *At the end one blank leaf. One layer, called 24°.*

B—r.

368. *Lu^b.* 1867.

Title like those of Mateo and Marcos, only with the name Lucas. Verso: Printed by Harrison and sons, St. Martin's Lane. *Text* p. 115—187. *Title and text one layer, called 24°.*

B—r.

368. *Ju^b.* 1867.

The Sixty-third annual report of the ABS. New York 1879. registers p. 121 among the Additions to the Society's library in NEW YORK: „Spanish Matthew, Mark, Luke, John. London 1867.“

368. *Acts.* 1863.

Los actos | de | los apóstoles. | Version revista | por | Cipriano de Valera. | Londres. | 1863. | *Text, beginning on the second leaf, p. 243—314. Duodecimo, called 24°.*

B—r.

***Valera's N. T. of 1602 revised for SPCK by Lucena.
Published by SPCK.***

369 a. b. c. 1865 — 68.

N. T. without general title, in 12 parts, not numbered, each with a special title in a frame of simple lines, height 10 ctm, with the words under the special title: Antigua version de Cipriano de Valera, | cotejada con diversas traducciones, | y revisada | con arreglo al texto Griego. | Oxford: imprenta de la universidad. | Below the year of the edition. Text in two columns separated by a line. Each part one layer.

1. El | santo evangelio de nuestro | señor Jesu-Cristo | segun | s. Mateo. Text p. 3—95.
2. [As above] s. Marcos. P. 3—61.
3. [As above] s. Lucas. P. 3—103.
4. [As above] s. Juan. P. 3—77.
5. Los hechos | de los apóstoles. P. 1 (second leaf)—100.
6. La | epístola del apóstol san Pablo | á los | Romanos. Text begins on the back of the title-leaf. 20 leaves.
7. La | primera y la segunda epístola | del apóstol san Pablo | á los | Corintios. P. 2—64.
8. Las | epístolas del apóstol san Pablo | á los | Gálatas, Efesios, Filipenses, y Colosenses. Text begins on the second leaf. 24 leaves, including title.
9. [As 8] Tesalonicenses, a Timotéo, | Tito, y Filémon. Verso begins text. 20 leaves.
10. La | epístola del apóstol san Pablo | á los | Hebréos. Text begins on the second leaf. 16 leaves, including title.
11. Epístolas | de los apóstoles | Santiago, s. Pedro, s. Juan, y s. Judas. P. 2—48.
12. El | apocalipsis ó revelacion | de | san Juan, el teólogo. P. 2—48.

It seems to have been stereotyped in 1865. I have got parts with the years 1865, 1867, 1868 severally on the title-page:

Of 1865 the parts 1. 2. 4. 6—10. Only 1 and 2 are paged, each separately.

Of 1867 the parts 1. 2. 3. 4. 6. The gospels are paged, each separately, but S. John only as far as p. 72 incl.

Of 1868 the parts 1—5. 7. 11. 12. Each paged, also S. John to the end p. 77.

In the same year 1868 copies with the year 1865 and such with the year 1867 on the title-page were issued with a cover bearing the date 1868. With such covers I have got

of 1865 the parts 1. 2. 4. 7—10,

of 1867 the above mentioned parts of this year (which I have not seen without this cover).

The cover is coloured (yellow or blue or red) and has, in the middle of a gothic frame, above the title of the part (S. Mateo and so on), the words: Créé | en el | señor Jesus, | y serás | salvo tú, | y | tu casa. | below: Londres: | impreso para el | depósito biblico | (the bible stand) del | palacio de cristal. | Para la distribucion gratuita. | 1868.

370. 1869.

El | nuevo testamento | de | nuestro señor Jesu-Cristo. | Antigua version de Cipriano de Valera, | cotejada con diversas traducciones, | y revisada | con arreglo al texto Griego. | *The emblem of the SPCK* | Oxford: | imprenta de la universidad. | 1869. | *Text p. 1—403.*

Line separating the two columns about 91 millim. Octavo.

B—r.

Published by BFBS.

371. 1869.

El | nuevo testamento | de | nuestro señor Jesu-Cristo, | antigua version | de Cipriano de Valera, | cotejada con diversas traducciones y revisada | con arreglo al texto Griego. | Madrid. | Se halla en el Depósito Central de la Sociedad Biblica, B. y E., | calle de Preciados, número 19. | 1869. | *Verso: Imp. de José Cruzado, Olivar, 14 y 16. | Matthew begins p. 3, end of N. T. p. 462, lastly one p. index.*

Line separating the two columns 131—133 millim.

Octavo. 8°. 1ª ed.

B—r.

372. 1869.

El | nuevo testamento | de | nuestro señor Jesu-Cristo. | Antigua version de Cipriano de Valera, | cotejada con diversas traducciones | y revisada | con arreglo al texto Griego. | Madrid. | Se halla en el Depósito Central de la Sociedad Bí- | blica, B. y E., calle de Preciados, núm. 19. | 1869. | *Verso: Imp. de J. Cruzado, Olivar, 14 y 16. | On the next leaf one page index. Text p. 3—560.*

Line between the two columns 91—92 millim.

Small octavo, called 32°. 1ª ed.

B—r.

373. 1871.

El | nuevo testamento | de | nuestro señor Jesu-Cristo, | que
 contiene | los escritos evangélicos y apostólicos. | Antigua version de
 Cipriano de Valera, | revisada con arreglo al texto Griego. | Madrid. |
 Se halla en el Depósito Central de la Sociedad Bíblica, | B. y E.,
 Calle de Preciados, núm. 46. | 1871. | *Verso*: Imprenta de J. Cruzado,
 Peñon, 7. | *Third page index. Text p. 5—598.*

Line between the columns 94—95 millim.

Small octavo, called 32°. 2^a ed. Composed afresh.

B—r.

374^a. 1871.

Madrid. *BFBS. Small octavo, called 32°. 3^a ed. Composed afresh, stereo-
 typed.*

374^b. 1873.

El | nuevo testamento | de | nuestro señor Jesu-Cristo. | Antigua
 version de Cipriano de Valera, | revisada | con arreglo al texto
 Griego. | Se halla en el depósito central de la | sociedad bíblica B. y e.,
 Madrid, | calle de Preciados, Num. 46. | 1871. | *Verso*: Madrid:
 1873 | Imprenta de José A. Muñoz y compañía | calle Cuesta de
 Ramon, 3 | *Fol. 2 recto index. Text p. 1—484. Line separating the two columns
 93—95 millim.*

Small octavo, called 32°. 4^a ed.

B—r.

374^c. 1877.

*The only difference from 374^b in the title is the year 1877. Verso blank.
 Without imprint. In the index, fol. 2, instead of DEL' [sic] TESTAMENTO NUEVO,
 in 374^b, here: DEL NUEVO TESTAMENTO, and Apocalipsis, whilst in that
 former edition Apocalipsi.*

B—r.

374^d. 1879.

Differs from 374^c only by this new date.

B—r.

*My copies of 374^c and ^d are both bound in Roan, apparently in London.
 I think they were printed in England from plates of 374^a. They are not in
 Mr. Corfield's list of the Madrid editions.*

374^e. 1880.

In Mr. Corfield's list of Madrid editions: 32°. 5^a ed.

374^f. 1882.

*Title like ^b. Verso blank. Second leaf index agreeing with ^c, but of a later
 composition. Notwithstanding the year 1871 reappears on the title, I was informed
 that my copy was printed in 1882 from the plates of 1871.*

375^a. 1872.

El | nuevo testamento | de | nuestro señor Jesu-Cristo, | que contiene | los escritos evangélicos y apostólicos. | Antigua version de Cipriano de Valera, | revisada con arreglo al texto Griego. | *Ornamented stroke*. | Madrid. — 1872. | Se halla en el Depósito central de la Sociedad Bíblica, B. y E., | Calle de Preciados, números 46. | *Verso*: Imprenta de Jose Cruzado, Peñon 7. | *Second leaf recto index. Text* p. 5—434. *Line between the columns* 134 millim.

Octavo. 8°. 2^a ed. Composed afresh, stereotyped.

B—r.

375^b. 1875.

Octavo, third edition from the plates of 375^a. Title and index reprinted. In the title the year is changed, and the ornamented stroke differs from the former. Verso: Madrid: 1875. — Imp. de José Cruzado, Peñon, 7.

B—r.

375^c. 1878.

Octavo fourth ed. according to Mr. Corfield.

Published by TBS and BFBS.

376^a. 1871.

El | nuevo testamento | de nuestro señor y salvador | Jesucristo. | Barcelona. | Imprenta de L. Obradors y P. Sulé, | calle Petritxol, n° 6, bajos. | MDCCCLXXI. |

Second leaf Libros del nuevo testamento. *Title and table one quarto leaf. Text* p. 3—561.

Height of the line separating the two columns generally 187 millim. *Octavo, p. 19 signature* 2, *p. 35 signature* 3, *and so on. Pundsack*: 4°, *letra del* 14° (English).

Summaries, no parallels.

Composed and stereotyped in England (Pundsack thinks: in Cambridge); the Trinitarian Bible Society gave the plates to Mr. G. Lawrence at Barcelona, where the work was printed and the above title-page added.

B—r. „Spanish Testament (Val.) 8vo. Barcelona, 1871.“ in the ABS's library at NEW YORK, registered in the Sixty-third annual report of the ABS. New York 1879. P. 121.

376^b. 1876.

El | nuevo testamento | de | nuestro señor Jesu-Cristo: | que es, | los escritos evangélicos y apostólicos. | Antigua version de Cipriano de Valera, | revisada | con arreglo al original Griego. | *Monogram of*

BFBS | Madrid | se halla en el depósito central de la sociedad bíblica, B. y e., | calle de Preciados, n.º 46. | 1876. | *The printer is nowhere named.*

Second leaf the table. Title and table coherent. Text p. 3—561.

Table and text the identical impression as that of 1871, certainly from plates. Only not in eights, but 16°.

The lists, which Mr. Corfield, the Agent of the BFBS at Madrid, sent me, do not include this edition. Copies to be sold in his depot were furnished with the above title. Duplicates of the plates sent to Barcelona seem to have been sent to Madrid likewise, perhaps bought in Cambridge.

B—r.

376°. 1878.

In Mr. Corfield's list.

The stereotype plates of the gospels were used for separate editions of each of them, as well by the TBS as by the BFBS. Both call the size: 4°.

376. *Mata.* 1870. *TBS* 1^a.

El santo evangelio de nuestro señor Jesu-Cristo segun san Mateo. Madrid depósito de la sagrada escritura carrera de san Jerónimo, 11, pasaje del Iris.

This must have been the title of the first separate edition of St. Matthew, which Pundsack reports that was made in Madrid, suiting the gospel of St. John (see Ju^a). It doubtless was, like St. John, bound up with certain copies of the Barcelona primer, third ed.

376. *Mat^b.* 1871? *TBS* 2^a.

The fourth edition of the Barcelona primer was certainly coupled with gospels likewise. As Pundsack says that two editions of these 4° gospels were made in Barcelona, I should suppose that the first edition of Madrid was followed by a second in the same town.

376. *Mate.* 1873 or 74? *TBS* 3^a.

Printed in Barcelona together with the primer. Pundsack.

376. *Mat^d.* 1875. *BFBS* 1^a.

El santo evangelio | de | nuestro señor Jesu-Cristo | segun | san Mateo. | *Monogram of BFBS* | Madrid. | Se halla en el depósito central de la sociedad bíblica, B. y e., | calle de Preciados, núm. 46. | 1875. | *The same, and just so divided, on the coloured cover, only with some other types, after Madrid colon, and between e and calle two full stops.*

Colophon p. 74: Madrid: 1875. — Imprenta de J. Cruzado, Peñon, 7. |

Text paged 3—73. Signature B p. 35, C p. 67.

B—r.

376. Mat^s. 1876. TBS 4^a.

The text, p. 3—73, without title-leaf, follows after the Ensayo metodico | de | lectura y aritmética, [que contiene mas de 1,600 problemas sobre las cuatro reglas | simples. | Y además como práctica de lectura | el | evangelio segun s. Mateo. | Sesta edicion. | Barcelona. | Se halla en la calle de s. Juan, 35, Gracia. | 1876. | Verso: Imprenta de la Aurora de Gracia. Text p. 3—32.

The title is repeated on the coloured cover.

B—r.

376. Mt^f. 1877. BFBS 2^a.

No colophon. Besides the old title with the year 1875 (stop after Mateo faded) a cover with the following title: El santo evangelio | de nuestro señor Jesu-Cristo | segun | san Mateo. | Madrid. | Se halla en el depósito central de la sociedad biblica B. y e. | Calle de Preciados, núm. 46. | 1877. | On the last page of the cover: Imprenta de Enrique Rubiños, plaza de la Paja, núm. 10. |

B—r.

376. Mt^{g. h}. 1878. BFBS 3^a and 4^a.

Madrid.

376. Mtⁱ. 1879. BFBS 5^a.

Madrid.

376. Mt^k. 1880. BFBS 6^a.

Madrid.

376. Mt^l. 1881. BFBS 7^a.

A new title-leaf which, however, is an integral part of the first layer. The new title is like that of ^d and ^f, but without the stop after Mateo and after Madrid, without comma after B. y e., and with the year 1881 (without stop) instead of 1875. The coloured cover repeats the same title, but with an ornamented stroke instead of the monogram, and has on the back of the last leaf: Imprenta de Enrique Rubiños, plaza de la Paja, 7, bis.

B—r.

376. Mrca. 1875. BFBS 1^a.

Madrid.

376. Mrcb. 1876. TBS.

St. Mark, without title, paged 74—118, following after the primer entitled like that with St. Matthew, only that here Marcos is read in the place of Mateo.

From the statement of Pundsuck that Matthew, Luke and John were printed in Madrid, and that a new edition was printed in Barcelona, previous to that of 1876, which contains the primers with the four gospels, I cannot suppose that St. Mark was published with the primer before 1876.

B—r.

376. *Mrc.* 1877. *d. e.* 1878. *f.* 1879. *g.* 1880. *BFBS* 2^a—6^a.
Madrid.

376. *Mrc.* 1881. *BFBS* 7^a.

El santo evangelio | de | nuestro señor Jesu - Cristo | segun | san
Márcos | *Monogram of the BFBS.* | Madrid | Se halla en el depósito
central de la sociedad bíblica, B. y e. | calle de Preciados, núm. 46. |
1881. | *Octavo. Paged: 3—47. On a coloured cover the same title, with an
ornamented stroke instead of the monogram, and without stop after 46. On the
fourth page of the cover: Imprenta de Enrique Rubiños, plaza de la Paja,*
7, bis.

B—r.

376. *Lu^a.* 1870. *TBS* 1^a.
Madrid.

376. *Lu^b.* 1871? *TBS* 2^a.
Madrid?

376. *Lu^c.* 1873 or 74? *TBS* 3^a.
Barcelona.

376. *Lu^d.* 1875. *BFBS* 1^a.
Madrid.

376. *Lu^e.* 1876. *TBS* 4^a.

*Without title, text paged 118—192, annexed to the primer of Barcelona as
in Mat^e and Mrc^b, only with the name Lucas on the title.*

B—r.

376. *Lu^f.* 1877. *g. h.* 1878. *i.* 1879. *k.* 1880. *BFBS* 2^a—6^a.
Madrid.

376. *Lu^l.* 1881. *BFBS* 7^a.

El santo evangelio | de | nuestro señor Jesu - Cristo | segun | san
Lúcas | *Monogram of the BFBS.* | Madrid | Se halla en el depósito

central de la sociedad bíblica, B. y e. | calle de Preciados, núm. 46. | 1881. | *Text paged 3—77. On a coloured cover the same title, with an ornamented stroke instead of the monogram, and without stop after 46. Fourth page of the cover: Imprenta de Enrique Rubiños, plaza de la Paja, 7. bis.*

B—r.

376. *Jua.* 1870. *TBS* 1^a.

El santo evangelio | de | nuestro señor Jesu-Cristo | segun | san Juan. | Madrid | depósito de la sagrada escritura | carrera de san Jerónimo, 11, pasaje del Iris. | 1870. | *Text paged 193—248.*

After the primer which has the following title: El | Ángel | del | evangelio | eterno. | Follow seven lines from Apocalipsis XIV. 6. 7. | Tercera edicion, con la explicacion del sistema | métrico decimal, una tabla de multiplicar, | y el alfabeto. | Barcelona | imprenta de L. Obrado[rs y P. Sulé,] | calle de Petritxo[1, n° 6, bajos.] | 187[0]. Text beginning on the verso, ending p. 16. My copy of the primer is defective; I have added the bracketed parts of my description, not knowing, however, for certain the year.

376. *Jub.* 1871? *TBS* 2^a.

Madrid?

376. *Juc.* 1873 or 74? *TBS* 3^a.

Barcelona.

376. *Jud.* 1875. *BFBS* 1^a.

Madrid.

376. *Jue.* 1876. *TBS* 4^a.

Without title, paged 193—248, annexed to the sixth ed. of the primer, with the same title and cover as the other three varieties of the same year, described above, only with the name Juan.

B—r.

376. *Juf.* 1877. *g. h.* 1878. *i.* 1879. *k.* 1880. *BFBS* 2^a—6^a.

Madrid.

376. *Jul.* 1881. *BFBS* 7^a.

El santo evangelio | de | nuestro señor Jesu-Cristo | segun | san Juan. | *Monogram of the BFBS.* | Madrid | Se halla en el depósito central de la sociedad bíblica, B. y e. | calle de Preciados, núm. 46. | 1881. *Text paged 3—58. On a coloured cover the same title, with an ornamented stroke instead of the monogram, and without stop after 46. On the fourth page of the cover: Imprenta de Enrique Rubiños, plaza de la Paja, 7. bis.*

B—r.

377^a. 1872.

„Spanish Testament (Val.) 16 mo. London, 1872.“ In the ABS's library at NEW YORK, according to the Sixty-third annual report of the American Bible Society, May 1879. New York 1879. P. 121.

Probably from the plates of the following. Pundsack writes me that the TBS founded two copies of that N. T. and that they made an edition of it in London.

377^b. 1872.

El | nuevo testamento | de | nuestro señor Jesu-Cristo: | que es, | los escritos evangélicos y apostólicos. | Antigua version de Cipriano de Valera, | cotejada con diversas traducciones, | y revisada | con arreglo al original texto Griego. | Barcelona: | imprenta de Obradors y Sulé. | 1872. |

Second leaf, first page: Libros del nuevo testamento. Text p. 1 — 315. Summaries, no parallels. Octavo. Pundsack: Letra del 7° (Minion o Colonel).

Six pages Erratas. At the end of them: Calle de San Juan, núm. 35, Gracia (Barcelona,) | se hallan biblias enteras y nuevos testamentos. |

Pundsack: For this N. T. the TBS used the composition of their N. T. contained in the Bible of 1875 (here n° 349). The parallels were taken away, and the size was made smaller. The stereotype plates were sent by the Society to Barcelona, where title and Erratas were added.

B — r.

378. 1878.

El | nuevo testamento | de | nuestro señor Jesu-Cristo | que contiene los | escritos evangélicos y apostólicos. | Antigua version de Cipriano de Valera, | revisada | con arreglo al texto Griego. | Barcelona. | Se halla en el Depósito de la Sagrada Escritura, | Calle de S. Juan, 35, en Gracia. | 1878. | This title (not the text) framed by a single line, height 123 millim. P. 968: Imp. de La Aurora de Gracia.

Second leaf: Libros del nuevo testamento. Verso a notice on the italicized words. Text p. 3 — 968. No parallels or summaries. One column. Sedecimo. Letra del 11° (Pica), as Mr. Pundsack notes, who also states that it was printed in Barcelona, partly from plates founded there.

The edition was completed for Mr. G. Lawrence, who had directed all the editions of the TBS in Spain and who in 1878 bought their printing-machinery and store in Barcelona. See the circular of Mr. T. S. Marks, London, March. 1879. on Mr. George Lawrence's Bible work in Spain. and the circular of Mr. Lawrence and Mr. Pundsack, Barcelona Sept. 16th, 1881. on the Large-type Spanish Bible.

B — r.

From this N. T. separate editions, partly from plates, partly composed afresh; with coloured covers (I have seen six colours):

Biblioth. Wiffen. II.

378. *Mata*. 1877. 1^a.

Barcelona. *I conclude the existence of this edition from the fact that Mark and Luke were printed in that year.*

378. *Mat^b*. 1878. 2^a.

El santo evangelio | de | nuestro señor Jesu-Cristo | segun | s. Mateo. | Barcelona: | imprenta, calle de s. Juan, 35, Gracia | 1878. | *Verso notice on the italicized words. Text paged 3—124. Coloured cover; front, in an ornamented frame like that of the separate Oxford N. T. portions of 1865 f. (nº 369), the same verse as there: Crée | en el señor | Jesu-Cristo, | y serás salvo | tú y tu casa. | and in the upper department of the frame: S. Mateo. On the last side of the cover: Este libro forma parte de la sagrada escritura que se compone de los libros siguientes. Below: Se hallan biblias y nuevos testamentos, Calle | de S. Juan, nº 35, — Gracia. — Barcelona.*

B—r.

378. *Mrc*. 1877.

El santo evangelio | de | nuestro señor Jesu-Cristo | segun | s. Marcos. | Barcelona: | se halla, calle de s. Juan, 35, Gracia. | 1877. | *Verso like Mat^b. Text paged 3—80. Cover like Mat^b, only the name of the apostle being changed.*

B—r.

378. *Lua*. 1877.

Title like St. Mark, only: Lucas. Verso item. Text paged 1—132. Cover-title as in the other separate portions, but with the addition below: Impreso por cuenta del Kiosko biblico del Palacio de cristal | de Lóndres. This on no other of the portions I saw. Fourth page of the cover as above.

B—r.

378. *Lub*. 1879.

El santo evangelio | de | nuestro señor Jesu-Cristo | segun | s. Lucas. | Barcelona: | imprenta, Encarnacion, 42, Gracia. | 1879. | *Verso on italicized words. Below: Se hallan Biblias, Nuevos Testamentos, etc., Torrente de | las Flores, 92, Gracia, (Barcelona.). | Text paged 1—132. On the last leaf (part of the last half-sheet) an advertisement on the Bibles and parts of the Bible to be sold in the Librería Evangelica, Torrente de las Flores, núm. 92. Cover-title as Lua, but S. Lucas printed afresh, and without the imprint of Lua. Fourth page of the cover as above, only at the end: Se hallan biblias y nuevos testamentos. | Gracia. — Barcelona.*

378. *Jua*. 1877.

Barcelona. *I suppose this edition in analogy to Mark and Luke of that year.*

378. Jub. 1879.

Title like Lub. Verso, the notice on italicizing, and: Se hallan Biblias y Nuevos Testamentos, etc., Torrente | de las Flores, 92, Gracia (Barcelona). | Text paged 1—99. Cover-title as above, with Juan. Fourth leaf as Lub. On the last leaf of the last half-sheet the advertisement as in Lub.

378. Juc. 1881.

El santo evangelio | de | nuestro señor Jesu-Cristo | segun | s. Juan. | Barcelona | imprenta, Encarnacion, 42, Gracia. | 1881. | *Verso only on the italicized words. Text p. 3—99 (ought to be 101; after 96 is repeated 95. 96, and then only follows 97 f.). Advertisement as above, only núm. 170 instead of núm. 92. Cover-title as Jub, fourth page blank.*

At least part of it composed afresh, as is at once seen in Matth. 1 and Revel. last.

B—r.

378. Hechos.

Barcelona. According to Pundsack.

378. Roma. 1879.

La epístola | del apostol san Pablo | á los | Romanos. | Barcelona: | imprenta, Encarnacion, 42, Gracia. | 1879. | *Verso like Jub, only 170, instead of 92. Text paged 560—612. Cover-title like that of the gospels, with Romanos. Fourth page of the cover like Jub.*

B—r.

378. Rom^b. 1880.

Title like that of 1879. Verso only on italicizing. Text paged 3—55. Cover-title as 1879. Fourth page like 1879, only comma after testamentos.

A part at least is of new composition, as is seen on the last page.

B—r.

378. *Pundsack mentions as published separately from this N. T. Galatians, Hebrews, St. Peter and adds &c.*

**Valera's N. T. of 1602 with some of Lucena's
alterations.**

379^a. 1868.

El | nuevo testamento | de | nuestro señor Jesu Cristo, | que es | los escritos evangélicos | y apostólicos. | Version revista y confrontada con el | texto Griego, y con diversas | traducciones. | Londres: | 29, Red Lion square, Holborn. | 1868. | *Verso: Indices.*

Colophon: Londres: 29, Red Lion-square.

No summaries or parallels.

Small octavo. One column. No paging or foliation. The signature begins several times afresh; this, and the blank page at the end of St. Luke's and St. John's gospels shows that the edition was intended to be issued also in small separate parts, viz. 1 Matthew, 2 Mark, 3 Luke, 4 John, 5 Acts, 6 Romans and Corinthians, 7 the other Pauline epistles, 8 the rest of the N. T.

B—r.

379^a. Gospels.

I think to this impression belong the „Spanish Matthew, Mark, Luke, John. London 1867“ registered among the „Additions to the Society's library,“ in the Sixty-third annual report of the American Bible Society. New York 1879. P. 121.

379^b. 1869.

The same N. T. as described under ^a, only with the year 1869 on the title. Certainly from the plates of the former. This must be the „Spanish Testament (Val.) (in 8 parts). 32mo. London, 1869“ in the ABS's library at NEW YORK, according to the Sixty-third annual report of the American Bible Society. New York 1879. P. 121. It is unimportant that the size is called 32mo whilst my own copy really is a very small 8°, height about 9 centim., including column-title and signature.

379^c. 1876.

„Spanish Testament (Val.) 32mo. London, 1876.“ In the ABS's library at NEW YORK, according to the Sixty-third annual report of the American Bible Society. New York 1879. P. 121.

Probably another impression from the plates of the editions 1868 and 1869.

***New Testament and Psalms of 1602, revised for ABS,
by Mora and Pratt.***

380^a. 1875. Brevier. First edition.

„Without references, but with orthographic changes, electrotpe, 24°. 1875.“ According to Rev. Alex. Mc Lean, Corresponding Secretary of ABS.

380^b. 1875. Brevier. Second edition.

El nuevo testamento | de nuestro | señor y salvador Jesu Cristo: |
version de Cipriano de Valera: | revisada y corregida. | Nueva York: |
sociedad bíblica Americana, | fundada en el año de MDCCCXVI. |
1875. | [Spanish, Brevier 24mo]. *Second page, table of the books of the N. T.*
Below: 2^d Edition. Text p. 3—485.

El | libro de los salmos. Version de Cipriano de Valera, |
revisada y corregida. | Nueva York: | sociedad &c. as above. *Text*
p. 489—604.

Summaries as well in the N. T. as in the psalms. P. 605—609 Indices of the contents of the chapters in the N. T. and of each psalm. At the end of the last page 609 the signature Span. 39.

B—r.

Certainly from the plates of the first edition.

The gospels have been edited separately:

380. Mt. 1875.

El evangelio | de | nuestro señor Jesu Cristo | segun | san Mateo. |
Version de Cypriano de Valera, | revisada y corregida. | Nueva York: |
sociedad bíblica Americana, | fundada en el año de MDCCCXVI. |
1875. | *Text p. 3—64.*

B—r.

380. Mrc. 1875.

El evangelio | de | nuestro señor Jesu Cristo | segun | san Márcos. |
Version de Cipriano de Valera, | revisada y corregida. | Nueva York: |
sociedad bíblica Americana, | fundada en el año de MDCCCXVI. |
1875. | *Text, beginning on the second leaf, paged 65—101.*

B—r.

380. Lu. 1875.

El evangelio | de | nuestro señor Jesu Cristo | segun | san Lucas. |
Version de Cipriano de Valera, | revisada y corregida. | Nueva York: |
sociedad bíblica Americana, | fundada en el año de MDCCCXVI. |
(Span., Brevier 24 mo.) 1875. | *Text, beginning on the second leaf, paged*
102—165.

B—r.

380. Ju. 1879.

El evangelio | de | nuestro señor Jesu Cristo | segun | san Juan. |
Version de Cipriano de Valera, | revisada y corregida. | Nueva York: |
sociedad bíblica Americana, fundada en el año de MDCCCXVI. |
(Span., Brevier 24 mo.) 1879. | *Text, beginning on the second leaf, paged*
166—214.

B—r.

Probably St. John had been edited separately already in 1875 with the other gospels, and those will have been repeated as was that of John.

Matthew.
From the Bible of 1569.

381. 1599.

Sanctvs | Matthævs, | *Then in two columns:*

Syriacè,	Italicè.
Ebraicè,	Hispanicè.
Græcè,	Gallicè.
Latinè,	Anglicè.
Germanicè,	Danicè.
Bohemicè,	Polonicè.

Ex | Dispositione & Adornatione | Eliae Hvtti | Germani. | Nori-
bergæ. | M D XCIX. |

Pages 543, including title-page. Title and text in a frame of lines, height about 22 centim. Layers of eight leaves.

BERLIN Royal. STUTTGART Royal. B—r.

From the N. T. of 1708?

382. 1806.

El Sancto Evangelio segun San Matheo. Londres, 1806. 12°.

Registered by Bullen in the Catalogue of the BFBS's library p. 157.

From Valera's Bible of 1602.

383. 1857.

Fore-title: El evangelio | de | nuestro señor Jesu Cristo, | segun
san Mateo. | *Principal title:* El evangelio | de | nuestro señor | Jesu
Cristo, | segun | san Mateo. | Traducido al español é impreso por la
primera vez | en el año 1602 | Por el Doctor Cypriano de Valera. |
Reimpreso en 1857 | por algunos amigos del evangelio. | Tolosa, |
imprensa de A. Chauvin, | calle Mirepoix, 3. | 1857. | *This same principal
title is repeated on the coloured cover. Text p. 5—105. Six layers: p. 1—24
without signature, p. 25 signed 1., p. 37 signed 2, p. 61 signed 2. (with full stop),
p. 73 signed 3, p. 97 signed 3.; p. 106 to 108 blank.*

B—r.

Agreeing with BFBS's N. T. of 1867.

384. 1872.

El santo evangelio | segun | s. Matteo. | Londres: | 1872. | *Verso*
Tabla de los | libros del nuevo testamento. *Below:* Harrison e hijos, St. Martin's

Lane, Londres. *Text* p. 3—98. *Line dividing the two columns 95 millim. One layer, called 32°. Like the other gospels described n° 393. 400. 408, printed for BFBS.*

B—r.

From Lucena's Bible.

385. 1869.

Madrid. BFBS. 32°. 1ª ed.

386. 1871.

El santo evangelio | de | nuestro señor Jesu Cristo | segun | san Mateo. | Madrid. | Se halla en el Depósito Central de la Sociedad Bibli- | ca, B. y E., calle de Preciados, número 46. | 1871. | *Text* p. 3—95, *paged. One column, the whole one layer. like all the following 32° gospels of Madrid.*

Colophon p. 95: Imp. de J. Cruzado, Peñon, 7. |

Called 32°. 2ª ed.

B—r.

387. 1873.

Madrid. BFBS. 32°. 3ª ed.

388. 1877.

El santo evangelio | de | nuestro señor Jesu - Cristo | segun | san Mateo. | Madrid. | Se halla en el Depósito Central de la Sociedad | Biblica, B. y E. calle de Preciados, núm. 46. | 1877. | *Text* p. 3—92. *One layer.*

Colophon p. 92: Imp. de J. Cruzado, Peñon, 7. |

Called 32°. 4ª ed.

B—r.

389. 1881.

The same, except a new title with the year 1881, comma after B. y E., and an ornamented stroke above Madrid. Called 32°. 5ª ed. For the difference from 388 see ch. 2, 23.

B—r.

ABS's revision.

390. 1874.

„At Matamoras, Mexico, with funds from this [the American Bible] Society, Valera's Matthew was printed in 1874.“ Gilman. *The Sixty-second annual report of the American Bible Society, May 1878. New York 1878. p. 78 states, under Matamoras: „Mr. Purdie reports frequent calls for reference Bibles, and pocket Testaments . . . Of the separate portions which Mr. Purdie printed in 1874 and 1876, 225 Gospels and 150 of the Epistles of Peter have gone into the hands of the people.“*

Pratt's revision.

391. 1877.

El | nuevo testamento | de nuestro | señor y salvador Jesu Cristo, | traducido del original Griego, | y cotejado cuidadosamente | con muchas diversas traducciones. | Version fundada en la antigua | de | Cipriano de Valera. | „Yo para esto nací, y para esto vine al mundo, para dar | testimonio á la verdad. Todo aquel que es de la verdad, oye | mi voz.“ Jesu-Cristo. — San Juan XVIII. 37. | Bucaramanga. | Imprenta de H. B. Pratt. | 1877. |

Second page Advertencia. P. 3—56 San Mateo. *On half-sheets of 8 pages. Height of the column, including column-title and paging, about 14 centim. Coloured cover:*

El evangelio | de | nuestro señor Jesu - Cristo, | segun | san Mateo. Nueva revision. | (Edicion de 150 ejemplares, que debe servir | como base para otra revision mas perfecta.) | Bucaramanga. | Imprenta de H. B. Pratt. |

P. 56 Rectificaciones y enmiendas. *On the back-leaf of the cover* Ultimas correcciones for *S. Matthew and for the psalms. Below on the same first page of the back-leaf:* Siento participar á las personas cuya cooperacion he solicitado en la revision de los Salmos y del Nuevo Testamento, que así por motivo de mi salud, que pide descanso, como por la necesidad de regresar á los Estados Unidos, tengo que suspender, por ahora, la obra en este punto: bien que cuando lo acometí, tuve buena esperanza de poder llevarlo á cabo. Bucaramanga [U. S. of Columbia], 4 de junio de 1877. H. B. Pratt.

B—r.

*Mark.**From the Bible of 1569.*

392. 1600.

Sanctvs | Marcvs, | &c. like the title of *Matthæus*, with the only difference that the year here is M D C. Pages 349, including title-page. Signature A foll., independent from *Matthew*. Layers of eight. Frame and size like *Matthew* 381.

BERLIN Royal. STUTTGART Royal. B—r.

*Agreeing with BFBS's N. T. of 1867.*393^a. 1872.

El santo evangelio | segun | s. Marcos. | Londres. | 1872. | *Verso:* Tabla de los | libros del nuevo testamento. Text p. 3—63, where: Harrison e hijos, St. Martin's lane. Two columns. One layer.

B—r.

393^b. 1875.

Just like ^a, only with the new year, and without the imprint p. 63.

B—r.

394.

The gospel of St. Mark in embossed type for the blind (Moon's system). According to the 77th report of BFBS. 1881, p. XXXII. Compare n° 409.

From Lucena's Bible.

395. 1869.

After a blank leaf:

El santo evangelio | de | nuestro señor Jesu-Cristo | segun | san Marcos. | Madrid. | Se halla en el Depósito Central de la Sociedad Bibli- | ca, B y E., calle de Preciados, número 19. | 1869. | *Text p. 3—61, paged.*

Colophon p. 61: Imp. de J. Cruzado, Olivar, 14 y 16. |

Called 32°. 1^a ed.

B—r.

396. 1871.

Madrid. 32°. 2^a ed.

397. 1873.

Madrid. 32°. 3^a ed.

398. 1877.

Madrid. 32°. 4^a ed.

399^a. 1881.

Madrid. 32°. 5^a ed.

399^b. 1882.

El santo evangelio | de nuestro señor Jesu-Cristo | segun | san Marcos. | Madrid. | Se halla en el Depósito Central de la Sociedad | Biblica B. y E. calle de Preciados, núm. 46. | 1882. | *Text p. 3—59, where: Imp. de J. Cruzado, Peñon, 7.*

Called 32°. Fifth ed. with new title?

B—r.

L u k e.

Agreeing with BFBS's N. T. of 1867.

400^a. 1875.

El santo evangelio | segun | s. Lucas. | Londres. | 1875. | *Verso: Tabla de los | libros del nuevo testamento. Text p. 3—105. Two columns. Title and text one layer.*

B—r.

Biblioth. Witten. II.

400^b. 1882.

The same, only with the year 1882.

B—r.

From Lucena's Bible.

401. 1865.

El evangelio | de nuestro | señor Jesu-Cristo | segun | san Lucas. | Antigua version de Cipriano de Valera, | cotejada con diversas traducciones, | y revisada | con arreglo al texto Griego. | Tolosa: | imprenta de A Chauvin, | calle Mirepoix, 3. | 1865. | *After the title-leaf* p. 1. 2. Oraciones, *at last the Lord's prayer.* Luke p. 3—134.

Layers of 12 leaves and of 6 leaves alternating.

B—r.

402. 1869.

Madrid. BFBS. 32°. 1^a ed.

403. 1871. 2^a.

404. 1873. 3^a.

405. 1877. 4^a.

406. 1881.

El santo evangelio | de nuestro señor Jesu-Cristo | segun | san Lucas. | Madrid. | Se halla en el Depósito Central de la Sociedad | Bíblica B. y E. calle de Preciados, núm. 46. | 1881. *Text* p. 3—99, *where:* Imprenta de J. Cruzado, Peñon, 7.

Called 32°. 5^a ed.

B—r.

John.

From Valera's Bible of 1602.

407. 1863.

El evangelio | de | nuestro señor Jesu Cristo, | segun | san Juan. | Traducido al español é impreso por la primera | vez en el año 1602. | Por el Doctor Cypriano de Valera. | Tolosa, | imprenta de A. Chauvin, | calle Mirepoix, 3. | 1863. | *Text* p. 3—101. *Layers of 12 and of six leaves alternating.*

B—r.

*Agreeing with BFBS's N. T. of 1867.*408^a. 1875.

El santo evangelio | de | nuestro señor Jesu-Cristo | segun | s.
 Juan, | traducido por | Cipriano de Valera. | Londres. | 1875. | *Verso*:
 Tabla de los | libros del nuevo testamento. | *Text* p. 1—78. *Two columns. One layer.*
B—r.

408^b. 1882.

The same, only with the year 1882.
B—r.

409.

The gospel of St. John in embossed type for the blind (Moon's system). According to the 77th report of BFBS 1881, p. XXXII. Mr. Pundsack says, that the edition was made in London for BFBS, without date, and that they probably reproduced Lucena, doubtless Valera.

From Lucena's Bible.

410. 1869.

Madrid. BFBS. 32°. 1^a ed.

411. 1871.

The same. 2^a ed.

412. 1873.

El santo evangelio | de | nuestro señor Jesu-Cristo | segun | san
 Juan. | Madrid. | Se halla en el Depósito Central de la Sociedad
 Bí- | blica, B. y E. calle de Preciados, núm. 46. | 1873. | *Text* p. 3—74.
Colophon p. 74: Imp. de J. Cruzado, Peñon, 7. |

Called 32°. 3^a ed.

B—r.

413. 1877.

Madrid. BFBS. 32°. 4^a ed.

414^a. 1881.

Madrid. 32°. 5^a ed.

B—r.

414^b. 1882.

El santo evangelio | de | nuestro señor Jesu-Cristo | segun | san
 Juan. | Madrid. | Se halla en el Depósito Central de la Sociedad |

Biblica, B. y E. calle de Preciados, núm. 46. | 1882. *Text p. 3—74,*
where: Imp. de J. Cruzado, Peñon, 7. N° 414* *with new title?*

B—r.

Acts.

From Lucena's Bible.

415. 1869.

Los hechos | de los apóstoles. | Madrid. | Se halla en el Depósito
 Central de la Sociedad Bibli- | ca, B. y E., calle de Preciados,
 número 19. | 1869. | *Text p. 3—92, paged.* *Colophon:* Imp. de J. Cruzado,
 Dos Amigos, 10. | *One column.*

Octavo, called 32°. Only ed.

B—r.

From ABS's revision of 1865.

416. 1878.

Al Matamoras, Mexico, with funds from the ABS. Gilman.

Romans.

From Lucena's Bible.

417. 1869.

After a blank leaf, the title:

La epístola | del apóstol san Pablo | á los | Romanos. | Madrid. |
 Se halla en el Depósito Central de la Sociedad Bibli- | ca, B. y E.,
 calle de Preciados, número 19. | 1869. | *Text p. 3—43, paged.* *One column.*
One layer; signature only c on p. 15, d on p. 31.

Called 32°. Only ed.

B—r.

Galatians, Ephesians, Philipptians, Colossians.

From Lucena's Bible.

418. 1869.

Epístolas | del apóstol san Pablo | á los | Gálatos, Efesios, ;
 Filipenses y Colosenses. | Madrid. | Se halla en el Depósito Central
 de la Sociedad Bibli- | ca, B. y E., calle de Preciados, número 19. |
 1869. | *Text p. 3—48, paged.* *Colophon p. 48:* Imp. de J. Cruzado, Dos
 Amigos, 10. | *One column.* *One layer, signed p. 9: e, p. 17: c.*

Called 32°. Only ed.

B—r.

Hebrews.
From Lucena's Bible.

419. 1869.

La epistola | del apostol san Pablo | á los | Hebreos. | Madrid. |
Se halla en el Depósito Central de la Sociedad Bibli- | ca, B. y E.,
calle de Preciados, número 19. | 1869. | *Text* p. 3—32, *paged.* *One*
column. *Colophon* p. 32: Imp. de J. Cruzado, Dos Amigos, 10. |

Octavo, called 32°. Only edition.

B—r.

Peter.
From ABS's Bible of 1865.

420. 1876.

At Matamoras, with funds from the ABS. Gŭlman. Compare 390. 416.

First epistle of John.
From Reina or Valera?

421. 1605.

L. Owen: Key to the Spanish Tongue, with Dictionarie and first Epistle of
St. John in Spanish and English. 1605.

Matthew, Luke, Acts.
From Lucena's Bible.

422. 1876.

Los evangelios | de | san Mateo y san Lucas, | y | los hechos de
los apóstoles | con notas y dos mapas. | Madrid. | Imprenta de José
Cruzado, | Calle del Peñon, num. 7. | 1876. | *Octavo.*

Second leaf Prólogo. *P. 5—7* Introduction to St. Matthew. *P. 8 blank.*
P. 9 begins text of Matthew, p. 469 end the notes on Acts. P. 470 blank. Follow
three pages Índice alfabético. *A fourth page [474]* Génealogía de la familia Herodiana.
One map Palestina, *the other* Viages de san Pablo. *Both signed:* Lit. L. Duras y
Cia San Sebastian. *Palestine is signed moreover:* R. Sprenger lit.

B—r.

Psalms.
From Valera's Bible of 1602.

423. 1625.

Los psalmos de David y otros. Amsterdam, en casa de Jacob
Wachter. M. DC. XXV.

This title is given by José Rodríguez de Castro, who adds a description
and extracts, Biblioteca Española, t. 1, Madrid 1781, p. 472—3, without saying

anything about the translator. He says: En la segunda hoja: Ephes. 5. 18. 19 . . . Coloss. 3. 16 . . . A la vuelta de esta segunda hoja Heb. 13. 15. *The Bible verses are written out by de Castro. He continues:* Fol. 1^o. Primero Libro de los Psalmos, segun los Hebreos. Este Libro que David y otros Prophetas . . . en Griego se llama Psalmo. *This preface which de Castro gives in full length is nothing else than Valera's preface to the psalms in his Bible of 1602, with some few petty and insignificant variations. Follows in de Castro the summary of psalm 1 and the first two verses of it, agreeing with what is read in Valera (v. 2: meditará). De Castro concludes:* Es un Tomo en 8^o. menor, con 330. pagg. y finaliza con el Salmo CL. Carece de Prologo y Dedicatoria; y tiene numerados los versiculos en cada Salmo.

Wiffen notes that on the title is a device: David killing Goliath, that the size is 12^m, and that the text is paged 1 to 230, total 234 pages.

424. 1859.

Los | salmos de David, | traducidos al Español | por | Cypriano de Valera. | Londres. | 1859. | *Text p. 1—144, where:* W. M. Watts, Crown Court, Temple Bar. *One column. Duodecimo, called 24^o.*

For BFBS.

B—r.

From Lucena's Bible.

425. 1867.

Los | salmos de David, | traducidos al Español | por | Cypriano de Valera. | Londres. | 1867. | *Verso:* W. M. Watts, 80, Gray's-inn road. *P. 125:* G. M. Watts, 80, Gray's-inn road.

Second leaf: Tabla de los libros del antiguo testamento. *Text p. 1—125. Two columns, height of the separating line 93—94 millim. Octavo. For BFBS?*

B—r.

426. 1869.

Libro | de | los salmos. | Madrid: | imprenta de J. Cruzado, Dos Amigos, 10. | 1869. | *P. 223:* Imp. de J. Cruzado, Dos Amigos, 10. *Text p. 3—223, paged. One column. Small octavo, called 16^o. Letra 11^o. Pica. Printed for TBS.*

B—r.

427. 1869.

Libro | de | los salmos. | Madrid. | [*Se halla en el Depósito Central de la Sociedad Bíblica* | [*B. y E., calle de*] Preciados, núm. 19. | [*18*]/69. | *Verso:* Imprenta de J. C[ruza]do, Dos Amig[os], 10.]

Ends p. 147. Two columns.

Octavo, called 32^o. 1^a ed.

B—r (injured copy).

428. 1871.

Libro | de | los salmos. | Madrid. | Se halla en el Depósito Central de la Sociedad Bíblica | B. y E., calle de Preciados, núm. 46. | 1871. | Verso: Imprenta de José Cruzado, Peñon, 7. | *Text p. 3—123, paged. Two columns.*

Octavo, called 32°. 2ª ed.

B—r.

429. 1877.

Libro | de | los salmos. | Madrid. | Se halla en el Depósito Central de la Sociedad Bíblica, | B. y E. calle de Preciados, núm. 46. | 1877. | Verso: Imp. de J. Cruzado, Peñon, 7. | *Text p. 3—202. One column. Octavo. 8°. 1ª ed.*

B—r.

430. 1878.

Madrid. BFBS. 32°. 3ª ed.

431. 1880.

Libro | de | los salmos | Madrid | Se halla en el depósito central de la sociedad bíblica B. y e. | calle de Preciados, núm. 46. | 1880. | Verso: Madrid: 1880. — Imp. de E. Rubiños, plaza de la Paja. 10. |

Octavo. Text p. 3—202. One column. At the end a blank leaf.

Called 8°. 2ª ed.

B—r.

432. 1881.

Madrid. BFBS. Octavo, called 32°. 4ª ed.

The title like that of 1871, from which it differs in the year, in the types and in another ornamented division between Salmos and Madrid. The edition is not produced from stereotype plates. In the summary of psalm 39 there is a broken f in both editions, a coincidence explained by the printer from his having used the same form of moveable types. The different division of the lines in v. 5 of the same psalm shows that they are two distinct editions.

B—r.

Pratt's revision.

433. 1876.

El libro | de los salmos. | Traducido del original Hebreo, | y cotejado cuidadosamente | con muchas diversas traducciones. | Version fundada en la antigua | de | Cipriano de Valera. | „El que es de Dios, oye las palabras de Dios.“ — Jesu-Cristo. | San Juan VIII. 47. |

Bucaramanga. | Imprenta de H. B. Pratt. | 1876. *Back of the title:* Advertencia. *Coloured cover:* El libro | de | los salmos. | Nueva revision. | (Edicion de 150 ejemplares, que debe servir | como base para otra revision mas perfecta.) | Bucaramanga. | Imprenta de H. B. Pratt. | 1876. |

Half-sheets of 8 pages. Each line a metrical member according to the Hebrew accentuation. P. 134 under psalm 150: Rectificaciones. . . . pido la indulgencia de las personas á quienes se han remitido ejemplares (con el objeto expuesto en mi circular del 30 de Octubre de 1876.) . .

After the Rectificaciones, p. 135 and 136: Capitulo XIV de Job, stichometrically. In the Advertencia of the Bucaramanga Matthew the revisor says: El Antiguo Testamento de Valera está basado indudablemente en la antigua version judaico-española, que tengo á la vista: por esto no vacilé en decir respecto del Libro de los Salmos, que fué „traducido del original hebreo.“

I have got a complete copy from the translator and another one beginning p. 49, both with manuscript corrections. Also a copy of the Circular of Oct. 30. 1876, one page.

434. 1879.

El libro | de los salmos. | Traducido del original Hebreo, | y cotejado cuidadosamente | con muchas y diversas versiones. | „El que es de Dios oye las palabras de Dios.“ — Jesu-Cristo. | San Juan VIII. 47. | Nueva York: | sociedad bíblica Americana, | fundada en el año de 1816. | 1879. | (Spanish Psalms.) | Verso: Advertencia. *Text p. 3—147. P. 148 Errores tipográficos. Stichometrical arrangement according to the Hebrew accents. Second edition of the Bucaramanga revision, improved still by the revisor, H. B. Pratt, who does not mention the former edition which had only been privately distributed. Octavo.*

B—r.

Proverbs.

435. 1862.

Los | proverbios de Salomon: | tomados de la | biblia de Cipriano de Valera, | impresa en Amsterdam en 1602, y traducida del | original Ebreo. | Nueva York: | impresa por la | sociedad bíblica Americana, fundada en el año de MDCCCXVI. | 1862. | [Spanish, Bourg. 18mo.] | *This title framed by a single line, height 13 centim.*

Text p. 3—56. The first leaf coherent with the title. P. 5—8 coherent. P. 9 foll. three layers of 8.

Mr. Pundsack of Barcelona lent me his copy.

Los proverbios de Salomon, among the Obras que se hallan de venta en el depósito de la sagrada escritura. Calle de san Juan, Número 35, bajos. — Gracia., registered on the last page of the coloured cover of each of the four gospels annexed to the primer Barcelona 1876 (see n.º 376), are copies of this American edition.

Complying with my wish, Mr. Corfield, the Agent of BFBS in Madrid, and Mr. Pundsack, Mr. Lawrence's collaborator, sent me lists containing the number of copies printed of each edition of the revised Reina Bible and of parts of it, since 1869, in Madrid and Barcelona. I publish their communications and add the numbers of my catalogue.

Editions of Madrid for BFBS.

Biblia	Popular	1ª	1869	25,000	nº 340.
"	"	2ª	1870	30,000	343.
"	"	3ª	1873	30,000	346.
"	4º	1ª	1869	20,000	341.
"	"	2ª	1870	20,000	344.
"	"	3ª	1876	20,000	347.
"	"	4ª	1880	10,000	348.
"	Folio	1ª	1870	5,200	342.
"	Perla	1ª	1871	10,000	345.
N. T.	8º	1ª	1869	10,000	371.
"	"	2ª	1872	5,000	375ª.
"	"	3ª	1875	5,000	375ª.
"	"	4ª	1878	5,000	375ª.
"	32º	1ª	1869	25,000	372.
"	"	2ª	1871	10,000	373.
"	"	3ª	1871	10,000	374ª.
"	"	4ª	1873	10,000	374ª.
"	"	5ª	1880	10,000	374ª.
"	4º	1ª	1878	5,000	376.
4 Evglas	32º	1ª	1869	140,000	385. 395. 402. 410.
"	"	2ª	1871	120,000	386. 396. 403. 411.
"	"	3ª	1873	120,000	387. 397. 404. 412.
"	"	4ª	1877	120,000	388. 398. 405. 413.
"	"	5ª	1881	80,000	389. 399ª. 406. 414ª.
"	4º	1ª	1875	10,000	376 d. a. d. d.
"	"	2ª	1877	5,000	376 f. e. f. f.
"	"	3ª	1878	10,000	376 g. d. g. g.
"	"	4ª	1878	10,000	376 h. e. h. h.
"	"	5ª	1879	10,000	376 i. f. i. i.
"	"	6ª	1880	10,000	376 k. g. k. k.
4 Evglas	4º	7ª	1881	10,000	nº 376 l. h. l. l.
Hechos	32º	1ª	1869	10,000	415.
Romanos	"	1ª	1869	10,000	417.
Gal. Ef. Fil. Col.	"	1ª	1869	10,000	418.
Hebreos	"	1ª	1869	10,000	419.
Salmos	"	1ª	1869	10,000	427.
"	"	2ª	1871	10,000	428.
"	"	3ª	1878	5,000	430.
"	"	4ª	1881	5,000	432.
"	8º	1ª	1877	5,000	429.
"	"	2ª	1880	5,000	431.

Editions of Madrid and Barcelona under the direction of G. Lawrence.

Evangelios, Hechos, Epistolas	{ Madrid	1868/9	circa 120,000	*)
16°, letra 11° Pica 270,000	{ Barcelona	1871/81	" 150,000	378.
4 Evangelios sueltos	Madrid, then Barcelona	1870f.	37,000	376.
Salmos	Madrid	1869	5,000	426.
N. T.	Barcelona	1871	5,000	376 a.
"	"	1872	2,000	377 b.
"	"	1878	5,000	378.
Biblia	"	1875	1,000	349.
"	"	1882	5,000	350.

Sums of both lists:

Bibles	170,000	+ 6,000	= 176,000.
N. T.	95,000	+ 12,000	= 107,000.
Gospels	645,000	+ 37,000	} = 935,000.
	(270,000)	+ circa 253,000	
Acts & Epistles	40,000	+ circa 17,000	= 57,000.
Psalms	35,000	+ 5,000	= 40,000.

It follows, that in the last 14 years there have been printed in Spain 283,000 copies of Reina's N. T. (separately and in the whole Bible), and about 1,218,000 copies of each Gospel (sueltos, and in the N. T. and in the Bible).

I may subjoin here that Mr. Corfield states in 1882 that stereotype plates (which they possess for the three kinds of the N. T. and for the four Gospels in 8°) have been corrected where mistakes were known to exist.

The Lord's prayer.

From Reina's Matthew of 1569 = Hutter 1599 = Valera 1602. 1625.

436. 1610.

in Caspar Waser's edition of Conrad Gesner's Mithridates fol. 55. without mention of the translator or the book where it is taken from.

VIENNA University. B—r.

437. 1671.

in Stiernhielm's Preface to Evangelia ab Ulfila translata. Stockholm. without indication of translator or of the publication from which it is taken.

VIENNA Court.

438. 1809.

in the Mithridates of Adelung and Vater, 2^d vol., Berlin, p. 553 with reference to Valera's Bible of 1602.

*) These separate editions of 1868/9, of which I do not know any particulars, have not been entered in my above catalogue.

439. 1830.

in Das Gebet des Herrn in 100 Sprachen und Mundarten. Basel, bey Wilh. Haas. Fol. 77: alte Übers., gedruckt in Nürnberg 1600. *This means Hutter's N. T. (here n° 354), the second volume of which bears the date 1600. The Lord's prayer in that N. T. is identical with that in Hutter's separate Matthew of 1599 (here n° 381).*

VIENNA University.

440. 1844 — 47.

in Auer's Sprachenhalle, Wien, from Adelung's Mithridates.

VIENNA Court.

From Valera's Matthew of 1596 = N. T. 1813.

441. 1715.

in Oratio dominica editore Jo. Chamberlaynio. Amstelodami. *As for the original of his Spanish Lord's prayer, he only says ex collectione Londinensi. The London collection of 1700, however, has another version.*

VIENNA Court.

442. 1830.

in Das Gebet des Herrn. Basel, Haas. (Here n° 439.) Fol. 77: neuere Übers., gedruckt in Bermondsey 1813. (See here n° 359.)

Several polyglots of the Lord's prayer have, at the head of their marginals belonging to a Spanish version, the reference to Cypr. de Valera N. Test. Hisp. Amsteld. 1625., but that version is neither Valera's nor Reina's, neither from the Matthew nor from the Luke of either. Orationis dominicæ versiones fermè centum. [In the copy of the Royal library at STUTTGART the ms. notice: Authore Dr. Weidinfelt]. S. l. e. a.; at the end a quotation with the year 1662. P. 35 Spanish with the marginal: Auctor. Cypr. &c. as above. — Orationis dominicæ versiones fere centum ... editæq. a Thoma Ludekenio. Berolini 1680. [VIENNA Court B—r]. P. 35. — Oratio dominica πολὺγλωττος. Londini CIOIOCC. [STUTTGART Royal. VIENNA Court]. P. 36. — Or. dom. πολὺγλ. Verlegt von J. U. Krausen, Augspurg. S. a.; the London polyglot of 1700 is quoted; probably printed before 1713. [STUTTGART Royal. VIENNA Court]. P. 10. — Or. dom. πολὺγλ. Londini CIOIOCCXIII. [STUTTGART Royal]. P. 36. — Orationis dominicæ versiones plurium linguarum. Lipsiæ, Rumpff. S. a.; a book of 1730 is quoted. [VIENNA Court]. — Orationis dominicæ versiones fere centvm. Lipsiæ litteris Takkianis. With preface of 1740. [STUTTGART Royal]. P. 32. — Orientalisch- und Occidentalischer Sprachmeister, Welcher ... auch das Gebet des HErrn, In 200 Sprachen und Mund-Arten .. mittheilet. Lpz. 1748. [VIENNA University].

The Common Prayer Book of the Anglican church.

443. 1623?

Liturgia Inglesia. | O | Libro del Rezado publico, de la admi- |
nistracion de los Sacramentos, y otros Ritos | y ceremonias de la
Yglesia de | Ingalaterra. | *A cross, in form and size like that of the German
Order of the Iron Cross. | After a small cross, in the same line: Augustæ
Trinobantum. | CIO. IOI. IXIV.*

Quarto. No paging or numbers of leaves.

*On the reverse: Lo contenido en este libro. From 1 Estatuto cerca de la
Vniformidad to 20 La Comminacion con algunas oraciones.*

*Second leaf A 2, Estatuto de la vniformidad. Folio F 4 verso blank. A new
alphabet of the signature begins with the Maytines.*

Fin of the Comminacion, con alg. oraciones, on fol. Qq 4 recto. Verso blank.

*Follow Los Psalmos de Daud, beginning A 1 recto, ending Y 3 verso. Y 4
blank.*

*GETTINGEN Univ. The copy has the manuscript notice: 25 October 1711
Bought in More [?] Fields by John Chamberlayne Pr. 3^s. This is the author of the
polyglot Oratio dominica 1715 (see our n° 441).*

*Aug. Trinob. means London. On the year 1623 as the probable date of
publication see in vol. 3. my article on the translator Fernando Texeda. He neither
names himself in this book which is without translator's preface, nor does he any-
where say anything about his Spanish text of the portions from the Bible.*

*For the Old Test., to judge from psalm 1, Reina's Bible of 1569 has been
used, for the N. T., to judge from 1 Cor. 13., Valera's edition of 1596. Also in
Matth. 5 Texeda has Valera's en espiritu, which is found as well in the N. T. of
1596 (and 1625) as in the Bible of 1602.*

*In the Appendix secunda to the Index of Sandoval y Rojas, reprint of
Palermo 1628, is prohibited: Liturgia Inglesa, o libro del Rezo publico dell' admi-
nistracion delli Sacramenti, & altri riti, e cceremonie della chiesa de Inghilterra.
Augustæ Trinobantum. detto Rituale delli Caluinisti Inglese impresso in lengua
Castellana in 8.*

444. 1707.

La | Liturgia Ynglesa | o el | Libro de Oracion Commun | y
Administracion de los | Sacramentos, | Y | Otros Ritos y Ceremonias |
de la Yglesia, | Segun el Uso de la | Yglesia de Ynglaterra: | Junta-
mente con el | Psalterio ô Psalmos | de | David, | Apuntados como
ellos son para ser Cantados | ô Rezados en Yglesias. | Hispanizado
por D. Felix Anthony de Alvarado | Ministro de la Palabra de Dios. |
Londres: | Impresso por G. Bowyer, Acosta de Fran. Coggan en |
Inner-Temple-Lane. 1707. |

In Wiffen's collection in Wadham College, OXFORD.

Title-copy by a friend.

445^a. 1715.

La | Liturgia Ynglesa, | o | El Libro de la Oracion Comun | Y
 Administracion de los | sacramentos, | Y Otros Ritos y Ceremonias de
 la Yglesia, | Segun el Uso de la | yglesia | Anglicana: | Juntamente
 con el | psalterio ô psalmos de David, | Y Tambien el Libro de la
 Consagracion y Ordenacion | de los Obispos, Presbyteros, y Diaconos. |
 Hispanizado por D. Felix de Alvarado, | Ministro de la yglesia
 Anglicana. | Con las Alteraciones hechas en el Nombre de Nuestro |
 Muy Augusto Soverano, el Rey Don Jorge: | Su Alteza Real Don
 Jorge, Principe de Gales, la | Princessa, y Su Posteridad. | Edicion
 Segunda Corregida y Augmentada. | Londres: | Impresso por William
 Bowyer, Impressor de Li- | bros: Anno Domini MD CC XV.

*In a border formed by two lines running around. Four lines, running
 through the whole breadth, divide the title, after Diaconos, after Anglicana, after
 Posteridad, after Augmentada.*

Octavo.

Verso: Tabla De los Contenidos.

P. III—XV: Exhortacion A todos los Fieles de la Nacion Española que deseean
 el Adelantamiento del Reyno de Jesu Christo, à leer la Sagrada Escripura. *Column-
 title p. IV f.:* Exhortacion al Lector. *Signed, p. XV:* Vuestro Hermano en Christo. |
 D. Felix de Alvarado. |

On the same p. XV begins: Estatuto por la Uniformidad. *P. XXXVIII ends*
De las Ceremonias.

*The next five leaves, containing regulations on scripture reading and calendar,
 and the introductory remark on morning and evening prayer, are not paged. The
 first leaf is c 4, the next half-sheet is signed separately: d, d 2.*

*With El orden .. en las oraciones de la mañana begins Arabic paging, the
 first sheet being signed B. P. 436 ends the Forma Ordinandi vel Consecrandi, after
 which: Finis.*

*The next leaf, not paged, contains: Colecta .. en el tiempo de persecucion.
 Last leaf, Ff 4, blank.*

Wiffen's copy in Wadham college, OXFORD. B—r.

*The Exhortacion is that of Valera's Bible of 1602, with omissions and some
 few variations. After reprinting the two first pages of Valera, he adds, in the
 passage un Obispo de Sevilla trasladò la sagrada Escripura, after Sevilla the words
 (mi Patria). Soon afterwards, after mentioning, as did Valera, Reina's Bible
 printed in 1569, Alvarado adds: que revio y confirio con los textos Hebreos y Griegos,
 y ennoblezio Ciprian de la Valera, natural de Sevilla mi Patria, y se reimprimio en
 Amsterdam, año 1602. Then he continues with Valera: Francisco de Enzinas &c.
 unto the words on Julianillo distributing N. Ts. at Seville in 1557, after which
 date Valera's words on his N. T. of 1596 are varied thus: Y el sobre dicho
 Criprian [sic] de la Valera año de 1596 imprimio el Testamento Nuevo. Then immediately
 Todas estas Impresiones he yo visto: fuera de otras que con la injuria &c. with
 Valera to the end of the sentence: se han perdido. Then follows the section:*

Pluguiesse a Dios, Valera fol. *4, line 3 from below, unto Iuan cap. 17, 3. in the middle of the next page of Valera. After this, the section preceding in Valera's Exhortacion: La causa porque los adversarios, ending: no seamos hijos de tinieblas, sino de luz. Next follows Valera's conclusion: Por tanto, hermanos mios muy amados to the end: Assi sea. In the original follows: Vuestro Hermano en el Señor C. de V. Without a word on Valera's authorship of this Exhortacion, D. Felix de Alvarado signs his own name, changing el Señor into Christo.

Nor does Alvarado say whose is the translation of the portions from Scripture and of the Psalms in his Spanish Common Prayer Book. A notice by Wiffen states: „Valera's version of the Psalms is used by Alvarado in his Liturgia Ynglesa 1707 and 1715.“ Alvarado used Valera's Old Testament of 1602, whilst Texeda used Reina's of 1569; for the New Testament both used Valera's edition of 1596. I observed variations introduced by Alvarado in 1 Cor. 13.

As for the rest, Alvarado's Common Prayer Book is Texeda's, revised and enlarged. Alvarado, however, does not even hint at the existence of an edition of the Common Prayer Book in Spanish, previous to his own editions; on the contrary, the title claims the whole merit of the „hispanising“ for himself.

He added, in Spanish: the preface of 1661, and, after the Psalms, the prayers at sea, the prayers for the 5. of November (gunpowder plot 1605), the 30. of January (death of Charles I), the 29. of May (restoration 1660), the 39 articles, the canon of the Canterbury Synod of 1603 on the sign of the cross in the baptism; in Latin: the form of making, ordaining and consecrating bishops, priests and deacons; finally a Colecta Para pedir à Dios las Asistencias de su gracia en el tiempo de persecucion. The differences from Texeda in the parts translated by this one, seem mostly to be caused by the necessity to conform the work to the latest edition of the English work; I am at present at a loss to compare old English editions.

Menendez says (3, 100) on the editions of 1707 and 1715: prohibidas entrambas en nuestros indices . . Vid. el indice de 1747, que se refiere al edicto de prohibicion de Octubre de 1709.

445^b. James Townley, in the Illustrations of biblical literature, London 1821, vol. III, p. 478, after speaking of the Spanish N. T. of 1708, then of Alvarado's Liturgy of 1715, says: „In G. Offor's sale-catalogue, of 1816, there are several copies of an edition in royal octavo, of the date of 1726, but without notice of place where printed, or printer's name.“ Only new titles?

446. 1869.

Liturgia Anglicana, | ó | libro de oracion comun, | y | Administra-
cion de los Sacramentos, | y otros | ritos y ceremonias de la iglesia, |
segun el uso | de la iglesia de Inglaterra é Irlanda: | juntamente con
el | salterio ó salmos de David, | puntuados segun se han de cantar
ó rezar en las | iglesias; | y la fórmula | de la consagracion, ordenacion,
é institu- | cion de los obispos, presbíteros, | y diaconos. | Oxford: |
imprensa de la universidad. | 1869. | This title framed on each side by two

parallel lines. Paged to XXX, including title; and, after a blank leaf, with new signature, p. 1—561. On 562 Printed | For the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge | at the Clarendon press, | Oxford. Follow three blank leaves. Duodecimo.

The Psalms and the portions of the Scripture (I compared Psalm 1 and 1 Cor. 13) are given according to Lucena's Bible.

In 1878, Lucena, in a letter to me, after mentioning the Liturgia Anglicana of 1839, which uses Amat, said: „There are other two or three editions of the same Liturgia, also prepared by me, having all the portions of the Scripture from Valera's Bible as by me revised, and I feel sure you could find a copy of the last edition by the C. K. S.“

I suppose the editions are made from the same plates.

On other editions of the Common Prayer Book in Spanish, which do not contain the version of Reina and Valera, but those of Scio and of Amat, see below in the notices on various Bible-translations.

Extracts from the Bible.

447. 1655.

John Viccars in his commentary: Decapla in psalmos. Londini 1655 [B—r], has used Reina's translation and the Spanish Old Testament of the Ferrara Jews.

448. 1781.

Rodriguez de Castro reprints in his Biblioteca Española t. 1, p. 472 f. from the Psalms of 1625 some verses of the first psalm and of the N. T. (see above n° 423), p. 474—475 St. John 1, 1—6 according to the N. T. of 1596 and that of 1625, together with some summaries from both from the other gospels (see above n° 362), and p. 500—501 Matth. 2, 1—3, Acts 1, 1. 2, Apoc. 1, 1. 2 from Perez's N. T. and from that edited by Ensina in 1708.

449. 1859.

Salmo 3. Version de Casiodoro de Reina. Reprinted in Memoria descriptiva de los códices notables conservados en los archivos eclesiásticos de España, escrita por D. José María de Eguren. Madrid 1859. P. 28 side by side with the translation made by Arragel in the 15th century.

450. 1860.

The Specimen, St. John's Gospel 1, 1—14, in The Bible of every land [1860] p. 261, inscribed Reyna's Version (side by side with Scio's and Amat's), is not taken from the Bible of 1569, but derives from Valera's N. T. of 1596.

Is this specimen an accession of this edition?

451. 1861.

Extractos | de las | santas escrituras. | Tolosa, | imprenta de A. Chauvin, | calle Mirepoix, 3. | 1861. | Two layers of 12 and 6 leaves.

Text p. 3—35. From Genesis 1—3, Exodus 19. 20, Isaiah 53. 55, Ezekiel 36, Psalms 32. 51, John's gospel 3, Luke 11, Romans 5. 6, Hebrews 8. 11; John's gospel 5, 39. From Valera 1602, revised. (London edition 1861?)

B—r.

1876.

Revision of Job 14 see n° 433.

From Reina's preface and admonition.

452. 1690.

Some passages from the Praefatio and from the Amonestacion in the original languages, in Hist. crit. des versions du n. t. Par Rich. Simon. Rotterdam. P. 497f.

453. 1709.

Some passages of the Amonestacion translated into Latin, in Le Long's Bibliotheca sacra. Pars altera. Parisiis. P. 120—121.

454. 1709.

The same in the edition of Le Long's Bth. sacra. Lipsiis. Pars altera. P. 147—148.

455. 1723.

The same in the edition of Le Long's Bth. sacra. Parisiis. Pars II. P. 363.

456. 1781.

An analysis with copious extracts from the Amonestacion is given by José Rodríguez de Castro in his Biblioteca Española, t. 1, p. 465—8.

457. 1871.

English translation by John T. Betts of the first four pages (unto errado como hombre) of the Admonition, in which the translator has inserted a translation of the two decrees of the Council of Trent from the verso of the title-leaf of Reina's Bible. In the article inscribed: The Governor of Madrid's Bible. || (By John T. Betts.) In The Friend's Quarterly Examiner. N° XVIII. April 1871. And in the separate edition (in my possession) p. 3—12 (end of the article).

458. 1889.

Some extracts from the Amonestacion in Menendez's Heterodoxos vol. 2, p. 470—472.

*Reina's annotations appended to the Bible.***459.** 1767.

The first and the last of the Annotationes breves are reprinted by Riederer p. 268—269 in the article quoted above under 333⁵.

460. 1858.

Annotationes breves sobre los lugares mas difíciles así en el Viejo Testamento como en el Nuevo, algunas de las quales quedaron señaladas en el texto en sus propios lugares, y dexaron de ponerse por no aunar cabido en el margen, como quisimos al lector en nuestra Prefacion Castellana. *Three leaves without imprint. Subscription:*

De un ejemplar de la Biblia traduzida por Casiodoro de Reina, e impresa el a. 1569. que posee Benjamin B. Wiffen, inglés, se reimprimen estas tres hojas, este año de 1858. Costó la reimpresion, que solo es de cincuenta ejemplares numerados, Luis de Usó y Río, español.

Zipriano de Valera incluyó estas Notas, menos ocho, en las márgenes de su Biblia impresa el a. 1602.

In John T. Betts' copy of Reina's Bible. In GOTHA Ducal appended to a copy of the same Bible. See above n° 333^a.

Compare Rf. Esp. XVIII. 1862, p. VI. VII.

Reina's autograph dedications of his Bible.

The Latin dedication to the University of Basle 1570 is printed in

461. 1727?

in Iselin's Historisch- und Geographisches Allgemeines Lexicon, Basel, 4^{ter} Theil?

462. 1728.

in the second edition of the same, p. 63.

463. 1734.

Reprinted from Iselin, in Theophili Sinceri Neue Sammlung Von lauter alten und raren Büchern Und Schriften. III. Stück. Franckf. u. Lpz. P. 258.

464. 1740.

Reprinted from Iselin by Gerdesius in Miscellanea Groningana t. 3, fascic. 1, p. 99 f.

465. 1744.

In Iselin's Lexicon, Dritte Auflage, part 5, p. 1112.

466. 1732.

Reprinted from Iselin, in David Clement's Bibliothèque curieuse, Göttingen t. 3, p. 456.

467. 1778.

In Pellicer's Ensayo de una bibliotheca de traductores Españoles, Madrid, p. 34, reprinted from Clement.)*

Biblioth. Wiffen. II.

468. 1821.

In James Townley's Illustrations of biblical literature, London, vol. III, p. 25. 26, reprinted from Clement.

469. 1829.

Reprinted from the Miscell. Groning. in M'Crie's Hist. of the Ref. in Spain, Edinb. and Lond., p. 349.

470. 1835.

The same in Plieninger's German translation of M'Crie's Hist. of the Ref. in Sp., Stuttgart, p. 359.

471. 1839.

The same in Munting's Dutch translation of M'Crie's Hist. of the Ref. in Sp., Amsterdam, vol. 2, p. 140.

472. 1840.

In Schulz Jacobi's article on Reina in his and Domela Nieuwenhuis' Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis der evang.-luthersche kerk in de Nederlanden, tweede stuk, Utrecht, p. 19.

473. 1851.

In Adolfo de Castro's Historia de los Protestantes Españoles p. 299 f. He quotes Clement and Pellicer.

474. 1856.

The same in M'Crie's Hist. of the Ref. in Sp., a new edition, Edinb. and Lond., p. 167.

475. 1862.

In Ref. Esp. t. 18, p. 31 f. from Pellicer.

476.

Cassiodorus Reinius Hispanus Hispalens.
inclytę huius Academię alūnus, huius sacrorū
librorū versionis Hispanicę autor, quam
per integrum decēnium elaboravit, et auxilio
pientissimorū ministrorū huius Ecclesię Basil.^{sis}
ex decreto prudentiss. Senatus typis ab
honesto viro Thoma Guarino ciue Basil.^{si}
excusam demum emisit in lucem, in perpetuū
gratitudinis et observantię monumentum
hunc Librum inclytę huic Academię supplex
dicabat. Ann. 1570. Mens. Iun.

Cass. R.

Quum sedero in tenebris, Iehoua lux mea est.

Mich. 6.

From the original.

^{*)} I do not know whether l'abbé Rive who is said, by Brunet t. 1. 1860, to have proved, in his *Chasse aux bibliographes* [1789], p. 647, that the printing place is Basle, has reprinted this dedication of Reina's.

477. 1778.

Spanish translation added by Pellicer p. 34.

478. 1851.

The same reprinted by Ad. de Castro p. 299 (espacio de diez a. instead of Pellicer's e. en d. a.)

479. 1862.

The same reprinted by Usóz p. 33 (with de Castro's correction).

480. 1872.

Another Spanish translation (without de Latin) in the Catalogo de la biblioteca de Salvá, t. 2, p. 763.

481. 1880.

A third Spanish translation (without the Latin) by Menendez Pelayo, Heterod., t. 2, p. 469.

The Latin dedication to the Senate of Frankfort o. M. 1573 is printed:

482. 1725.

In Lehnemann's Nachricht von der Kirche in Antorff &c. (see n° 518), p. 136. 137.

483. 1747.

In the Nachrichten by Theophilus Sincerus (pseudonym for Georg Jacob Schwindel), first weekly number 1747. January 4, p. 5. The numbers of 1747 were edited together as one volume in 1748. After the author's death, with new preface and title: Theophili Sinceri notitia historico-critica librorum veterum rariorum. Oder: Neue Nachrichten von lauter alten und neuen Büchern. Frkf. u. Lpz., zu finden bei J. P. Krausz Buchhändler in Wienn, 1753.

484. 1752.

Reprinted from Sincerus volume of 1748, in Clement's Bibliothèque curieuse, t. 3, p. 453.

485. 1778.

In Pellicer's Ensayo p. 33, from Clement.

486. 1821.

In Townley's Illustrations, vol. III, p. 26, from Clement.

487. 1851.

In Ad. de Castro's Hist. de los Protest. Esp. p. 300, from Clement, as it seems.

488. 1862.

In Ref. Esp. t. 18, p. 32 from Pellicer.

489. 1880.

In Menendez y Pelayo's Heterodoxos Españoles, vol. 2, p. 473 f.

490.

Cassiodorus Reinius Hispanus Hispalensis, versionis huius Hispanica lingua sacrorum librorum author, Optimi Senatus beneficio municeps Fräcofortsis, In eius beneficii, atq; adeo gratitudinis ipsius memoriam sempiternā, Bibliothecę publicę hunc librum dicat, Calendis Januariis, 1573. *Follows his monogram.*

From the original.

491. 1778.

Pellicer added a Spanish translation p. 33.

492. 1851.

Ad. de Castro reprinted it p. 300.

493. 1862.

And so did Usóz p. 33 (omitting su before conocimiento).

The autograph dedication by the versionis author to archbishop Grindal († 1583) is printed:

494. 1862.

in Ref. Esp. t. 18, p. 30.

A tracing of this autograph and a notice concerning it, both by Wiffen's hand, is among the Reina letters in the St. Thomas-Archives at Strassburg.

495. *Usóz adds a Spanish translation, l. c. p. 32 f.*

There are several other copies of the Reina bible with the translator's autograph dedications.

496. D. Basilio Amerb. Cassiodorus Rein. d. d. 1569.

In BASLE Public library. The abbreviated name means Amerbach. Compare on him here p. 228.

497. D. Doctori Adamo Petri Cass. Rein. Hisp. d. d. 1569.

In the possession of Professor E. REUSS at Strassburg. I already printed that line in my Strassburg program 1872, p. 31. On Adam Petri compare here p. 228.

498. D. Roberto Belo. Cass. Reinius Hisp. d. d.

First printed in Ref. Esp. t. 18, p. 34, in Latin and Spanish.

499. D. Joanni Tafino fratri in Christo chariss. Cass. Rein. Hisp. d. d.

In a copy which from Ticknor's possession went in Boston public library. See above p. 239. According to a letter of Professor W. I. Knapp. On Taffin, preacher of the Calvinist Walloon Church at Antwerp, compare our article on Corro. Reina will have dedicated this copy when he was Lutheran preacher at Antwerp 1579—85.

Upon St. John's gospel and St. Matthew 4.

500. 1573.

Evangelivm Ioannis: | hoc est, | ivsta ac vetvs | apologia pro
ae- | terna Christi divinitate, atqve | adeo, qvatenvs vnum cum eo
est, aeqva- | litate cum Patre: aduersus impietatem Iudæorum, Ce- |
rinthi, Ebionitarum, Arrij, Mahumethis de- | mum, & illorum scholae,
cùm ve- | teris, tum nouæ. | Ex novo testamento Syro à viris | doctis
nuper Latinitati donato: cum diuersa lectione ex Græcis, si quando |
illa secus habeant, ad marginem apposita: & argumentis capi- | tum,
& annotationibus in quibusdam | locis selectioribus. | Nonnulla insuper
adiecta sequens pagina indicat. | Per Cassiodorum Reiniū Theologiae |
studiosum. | Censurae piorum, atque adeò totius Ecclesiae Dei ex
verbo & | Spiritu ipsius iudicantis omnia subiiciuntor. | 1. Cor. 14, 32. |
A device: Fortune on a wheel on the sea, surrounded by the words: Fronte capil-
lata est post haec occasio calva. | Francofvrti, | Ex Officina Typographica
Nicolai Bassei, M. D. LXXIII. |

The same Nic. Bassæus in his Collectio in unum corpus 1592, t. 1, p. 19: „1573. A.“ viz. autumn.

On the back of the title: Contenta in hoc volumine. 1 Epistola operis dedicatoria ad Clariss. . . virum Ioannem Sturmium, Argentinensis Academiae Rectorem. 2 Praefatio in qua ostenditur occasio & scopus Euangelij Ioannis. 3 Ioannis Euangelium . . . 4 Addita est eiusdem argumenti ad quendam responsio. 5 Item expositio primae partis cap. quarti Matthaei . . .

Dedication to Sturm five leaves, a 2—b 2. Praefatio and S. John's gospel with commentary p. 1—180. The last of these pages contain the responsio ad quendam.

[Under an Ornament:]

Espositio pri- | mae partis capi- | tis qvarti Matthaei, com- |
monefactoria ad ecclesiam | Christi, De periculis piorum Mini- | strorum
Verbi in tempore | cauendis. | Per Cassiodorvm Rei- | nivm theologiae
stv- | diosvm. | *The device, Fortune on a wheel on the sea, with the same*

words as in front of the Evg. Ioannis, but this cut is different from that one. |
 Francofvrti, | Ex Officina Typographica Nicolai Bassei. | M. D. LXXXIII. |

After the title-leaf three pages dedication to Simon Sultzer and Huldric Coctius. Tremellius' translation with notes p. 6 foll. Vacantibus aliquot paginis, Reina gives the residuum of the chapter with annotations p. 19—22. On p. 22 Errata in comment. evang. Ioann.

Quarto.

ERLANGEN Univ. FRANKFORT o. M. City. STUTTGART Royal. BODLEIAN. In the copies in the Bodleian and in Frankfort the responsio, mentioned under n° 4 of contenta, is wanting.

501. The Frankfort volume, comprehending both commentaries, has on the first title-page (Evangelium Ioannis &c.) the following dedication in Reina's autograph: Humaniss. viro D. Henrico Kelnero Comp. amantiss. et amico summo | In perp. observantiae et constantis amicitiae pignus | Cassiodorus R. D. D. | 1588. Comp. means Compatri, perp. is perpetuae. Kellner edited: Chronica . . aller Hertzogen zu Venedig . . . Durch . . Heinrich Kellnern . . Ausz den Latein. vnd Italian. Venediger Historien-schreibern, sonderlich aber Petro Marcello vnd Syluestro Girello. and De vita . . dvcvm Venetorum . . Avctoribvs Petro Marcello . . , Sylvestro Girello . . , & Heinricho Kellnero, I. V. D. Patricioꝝ Francofurtensi . . Under the preface he calls himself: Reipubl. Francofurtensis Aduocatus atque Syndicus. Both published in 1574 by Feyerabend at Frankfort o. M. Reina sends to Kellner his kind regards in a letter to Ritter 1 March 1580. Three letters Henrici Kellner (Francofurti 1576—85) in the royal library at Munich, vol. 10, n. 254—256; see Verzeichniss der handschriftl. Sammlung der Camerarii in der k. Staatsbibliothek zu München. Vrf. von Karl Halm. 1874. P. 25.

502. 1725.

Some passages from Reina's dedication of St. John's gospel to Sturm, reprinted in Lehnemann's Nachricht (here n° 518) p. 93.

503. 1872.

Another part of Reina's dedication of St. John's gospel to Sturm, reprinted p. 31. 32 in my Strassburg program registered here n° 150.

504. 1882.

Part of the same dedication and part of the dedication of the commentary upon Matthew to Sulzer and Coctius, reprinted here p. 221 f. Documents 16 and 17. When reprinting Doc. 16, I had forgotten that the passages up to delitescant had been extracted by Lehnemann, see n° 502.

505. 1690.

Reina's Matthew IV. in Dutch in de Bruin's Overeenstemming der Evangelisten, Dordrecht 1690 p. 435—482.

According to Schultz Jacobi Bijdragen 1839 (see here n° 510) p. 20.

506.

Van der Aa's Biographisch Woordenboek. Tweede deel. Vierde stuk. Haarlem 1855: Florentius de Bruin (born 1650, died 1724): Overeenstemming der IV Euangelisten. Leyd. 8°. This would be another edition, printed in Leyden. Van der Aa does not mention that of our n° 505.

Sixtus Senensis.

507. 1575.

. Bibliotheca | sancta | à | F. Sixto Senensi, . . || . . collecta, || Secvnda editio, | in qua adiecta est tabula Chronographica . . || Emblem | Francofvrti, | Ex officina Typographica Nicolai Bassæi. | M. D. LXXV. | *The same year on the title-leaf of the Tomus Secundus, containing book 5 foll., and also on the title-page of the Tabula chronographica . . Collecta per Iohannem Bovlaese . . Secvnda Editio . .*

Appendix ad bibliothecam sanctam f. Sixti Senens. eorum quæ in secunda editione Venetiana, ex Authoris ipsius (ut aiunt) recognitione, priori editioni accesserunt. *Four leaves, signed Qqq. At the end: Habes tandem Lector, assummenta omnia qualiacunque demum sunt, sive parva, sive magna, sive nullius sive alicuius momenti, quibus Bibliotheca Sancta F. Sixti Senensis ab authore scilicet denuo aucta Venetiis rursus prodit in lucem hoc anno 1575. Pro amplissimis illis promissis, quæ in libri titulo leguntur, dii boni, quantillus mus, atque idem quam ridiculus? Iam, si iudicare licet de istis additamentis, propemodum auderem affirmare, supposititium fœtus alius cuiuspiam esse authoris, conducti nimirum, aut pecuniola quapiam, aut bonis verbis, ut aliquid adderet operi, alioqui ex argumento ipso ad eiusmodi additamenta nimium aperto, quo auctius foret quoque vendibilis. Facit ut ita iudicem cum fœtus ipsum ab authoris morte plus iusto posthumum, tum maxime quum aliquid addit de suo stylus ab authoris phrasi, alienus. Vale, et per nos quidem frui. Lastly indexes. Folio.*

FRANKFORT o. M. City. Professor E. REUSS, Strassburg.

This edition was procured by Reina, as we learn from his letter printed above p. 226 f. The antidoton which Reina intended to append seems never to have been printed. The remark at the end which I have just copied: Habes tandem &c., most likely is Reina's.

First edition Venice 1566 [STUTTGART Royal. VIENNA Court]. Second edition Venice, general title 1575, Tom. secundus 1574 [VIENNA Court]. The same work Lugduni 1575 [HEIDELBERG Univ.]. Coloniae 1576. Annexed, as belonging to this edition, (signed Qqq): Tabula chronographica collecta per Iohannem Bovlaese. Francofurti ad Moenum 1575. with Appendix containing the changes of the second edition Venice 1575, and at the end, before the index, the notice copied above: Habes tandem &c. I did not think the Tabula &c. to be a reprint, I could not, however, compare this Cologne edition side by side with the Frankfort one. [HEIDELBERG Univ. VIENNA Court]. Coloniae 1586 [NAPOLI Brancacciana]. . . a Ioanne Hayo Scoto expurgata atque illustrata. Lvgdvni, svmpibus Sib. a Porta. 1591 [FRANKFORT o. M. City]. Lugduni 1592. Folio registered in Nic. Bassæi Collectio in unum corpus 1592, t. 1, p. 290 (where besides this edition are only found: Venetiis atque Francofurti 1575, Coloniae 1586, Lugduni, Sib. à Porta

1591, *all in folio*). Paris 1610 [*VIENNA Court. FLORENCE Nazionale*]. Coloniae Agripp. 1626 [*HEIDELBERG Univ. STRASSBURG Univ. VIENNA Court*]. Naples 1742 [*FLORENCE National*].

London articles on the Lord's supper.

508. 1579.

Confessio | in articulo de Cœna, | Cassiodori Reinii Hispani, | Ministri in ea Ecclesia quæ Antuerpiæ se Augusta- | nam Confessionem profiteri dicit, quam si eius | Symmistæ sincerè profitentur, sublata erit inter | eos & Ecclesiarum reformatarum Ministros | controuersia. |

¶ Confessie ofte Belydenisse | (aengaende tpunct des Heyl. Nachmaels) | Cassiodori Reinij, spaignaert, dienaer inder kercke die haer tHantwerpen noemt te syne | vande confessie van Ausburch, welcke bely- | denisse sose syne mithulpers ooc oprechtelijc | bekennen, so sal het verschil dat tusschen hen | en den dienaren der ghereformeerde kercken | is, gheweert ende wechghenomen wesen. |

Confession (en l'article de la Cene) | de Cassiodore Reine Hespaignol, ministre en i- | celle Eglise qui se diet faire profession de la con- | fession d'Ausbouch en Anuers, laquelle si ses | compaignons veulent confesser en sincerité, le | different entre eux & les ministres des Eglises | reformees sera osté. |

A Anvers, | Chez Giles vanden Rade. |

Without year. Published in 1579, according to Reina's statement, Lehnemann p. 167.

Small octavo. Without paging.

Text begins f. A 2: Confessio Cassiodori Reinij. Ends B 3 (this signature has been given by mistake to the preceding leaf) verso: Sectemini pacem. B 4 blank.

The Latin text is throughout followed after each section by its translation in Dutch and in French. The Dutch, on the title and in the text, Gothic.

LEYDEN University.

509. 1725.

Lehnemann, in his publication registered under n° 518, has reprinted p. 160—163 the Latin text, and the French words of the title which concern place and printer. Not to speak of external changes, there must be noted that in article 5 in the question, L. has sint instead of sunt, that he omits the marginals of the excerpt from the Helvetian confession: Increduli sumunt sibi sacramentum in iudicium and Præsentia Christi in cœna, and that in the article of the London French church he has semel tantum instead of tantum semel. The words p. 163 Huc usque Confessio ista. are of Lehnemann's.

Catechism.

The deputies of the Augsburg Confession at Antwerp in a letter to Martin Chemnitz, 13 Mai 1580, reprinted by Lehnemann (see here n° 518) p. 156: ... senden wir E. g. W. hiermit Copia davon, mit und neben ein Exemplar von unserm Catechismo in Niederländischer Teutscher Sprache jetzund neulichs gedruckt, welcher vor etlichen wenigen Tagen in Frantzösischer Sprache auch ist gedruckt worden, und ingleichem in Lateinischer Sprache wird gedruckt werden, wie wir denn denselben auch künftig in Hispanischer Sprache übergesetzt zu thun drucken vermeynen ... *Lehnemann himself p. 98:* Wie er [*Cassiodorus*] denn, sobald er nach Antorff gekommen war, dieses seine erste Arbeit sein liesse, dass er zum besten der Jugend einen Catechismum in Frantzösischer Sprache verfertigte, welcher nachmahls in die Niederländische, Lateinische und Spanische Sprache übersetzt worden ist. — Otto Frid. Schütz 1728 (see n° 510) p. 20: ab autore brabantico sermone primum conscriptus, et paulo post in latinum, gallicum et hispanicum sermonem translatus. *Langemack (see n° 510) p. 542:* ohne Zweifel ist er [*Reina's catechism*] erst in Frantzösischer Sprache, massen der autor ein Frantzösischer Prediger war, verfertigt, und bald ins Niederländische und Lateinische und endlich auch ins Spanische übersetzt worden. *Schultz Jacobi in his Bijdragen, eerste stuk (see n° 513) p. 43.* [*Reina*] gaf er eenen Franschen Catechismus uit, die weldra ook in Nederduitsche, Latijnsche en Spaansche overzettingen uitkwam.

No one says that he has seen the Spanish version, and I think, it never has been printed.

510. 1580. *First Latin edition.*

Catechismus, hoc est, Brevis Instructio de praecipuis capitibus Christianae doctrinae, per quaestiones et responsiones, pro Ecclesia Antwerpiensi, quae Confessionem Augustanam profitetur.

This title is given in Otto Frid. Schütz de vita Davidis Chytræi commentariorum libri duo ultimi. Hamburgi 1728. [STRASSBURG Univ.] p. 20 where is added: anno 1580 . . in lucem editus est, autore, ni fallor, Cassiodoro Reinio. —

Catechismus, hoc est, Brevis Instructio de praecipuis capitibus Christianae doctrinae, per quaestiones, pro Ecclesia Antwerpiensi, quae Augustanam Confessionem profitetur.

This title is given by Gregorius Langemack in his: Histor. catecheticae, | oder | Gesammleter | Nachrichten | Zu | Einer catechetischen Historie | Anderer Theil, || Greiffswald und Stralsund [sic], | . . . 1733. | Octavo. [BERLIN Royal]. P. 543. The same title, with external variations, in Io. Georgii Walchii Bibliotheca theologica selecta, t. 1. Jenae 1757, p. 464. Neither Langemack nor Walch give place or year of this Latin catechism.

Doubtless it was printed in 1580 in Antwerp.

511. 1583. *Second Latin edition. With Appendix apologetica.*

Schütz l. c. p. 20: Vti autor Catechismi in Appendice apologetica editioni latinæ Catechismi de A. 1583. suffixa . . . Schütz refers to several passages of the appendix.

Langemack l. c. p. 552: Hierauf schrieb Cassiodorus Reinus, als autor des catechismi, eine apologie desselben, so 1583 einer neuen edition seines catechismi angehängt ist. *Of which apology Langemack p. 550 quotes the 60th page.*

Certainly printed in Antwerp.

512. 1580. *French edition.*

Catechisme, c'est a dire: vne brieue instruction des principauls points de la doctrine Chrestienne, par demandes et responses. Pour l'Eglise d'Anvers qui suit la Confession d'Ausbourg. 1. Pet. 2, 2. Desirez comme enfans n'a gueres naiz, le lait raisonnable et qui est sans fraude: afin que par iceluy vous croissiez à salut. A Anvers, chez Aernoultdt s' Coninx. Anno 1580. Avec privilege. 70 pages, duodecimo.

This title and notice is given by Siegm. Jac. Baumgarten in his Nachrichten von merkwürdigen Büchern, Band 2, Halle 1752, n° MCCXXXIII. 1424, p. 395. He subjoins: Das Privilegium Matthiae ist zu Antwerpen am 25 Apr. 1580 unterschrieben. Die Vorrede sowol als der Catechismus selbst ist am Rande mit sehr zalreicher Anführung von Schriftstellen versehen, aus welchen der Inhalt desselben genommen worden. Nach den gewöhnlichen 5 Hauptstücken des Catechismi wird von der Gewalt der Schlüssel gehandelt, worauf die Haustafel S. 47 etc. und von S. 61 eine Sammlung von Gebeten folget . . . Der Verfasser desselben [Catechismi] ist Cassiodorus de Reina gewesen.

Arnoldus de Konink is mentioned in Reina's letter of 17 May 1580.

513. 1580. *First Dutch edition.*

Korte Onderwysinge van de voornaamste Hoofdstukken der christelycke Leere, op vraage en antwoorde gestelt, also in christelycke kercken en schoolen der Nederduytse Landen, de Confessie van Augsborgh toegedaan synde, gheleert ende gheoeffent wordt. T'Antwerpen, by Arnout 's Coninx. 1580.

This title is given by Schultz Jacobi in his article: De godsdienstige onderwijsboekjes bij de Nederlandsch-Luthersche gemeenten, in his and Domela Nieuwenhuis': Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis der Evang.-Luthersche kerk in de Nederlanden, eerste stuk, Utrecht 1839, p. 43. 44.

514. 1582. *Second Dutch edition.*

Catechismus, dat is: Corte anderwijsinge, van de vornemste Hoofdstukken der christelyker Leere: Op frage ende Antwoort ghestellet. Also in de christelyke Kercken ende scholen der nederduytischen landen, de confessie von Ausborch toegedaen synde, gheleert ende gheoeffent wordt. van nieus nerrsteijje oversien, verbeteret ende ver-

meerdet. T'Antwerpen by Arnout s'Coninx. Anno 1582. *Four sheets Octavo.*

This title and notice is given by Langemack l. c., who adds p. 543—4: In einem sehr kurtzen Vorbericht wird erinnert, dass zwar viele catechismi gedruckt, aber auch solche, daraus die Jugend und Einfältige mehr Giff als heisamen [read: heilsamen] Unterricht schöpffen: man hätte diesen catechismus allein auf Gottes Wort gegründet, und würde Christus Jesus theils als ihr Erlöser, theils als ihr Vortreter, ut meritum et exemplum vorgetragen. In einem andern kurtzen Vorbericht, von Eintheilung der Zehen Gebote, wird erinnert, dass in der ersten edition die 10. Gebote, nach Art der Evangelischen Kirchen in Strassburg, und anderer eingetheilet worden, in dieser andern edition aber das Gebot von den Bildern weggelassen worden: da man sich berufft theils auf die christliche Freyheit; theils auf den gelehrten Juden R. Aben Esra, der denjenigen widerspricht, so aus dem ersten Gebote zwey machen; theils weil es auch Calvinus selbst für einen unnöthigen Streit achte. In den ersten dreyen Blättern, stehen die sechs Haupt-Stücke des catechismi, ohne alle Auslegung: darauf folget eine kurtze und feine Erklärung. This is therefore the second edition of the Dutch version.

The title-copy is certainly inexact. Schultz Jacobi, Bijdragen, eerste stuk, p. 44 gives only the additional notice of this title: van nieus neerstelyck oversien, verbeteret ende vermeerderet.

515. 1583. Third Dutch edition.

Catechismvs | Dat is: | Corte onderwijsinghe, van-de | voorneemste
Hooft-stucken der | Christelijker Leere: Op Vraghe | ende Antwoordt
ghe- | stelt. | Alsoo die in-de Christelijke Kercken | ende Scholen der
Neder-duytcher | Landen, de Confessie van Ausborch | toe-gedaen
zijnde, geleert ende ghe- | oeffent wort. | × | 1. Petri. 2. | Weest
begheyrich na het vernuftich louter | Melc, als de nieu gheboren
Kinderkens, | op-dat ghylden door het selue toe-neemt. | T'Hant-
werpen, | By Aernout s' Coninx. | Anno 1583. | Met Priuilegie. |
Only the words Catechismvs and T'Hantwerpen with Roman characters, all the rest Gothic, like the whole book, except some inscriptions of chapters.

Diminutive octavo. Height of the column, including paging and signature, 83 millimeters.

Verso of title-leaf the duke's privilege dated 10 July 1582 for this catechism soo di byder Ghemeynten vande Confessie van Ausborch binnen Antwerpen ghebruyct wort. P. 3—5 preface, without subscription. Text p. 6—87, where Finis. Verso blank.

HAMBURG City.

Histoire de la confession d'Auxpourg by Chytræus.

516. 1582.

Histoire | de la confession | d'Avxpovrg, | contenante | Les
principauls Traitez & Ordonnances, faites pour la Religion, quand

l'Electeur | Iehan, Duc de Saxe avec les Citez & autres Princes Protestants presenterent | leur confession de foy (icy inserée) a l'Empe-
 reur Charles V. es | Estats generauls de l'Empire, tenus a Auxpourg,
 1530. | Recvevillie | Par le D. Daud Chytreaus, Professeur des S.
 lettres, en l'Vniuersité de Rostoch, | & nouuellement mise en François,
 par Luc le Cop. | *Emblem with inscription.* | En Anvers. | Chez Arnould
 Coninx. M. D. LXXXII. *Quarto.*

*Fol. *2:* Avls confesseurs de la verite evangelique, et desirevs de la connoissance
 d'icelle, s. en Christ. *Six pages.* *Ends:* En Anuers, ce cinquiesme d'Auril, 1582.
 Voz bien affectionnez au Seigneur, les Anciens & Deputez de l'Eglise Chrestienne
 d'Anuers, adherante a la Confessiõ d'Auxpourg, au nom de leur Eglise.

The work p. 1—835. P. 455 title-page: Traitez | faicts avec les Zvin | gliens,
 premierement a Marpovrg, l'an M. D. XXIX. et depvis | en la ville d'Avxpovr, | l'an
 M. D. XXX. | < | > | M. D. LXXXII. | *Verso blank.* P. 503 *addition of the traduc-*
teur: a lettre of Ecolampade, from the vol. of letters of Ecolampade and Zwingli.
Verso blank. — P. 505 *title-page:* Second livre | de l'histoire de la | confession
 d'Avxpovrg: | contenant, | *the Württemberg confession 1552, the Saxon confession*
1551, the Apology of the Augsburg confession, the peace of Passau ratified at
Augsburg 1555. *Verso begins text.* P. 621 *blank.* P. 623 *only the title:* Apologie
 .. de la confession d'Avxp. .. novvellement tradvitte en Francois svr la premiere
 impression d'icelle, faite par George Rhav, a Vittemberg, en l'an, M. D. XXXI.
 P. 624 *begins text.* — P. 836: Les titres principavls dv present livre. *Ends on the*
next page: 50. Apologie de la confession d'Auxpourg. 51. Paix de la Relligion [*of 1555*].
 P. 838: *faultes.* P. 839: Corollarivm interpretis ad Othonem Fridericvm, Frisivm,
 Politissimvm virvm, et amicvm integerimvm [*sic*]. *Begins:* Hæc ego nominibus nuper
 vulgata Latinis, | Non dubiæ repetens Fidei monimenta, parabam | Francorum ad patrias
 voces traducere: dum iam | Belga diu dominos immites passus Iberos, | Seruiliisque
 iugi indocilis, bellique ruinas | Pertæsus, regem, mutata sorte, Philippum | Abdicat,
 & rerum Francos imponit habenis. | *Signed:* Non sine Deo, Lvcas Copvs Sabavdivs.
Verso blank.

GETTINGEN Univ. In the copy of VIENNA Court p. 553—736 are
 wanting.

*The history of the Augsburg Confession by David Chytræus had first been
 edited in German in 1576 in Rostock, a second time in 1576—77 in the same town,
 again at Frankfort o. M. 1577 and 1580. (Feverlini Bibliotheca symbolica, ed.
 Riederer. Norimbergæ 1768, p. 73 f.) But he had written it first in Latin, and
 the Latin manuscript was edited in 1578 in Frankfort o. M.; with a preface of
 Matthias Ritter, Reina's friend (see here p. 180 f.). It was this Latin edition [a
 copy is in my possession] which was translated into French, as appears from
 Le Cop's Corollarium. Le Cop added the Apology of the A. C. from the edition of
 1531, following the wish expressed by Chytræus himself in a letter to Schlüsselburg
 18 July 1581: Historiam Confessionis Augustanæ Gallica lingua isthic exprimi, nescio
 an lætari potius vel dolere debeam. Non dubito enim Calvinistas hac ratione provoca-
 tos, suam quoque Neostadianam Historiam Gallica lingua publicaturos esse. Et ad
 meum libellum Apologiam primam in quarto excusam Anno 1531. adiungi versam in
 Gallicum sermonem, et Adversariorum confutationem omitti, malim. Sed hæc Deo*

committo. (Schlüsselburgii studium posthumum, p. 225. Compare here p. 181.) The Confutation papistique is, however, not omitted by Le Cop. On Nov. 25. 1581, Chytræus writes to Schlüsselburg (l. c. p. 228): Quod confutationem Adversariorum in Hist; Conf: Aug: omisit, & Apologiam primam, ex editione anni 1531. in quarto adjungitis: valde mihi gratum. Exemplar Gallicum in officina absolutum ad me mittetis.

Luc Le Cop, who at the end calls himself a Savoyard, is possibly identical with Lucas Copin, on whom the following notice is found in Gaulle's Typogr. Genevoise, 1855, p. 151, from the registres du Consistoire of Geneva, 6 Febr. 1570: Lucas Copin est renvoyé par Messieurs, pour avoir abusé en ses études de plusieurs livres prophanes, comme Rabelex et Catulle. Pour laquelle faute lui a été la Cène interdite. Et, au reste, Messieurs sont priés de lui ordonner de se retirer de la ville, avec injonction, s'il ne peut être entretenu en bon chemin dans la maison paternelle, qu'il soit réduit à prison en lieu propre, sans maniement d'aucuns deniers.

Otto Frid. Schütz, de vita Davidis Chytræi commentarior. lib. secundus Hamburgi 1722, p. 350: De qua versione gallica, autore Cassiodoro Reinio, Ecclesiae Lutheranae gallicae, quae Antverpiae erat, Ministro primo ita Chytræus A. 1581 ad Schlüsselburgium . . . But the passages quoted do not contain anything about Reina as translator of the Historia Augustanae Confessionis, nor is there anything in that letter that could in the least justify such a conclusion, the only words on Reina, occurring there, being those which I have extracted above p. 181. Schütz l. c. says of the book of Chytræus on the Augsburg Confession: si Abbati Langlet de Fresnoy (note: In Catalogo Historicorum p. 49. edit. german. Mencken.) habenda fides, in Gallicum sermonem conversus et A. 1583. in 8. Antverpiae editus est. But the Catalogue des principaux historiens. Nouv. ed. par J. B. Mencke. Lps. 1714. P. 46 (not 49) says: David Chytreus Histoire de la Confession d'Augsbourg in 4. Anvers 1582. And also Lenglet du Fresnoy, Méthode pour étudier l'hist. Nouv. éd. t. X. Paris 1772. p. 304 gives for that book: Anvers, 1582. in 4. Baumgarten, Nachrichten von merkwürdigen Büchern. 2 Band. Fünftes Stück. Halle 1752. describes the edition of 1582, and says that the notice of Schütz: 1583. in 8. autore Reinio „scheinet auf gegenwärtige erste Ausgabe der copischen Übersetzung zu gehen, die gedachtem Geschichtschreiber unbekant gewesen.“ J. G. Walch, Bth. theol. selecta, t. 1, 1757, p. 328: Schutzius . . . memorat Cassiodori Reinii versionem gallicam historiae huius, publicae luci expositam Antwerp. MDLXXXIII. 8. quae tamen eadem esse videtur cum interpretatione a Copo adornata.

Among Wiffen's ms. notices concerning Reina I found the following: 1563 October. At Antwerp under the name of Luc le Cop. (Fardes d'Audience. Bruxelles N° 273). Rahlenbeck l'Inq. et la réf. p. 33, and he confirmed this in conversation with P. C. Van der Elst that this was stated in the report n° 273. Whatever may turn out to have been reported in 1563 on a pseudonym of Reina, Luc le Cop, the translator of the History of the A. C., must be a different person from Reina.

It is, however, not improbable that Reina cooperated in the preface of the elders and deputies, in which Rahlenbeck l. c. 1857, p. 93 f. recognizes ses idées et son style.

517. 1605.

Feverlini Bibliotheca symbolica, ed. Riederer. Norimbergae 1768. registers the edition Anvers 1582, and continues p. 74: Eiusdem versionis gallicae editio alia, à

Frankfort, 1605, 4 mai. Confessio Augustana hic est ex antecedente Latina editione translata, non autem semper exacte, e. g. uerba articuli XII: credit propter Christum remitti peccata, ita redduntur: croid que les pechez sont pardonnez pour l'amour de Christ. Apologia A. C. translata hic est ex editione Witteb. 1531. Confutatio Pontificia Confessionis nostrae etiam est in hac translatione.

Netherlandish fund for the poor in Frankfort o. M.

518. 1725.

Document written in 1585 by Reina in French. Edited p. 169. 170, German translation p. 171. 172. of

Historische | Nachricht | von der | vormahls im sechzehenden Jahrhundert berühmten | Evangelisch-Lutherischen | Kirche in Antorff, | und der | daraus entstandenen | Niederländischen Gemeinde | Augspurgischer Confession | in Franckfurt am Mayn, | aus beglaubten Urkunden mitgetheilet | von | Johannes Lehnemann. | Franckfurt am Mayn, | Bey Johan Friedrich Fleischer MDCCXXV.

8 leaves, not numbered, + 187 pages + 5 not numb. pages. Quarto.

With a portrait of Reina with the inscription round it: Cassiodorus Reinius bürger aus Sevilien, bürger zu Franckfurt am Meyn, und Frantzösisch-Lutherischer prediger anfangs in Antorff und hernach in Franckfurt, starb alda Ao. 1594. d. 15 Mart:) The end of this inscription is separated from the beginning of it, by an arrow, round which a dolphin is winding between the four letters*

C	R.
M	L

 (It is Reina's signet, as I see from the seals of original letters of his). C. R. means Cassiodorus Reinius. M. L. most likely means Minister Lutheranus.

Under the portrait:

Ein Spanier von Geburt, ein guter Protestant,
Ein treuer Prediger, ein Mann von grossen gaben,
In Antorff und alhir in Franckfurt wohl bekandt
War dieser Reinius. Was wil man weiter haben?
Bey Niederlaendern bleibt sein Name hoch geacht,
Weil er um ihre Kirch sich wohl verdient gemacht.**)
J. L. [viz. Johannes Lehnemann.]

Still lower: P. Fehr fecit.

LEIPZIG Univ. John T. BETTS. B—r.

Confession exhibited in 1593 to the Frankfort authorities.

519. 1725.

Edited by Lehnemann l. c. p. 163—169.

*) viz.: Cassiodoro de Reina, born at Seville, citizen of Frankfurt o. M., and French Lutheran preacher first at Antwerp and afterwards at Frankfurt, died there in the year 1594 on march 15.

**) viz.: Spaniard by birth, a good Protestant, a faithful preacher, a man of great talents, at Antwerp and here at Frankfurt well known, such was this Reina. What do you want more? With Netherlanders his name remains highly respected, as he has deserved well of their church.

Private letters.

520. 1684.

Joanni Marbachio. Francoforti 22 April. 1565. *Printed in:* Historiæ ecclesiasticæ, Seculi a. n. C. XVI. | supplementum, || editvm a | Jo. Fechtio, . . || Francofvrti & Spiræ, | Impensis Christophori Olffen, Bibliopolæ. | Dvrlaci, | Typis Martini Mulleri, Anno M DC LXXXIV. | *Quarto.* Epist. LXXVI partis tertiæ, p. 195—6.

HALLE Univ. VIENNA Court.

521. 1725.

The letter to Marbach reprinted, and extracts from seven letters to Matth. Ritter first edited by Lehnemann l. c.

1565 April	22.	P. 158—9.
1578 Nov.	6.	101.
1579 Dec.	18.	59—60.
1580 Jan.	11.	94—96.
— March	1.	60. 96—97.
— April	12.	97.
— May	17.	97—98. 101.
— Aug.	17.	99—100.

522. 1870.

Cassiodori Reinii | epistolæ tredecim ad Matthiam Ritterum datæ . . *In Zeitschrift für die | historische Theologie.* || herausgegeben von Dr. Karl Friedrich August Kahnis. | Jahrgang 1870. | Zweites Heft. | Gotha, | Friedrich Andreas Perthes. | 1870. | Octavo. P. 285 preface by Ed. Boehmer. Text p. 286—307.

The seven letters of which Lehnemann had given extracts, and six other letters.

523. 1872.

13 letters to Conrad Hubert at Strassburg, one of them to him and John Sturm, written from Oct. 28. 1567 to April 12. 1574, edited on p. 13—25. 29—31. of my Strassburg University program quoted here n° 150.

524. 1880.

A letter to Diego Lopez. Found by Alfred Morel-Fatio, edited by myself in my Romanische Studien. Heft XV. Bonn. P. 485—486 with my introduction p. 483—484.

525. 1880.

The same, reprinted from my Romanische Studien (without mention of them): Una carta de Cassiodoro de Reina, por el catedrático Dr. E. Boehmer. In the Revista cristiana. Año primero. N° 16. 31 de Agosto de 1880. Madrid. P. 249—252. With translation of my introduction, somewhat abridged.

B—r.

526. 1880.

The same, reprinted from the Revista Cristiana (without mention of it), in El ramo de olivo. Periódico de Instrucción Moral y Religiosa. Tomo VII. H. Matamoros [New Mexico], Diciembre 25 de 1880. Num. 12. P. 99—100.

B—r.

527. 1880.

Menendez's extracts from Reina's letters edited by myself, in his Historia de los heterodoxos esp. 2, p. 468 f.

528. 1882.

Twelve letters to Theodore Zwinger, here p. 223 f.

Chronological index of 40 published private letters of Cassiodoro de Reina.

The earliest of them was edited by Fecht (see here n° 520), the others have been edited by myself (see nos 522—524. 528). Extracts of 8 of them were given by Lehnemann (see n° 518). Only one letter is in Spanish, that to Lopez, all the others are in Latin.

Frankfort	1565	April	22	to Marbach.
Strassburg	1567	September	27	to Diego Lopez.
Basle	1567	October	28	} to Hubert.
—	—	November	13	
—	1568	August	4	
—	—	—	25	
—	—	December	23	
—	1569	January	16	
—	—	May	15	
—	—	June	24	
—	—	August	3	} to Hubert and Sturm.
—	—	—	6	
—	—	December	8	to Hubert.
Strassburg	1570	July	13	to Zwinger.
Frankfort	—	August	7	to Hubert.
Strassburg	1574	March	9	to Zwinger.
Frankfort	—	April	12	to Hubert.
—	—	September	24	} to Zwinger.
—	—	October	27	
—	—	November	23	
—	1575	April	6	
—	1576	April	22	
—	1577	April	7	
—	—	September	23	
—	1578	April	1	
—	—	—	13	

[Frankfort]				
Antwerp	1578	November	6	} to Ritter.
Cologne	1579	June	27	
Antwerp	—	December	8	
—	—	—	18	
—	1580	January	11	
—	—	February	8	
—	—	March	1	
—	—	April	12	
—	—	May	17	
—	—	August	17	
—	1581	January	17	} to Zwinger.
[—	—	February	28	
		or April	30]	
—	1582	January	9	} to Ritter.

Augustino Cassiodoro de Reina.

Congo in German.

529. 1597.

[In a tablet on the top of the frame:] Regnum Congo hoc est [In the frame representing a portal:] Warhafft vnd Eigentliche Beschreibung desz König- | reiche Congo in Africa, | vnd deren an- | grentzenden Länder, darinnen der Inwohner | Glaub, Leben, Sitten vnd Kleydung wol | vnd auszuführen vermeldet vnd | angezeigt wirdt. | Erstlich durch Eduart Lopez, wel- | cher in dieser Nauigation alles Persönlich er- | fahren, in Portugalesischer Spraach gestellt, | Jetzo aber in vnser Teutsche Spraach trans- | ferieret vnd vbersetzt, | Durch | Avgustinvm Cassiodorvm. | Auch mit schönen vnd Kunstreichen Figu- | ren gezieret vnd an Tag geben, durch Hans | Dietherich vnd Hans Israel von Bry, Gebrü- | der vnd Bürger zu Franckfurt. | Getruckt zu Franckfort am Mayn, durch Jo- | han Saur, in Verlegung Hans Dietherich vnd Hans | Israel von Bry, im Jahr | M. D. XC. VII. | [Quite below:] Jo. Theodori de bry fecit.

A ij: . . . Herrn Hans Georgen Graffen zu Solms, Herrn zu Müntzenberg vnd Sonnewald: vnd Herr Georgen Graffen zu Erbach vnd Herrn zu Breuberg, zc. . . *After quoting a verse of Sophocles about gratitude, he says:* Welcher mich auch verur- sacht hat, weil ich die vielfaltige Gutthaten, so ich von E. E. G. G. empfangen, nicht kan mit der That verschulden, viel weniger vergleichen, auff mittel vnd weg bedacht zu seyn, wie ich mein vnderthäniges danckbares Gemüt E. E. G. G. zu erkennen vnd zuverstehen geben möge: vnd wie ich mit diesen Gedanken vmbgehe, wardt mir diese ausführliche Beschreibung desz Königreichs Congo in Africa, welche zuvor auff Welscher Spraach in Truck ausgangen vnd an das Liecht kommen ist, zuverteutschen angetragen, das ich nit hab wöllen auszschlagen, weil ich dardurch Gelegenheit bekommen, meine vnderthänige Danckbarkeit E. E. G. G. anzumelden . . . *Second page ends:* Thue hiemit E. E. G. G. sampt deren geliebten Gemahln, junger Herrschafft vnd Fräuwlein, in Schutz vnd Schirm Gottes desz Allmächtigen befehlen. Datum Franckfort am Mayn den 15. Februarij Anno 1597. E. E. G. G. Vndertheniger Diener Augustinus Cassiodorus Reinius Francof. ad Mœn.

A ij and IV Vorrede of Hans Dietherich vnd Hans Israel von Bry, dated Frankfort o. M. 1 March 1597.

Map of Egypt, two leaves stuck together. Congo p. 1—74, signed B—L. L ij—IV Index.

Title-leaf: Erklärung etlicher Capitel, deren hievor gesetzten Bücher, darinnen die Ankunfft der Portugaleser in die Insel Congo, Ercheinung vor dem König, ... mit schönen vnd Kunstreichen Kupferstücken ... vor Augen gestellt wirdt ... Durch Hans Dietherich vnd Hans Israel von Bry ... Franckfort am Mayn, durch Johann Saur, in Verlegung Hans Dietherich vnd Hans Israel von Bry, Gebrüder. M.D.XCVII. Follow ten leaves, numbered 1—10, signed the first Aa ij, the ninth Cc ij, under the tenth: Ende., each with a print and with German text. A blank leaf (Cc IV).

Folio, doubles.

VIENNA Court. Without maps of Congo and of St. Helena. The map of Congo is registered by T. O. Weigel (Serapeum 1845 p. 90) and by Brunet (1355), as belonging to this edition.

It is the first part of the collection concerning the East Indies, but it is not expressly thus entitled.

The auction Catalogue of Serge Sobolewsky's library, Leipzig Berlin Londres 1873, p. 245, has a copy Avec 14 planches; avant la planche 11 un titre impr. „Folgen noch etliche Figuren etc.“ En outre conforme à la description de Brunet. But the copy has also the appendix of 1625.

530. 1609. Second edition.

The description of the first edition is also applicable to the second. The differences in the title are the following: ed. 2. has no comma after vbersetzt, writes vnd before Kunstreichen, has Mat- | thias Becker instead of Joh. Saur, and is dated M. D. C. IX. In the special title of the prints likewise M. D. C. IX. and Matthias Becker. Accessional are the prints 11—14, Cc IV—Dd III, where Ende; follows a blank leaf. Three maps: Egypt in two parts, Congo, St. Helena. Folio, layers of two sheets.

STUTTGART Royal. In the STRASSBURG University copy the title and the map of St. Helena are wanting. To a neat, but incomplete duplicate of the Royal library at Stuttgart, which I bought, I united, from another incomplete copy, the dedication and the preface: only the map of St. Helena is wanting.

The Appendix to Congo is not translated by Reina, it is a German original by the traveller: Anhang der Beschreibung desz Königreichs Congo. Innhaltend Fünff Schiffarten Samuel Brauns [a 1616 f.] ... von jhme selbst ... beschrieben [in German], vnd mit ... Kupferstücken gezieret, durch ... Johann Theodors de Bry Seeligen gemeinen Erben. Gedruckt zu Franckfurt am Mayn, bey Caspar Röteln. M. DC. XXV. STRASSBURG Univ. STUTTGART Royal. VIENNA Court.

531. 1628. Remodelled.

Title-leaf in a frame: Orientalisches Indien ... Gedruckt zu Franckfurt am Mäyn, bey Caspar Rötell, In Verlegung Wilhelm Fitzers. Anno M. DC. XXVIII.

Fitzer's preface is dated 8 Sept. 1627.

P. 1: Kurtze Sumarische Beschreibung der Schiffarth ausz der Statt Lisebona, in das Königreich Congo .. Runs to p. 40. It is Reina's text, revised and abbreviated. One map: tabula regni Congo, identical with that of the 1597 edition. Twelve of the appended prints of 1609 are inserted in the text. Figure 9, the zebra, is left

out. Three prints, representing trees, are added, p. 2. 14. 23. A map is added on p. 5. Besides a view of St. Helena on a separate open folio.

Folio, layers of two sheets.

STRASSBURG Univ. (title-leaf and some other leaves injured). AARAU, Cantonal library, according to the catalogue.

Congo in Latin.

532^a. 1598.

An engraved rich frontispiece, the ornamental part identical with that of the German editions, contains the title:

Regnum | Congo | hoc est | vera descri- | ptio regni Afri- | cani, quod tam ab
in- | colis quam Lvsitanis | Congus appellatur. | Per | Philippvm Pigafettam, | olim ex
Edoardi Lopez acroamatis | lingua Italica excerpta; nunc Latio | sermone donata ab |
Avgvst. Cassiod. Reinio. | Iconibus & imaginibus rerum memorabilium quasi | viuis,
opera & industria. Ioan. Theodori & Ioan. | Israël de Bry fratrum, &c. exornata. |
Francofvrti | Excudebat VVolfgangus Richter, impen- | sis Io. Theo. & Io. Israel. de
Bry, frat. | M. D. XCVIII. | *Below:* Io. Theodori de bry fecit.

Fol. 2 and 3 Epistola dedicatoria, dated Francofurti postridie Calend. Augusti. Anno 98. stilo veteri. *Fol. 3 and 4* Praefatio, dated Francofordij, Kl. Martij, Anno M. D. XCVIII. Both by the brothers de Bry, who say of the work in the dedication: ex Idiomate Italico in Germanicum, postmodum in Latinum sermonem transferendum curauimus.

Text p. 1—60. *Index* fol. H 3—H 5. H 6 is blank. *Folio.* Only H is triple, A—F are double (four leaves). *Maps* as in the German ed.: Egypt two parts, and Congo.

Follows title-leaf of Icones || In aes incisae . . . || x | Francoforti || M. D. XCVIII. | *Follow* fourteen leaves, each with engraving and text, signed, the first Aa 2, the 13th Dd 2, on fol. 14: Finis. *Fol. 15* blank.

Folio, layers of two sheets.

VIENNA Court, two copies. HALLE Univ. (fol. 13 of the Icones and the maps are wanting).

532^b. 1598—99.

In a catalogue of Fidelis Butsch Son (Kuczynski) at Augsburg, December 1877, p. 2, n° 26 (also in previous catalogues of his): Regnum Congo 1598. Conform mit Brunet. Der Titel der Abth. „Icones“ trägt indess die Jahreszahl 1599 und weicht sie in den 3 ersten Tafeln im Texte ab, wovon Brunet keine Notiz enthält. In one vol. with parts 2 and 3, for marks 25.

This first part of the India Orientalis, the Regnum Congo 1598 permittitur, whilst the 7 other parts are to be expurgated. Index Sundoval y Rojas 1612, Palermo reprint 1628, Prohib. p. 60, Expurg. p. 391.

533. 1624. Second edition.

Regnum Congo. Francofurti excudebat Erasmus Kempffer, impensis hæredum Ioann.-Theod. de Bry, 1624 (1623 dans le Catal. le Langlès). Brunet 1335.

Appendix Regni Congo, containing voyages of Samuel Brunus, written by himself in German, translated into Latin by Ludouicus Gotfridus, published Francofvrti hæd. De Bry 1625. [VIENNA Court.]

Pigafetta's Italian book on Lopez's Congo travel appeared in 1591. Tross, Catal. 1878 n° II, p. 94. — English translation 1597. See Collection of voyages

and travels, London 1745 (f.?), which I have not seen. I know Die Allgemeine Historie der Reisen ... im Englischen zusammen getragen, und aus demselben ins Deutsche übersetzt. Viertes Bd. Lpzg 1749. comprising Congo by Lopez.

English navigators in America, in German.

534. 1599.

Americæ Achter Theil, | In welchem Erstlich beschrieben wirt | das Mächtige vnd Goldtreiche Königreich Guiana, zu Norden | desz grossen Flusses Oronoke ... ||| Item, Eine kurtze Beschreibung der vmbliegenden Landtschafften Emeraia, Arro- | maia, Amapaia, Topago, &c., in welchen neben andern Völkern die Kriegische Weiber, von den Al- | ten Amazonas genannt ... || Alles mit fleisz beschrieben durch ... Walthern Raleigh, | ... welcher neben dem auff | dem Meer auch wolgeübten Hauptmann, Lorentz Keymis alles selber er- | fahren vnd gesehen hat im Jar 1595. vnd 1596. | Zum andern, die Reyse desz Edlen vnd vesten Thomas Candisch, welcher im Jar | 1586 ... in Engellandt ausgefahren, ... | ... 1588 wider an ist gelanget ... || Durch Frantzen Prettie einen Engelländer ... | ... aufgezeichnet. | Vnd zum dritten die letzte Reysz der gestrengen, Edlen vnd vesten Frantzen Draeck | vnd Johan Havckens, Rittern, welche Anno 1595 ... | ... in Engellandt abgesegelt in die Occidentalische Indien. || Alles erstlich in Engelländischer Sprach ausgegangen, jetzt aber ausz der Holländischen translation | in die Hochteutsche Sprache gebracht, durch | Avgvstinvm Cassiodorvm Reinivm. | Mit etlichen schönen Kupfferstücken geziert vnd an Tag gegeben, durch Dieterichen | von Bry seligen, hinderlassene Erben | [*A small map, representing parts of America, Europe and Africa*] | Gedruckt zu Franckfurt am Mayn, durch Matthæum Becker. 1599. | *Folio, layers of two sheets.*

The title, and the whole book, Gothic, with some words Roman. On the second leaf begins Vorrede: Wiewol wir, günstiger Leser, gänzlich entschlossen waren, die Americas, wie sie vnser Vatter seliger hat lassen ausgehen, bey den 7. Theylen zu beschliessen, vnd die Orientalischen Indien zu beschreiben, wie wir dann allbereit einen Anfang darinnen haben gemacht [by the volume on Congo], hat es vns doch endlich für gut angesehen, diese 4. Reysen noch hinzu zufügen, vnnd den 8. Theyl daraus zu machen, damit das Werck an jhm selber desto vollkommlicher were. The publishers' preface ends on the third leaf, recto; on the verso begins the preface of Raleigh, which ends on the next page; the back of the fourth leaf is blank.

Large map of Guiana by a companion of Raleigh.

Raleigh's first voyage p. 1—56, layers signed A—G. Second voyage, with the author's preface, p. 1—30, signed Aa—Dd. P. 30 a misprint of p. 1 of the following travel of Candisch is corrected. Then title-leaf:

Reyse desz Edlen vnd vesten Thomas | Candisch, welcher im Jar 1586 ... in Engellandt | ausgefahren, vnd nach dem er das Meer bey die 13000. Engelländischer Meyl | besegelt, in Anno 1588 wider an sie gelanget, ... ||| Durch Frantzen Prettie einen Engelländer ... | ... aufgezeichnet. | Item | Die letzte Reysz der gestrengen, Edlen vnd vesten Fran- | tzen Draeck vnd Johan Havckens, Rittern, welche Anno | 1595 ... | .. in Engellandt abgesegelt in die Occidentalische Indien, die Statt | Panama eynzunehmen, Auff welcher Reyse sie beyde | jhr Leben beschlossen haben. | Alles erstlich in Engelländischer Sprach ausgegangen, jetzt aber ausz | der Holländischen translation in die Hochteutsche Sprache | gebracht, durch | Avgvstinvm Cassiodorvm Reinivm. | Mit etlichen schönen Kupfferstücken geziert vnd an Tag gegeben, durch Dieteri- | chen von Bry seligen, hinderlassene Erben. | [*Map of the whole earth*] |

Gedruckt zu Franckfort am Mayn, durch Matthes Becker, | in verlegung Theodori de Bry nachgelassene Wittwe | vnd beyde Söhn. | M. D. XCIX.

Candish's voyage p. 1—36, *that of Drake and Hawkins* p. 37—48, *both together signed a—f.*

Column-head of all four voyages: Das achte Theyl der Occidentalischen Indien.

Custos p. 48 *at the end:* War. *Follows title-page:*

× | Warhafftige vnd Eygentliche Für- | bildung etlicher der fürnembsten Historien vnd Völcker, | deren in dieser Guianaischen Beschreibung mel- | dung geschihet. | Sampt einer kurtzen Erklärung vnter jede Figur | gesetzt. | Alles zierlich in Kupffer gestochen vnd an Tag geben, | Durch | Theodori de Bry | seligen, Erben. | × | Gedruckt zu Franckfurt am Mayn, durch | Matthæum Becker. | M. D. XCIX. | *Follow six prints, numbered I—VI, signed g ij and so on, the fifth h ij; under the sixth: Ende.*

VIENNA Court. In my copy the map of Guiana is wanting; it is the copy registered in the Sobolewsky auction catalogue 1873 under n° 3638: Fort bel exemplaire, grand de marges, mais l'Additamentum manque. That Add. is, however, a separate publication of the year 1600, containing 15 prints (see Brunet 1350) belonging to parts 7 and 8 of de Bry's America together. A copy of vol. 7 and 8, with these 15 prints, and with part of Ziegler's extract (see here 536), but without the map of Guiana, was offered in 1874 by Albert Cohn in Berlin, CVII Catalog, p. 5, n° 26, for 15 Thalers.

535. 1624.

Second edition. Franckfurt, Rödtel. See Brunet 1350 f. I have seen it in WOLFENBÜTTEL Ducal.

The Latin translation is not by Reina: Americæ pars VIII. *Three voyages of Drake, and those of Candish, Raleigh, Keymis.* Primo quidem Anglicana lingua partim ab equitibus ipsis, partim ab aliis, qui hisce itineribus interfuerunt, sparsim consignata: Iam verò in vnum Corpus redacta, & in Latinum Sermonem conuersa, auctore M. Gotardo Artvs Dantiscano. . . opera & sumptibus Theodorici de Bry P. M. relictæ Viduæ & filiorum. Anno M. D. XCIX. *With a large map of Guiana.* *VIENNA Court, three copies; two with a small map, on p. 78 (end), of Candish's travels, one of these two copies with painted maps and initials; the third copy without that small map. I possess a copy without the map of Guiana.* Tabulæ & imagines ad septimam et octavam Americæ partem . . sumptibus dictorum Theodorici de Bry viduæ & filiorum. Anno M. D. XCIX. *VIENNA Court, three copies, one painted.*

For this Latin translation a series of expurgations is found in the Index of Sandoval y Rojas 1612, Palermo reprint 1628, Expurg. p. 34. Most of them are applicable to the German translation likewise. In Drake's last voyage p. 41, Germ. p. 45 is to be cancelled that he died in the Lord, and that the English clergymen held an efficient sermon; in the second voyage to Guiana several passages are to be suppressed which blame Romanism and the Spaniards and which praise the gospel and the English government, p. 74. 81. 82. 89. 90. 91. 99, Germ. p. 9. 10. 15. 16. 23. 24. 30.

Second edition of the eighth part of America in Latin, with prints in the text, 1625. VIENNA Court, two copies.

Reina's translation, published in 1599, of those English explorations was, as Reina states, made from a Dutch translation of the English originals. The introduction to the edition of 1848 of Sir Walter Raleigh's Guiana says that the first two editions

of the original appeared in 1596, the next in Hakluyt's voyages in 1599 (later ones in Birch's Works of Raleigh 1751, in Cayley's Life of Raleigh 1805, in the Works 1829), gives the title of de Bry's edition in Latin 1599, mentions the existence of a German translation in de Bry's collection, of two translations in Dutch, one in 4^{to}, the other published in 1619, and that a French translation appeared in 1722 in the second volume of F. Correal's Voyages. I may add that two editions of Correal's Voyages appeared in that year, one in Paris, the other in Amsterdam, both containing in vol. 2. Raleigh's Guiana, together with the second voyage to Guiana, performed and written by Lawrence Keymis, published London 1596. As for the Dutch, List & Francke's Antiquarisches Verzeichniss, Leipzig 1879, p. 11, n° 202 has: Candish en Fr. Drake, Beschryvinge van de overtreffelijcke ende wydtvermaerde Zee-vaerdt van Th. Candish van 1586—1588. Hier noch by ghevoecht de voyagie van Fr. Draeck en J. Haukens naer West-Indien, ghepretendeert Panama etc. anno 1595. Amsterd., M. Colijn, 1617. 4. obl. mit gothischen Lettern. Reina used an earlier Dutch edition; it is not clear whether he found all the voyages, which he translates, united in one Dutch work.

The following seems to be disconnected with Reina. Kurtze Wunderbare Beschreibung ... Guianae ... So ... 1594. 1595 vmd 1596 von ... Walthero Raleigh ... besucht worden: Erstlich auss befehl seiner Gnaden in zweyen Büchlein beschriehen, darauss Jodocus Hondius, ein schöne Land Taffel, mit einer Niederländischen erkläring gemacht, Jetzt aber ins Hochdeutsch gebracht, vnd auss vnterschiedlichen Authoribus erkläret. Durch Levinum Hulsium. [Vignette] Noribergae, impensis Levini Hulsii. MDXCIX. [Am Schlusse:] Gedruckt zu Nürnberg, durch Christoff Lochner, In Verlegung Levini Hulsij. br. 4. 11 Blätter (5 unpag., 16 pag. u. 1 unpag. Stn) mit 2 Karten und 5 Kupfern. The fifth part of Hulsius' Reisen. I take this from Catalog Nr. 31 von A. Stuber's Antiquariat in Würzburg 1880. P. 39, n° 915. A second edition, not indicated as such, Noribergæ, Impensis Levini Hulsii. M. DCI. 3 sheets 4^{to}, with map and plates (the plates wanting in the copy of VIENNA Court). Brunet has 2^d and 3^d 1603, 4th 1612, 5th 1663. Fidelis Butsch (Kuczyński), Augsburg, Antiquarische Blätter Nr. 25. 1882, p. 33, n. 719 has the ed. of 1612 with 21 pages; Brunet gibt nur 18 an. Ihm fehlen 3 SS. Vorrede. The introduction of 1848 of Raleigh's Guiana mentions an abridgment in Latin by Hulsius, Nuremberg, with five illustrations, and in German by the widow Hulsius, Frankfurt o. M., both in 1599.

536. 1617.

Ziegler, Ph. America. Franckfurt, Hoffmann 1617. Sobolewsky catalogue n° 3622: abrégé, renfermant les 9 premières parties des grands voyages collection de de Bry.

537. 1631.

Historia Antipodum. Neue Welt Vnd Americanische Historien. Durch Joh. Ludw. Gottfriedt. Merian. Frankfurt a. M. 1631 [VIENNA Court]. Sobolewsky Catalogue n° 3623: abrégé des 14 parties de De Bry grands voyages. P. 358—392 the royages of Drake and Hawkins 1595, of Candish 1586—88, of Raleigh and Keymis 1595 and 1596.

538. 1655.

Sobolewsky n° 3624: La seconde éd. du même ouvrage. Frankfurt, Merian, 1655.

Marcos Cassiodoro de Reina.

539. 1625.

Inventarivm | historiæ Francicæ, | Hoc est, | rerum Fran- | cicarum series, a | primo Francorum rege | Pharamvndo et anno Christi MDXX. vs- | que ad Ludovicum XIII. hodiernum eo- | rundem Regem Christianissimum, & Annum Chri- | sti M. DC. XXV. recensita. | In qua | admirandarum (si vsquam alias) | vicissitudinum, et providentiæ divinæ, qua | regna conseruantur, illustria occurrunt exempla: | Intersertis etiam, suis locis et tempo- | ribus, iis, quæ in Imperio Romano, & Ecclesia acciderunt, vnâ | cum salutaribus monitis & Exemplis. | Omnibus tum historiarum, tum præcipue politices | studiosis tam vtilis, quàm iucunda futura, | Iam pridem Gallico idiomate descripta à | Ioanne Serrano. | Nunc verò in Latinum Sermonem translata à | Marco Cassiodoro Reinio. | Additæ sunt singulorum regum effigies aeri inci- | sæ, & ad viuum expressæ. | Cum Indice rerum & verborum locupletissimo. | *Emblem with the words: In deo lætandvm: | Francofurti, | Typis Egenolphi Emmelij, Impensis Petri Kopffij. | Anno Christi M. DC. XXV. | Title black and red. Dedication to Anton Gunther count of Oldenburg by the translator, one leaf. Author's preface, four leaves, on the back of the fourth leaf catalogvs regvm. The work p. 1—1004, of two columns each. Many engraved portraits in the text. 19 leaves Index.*

FRANKFORT o. M. City. VIENNA Court.

540. 1627.

Historia regum Gallicæ | Integra, | a Pharamvn- | do, primo Gallo- | rum rege, qui anno do- | mini CCCXX. felicibus auspiciis prima re- | gni florentissimi fundamenta posuit, ad | Ludovicum XIII. hodiernum Regem Christianissimum, & annum CIO IOCXXV continua serie deducta: | in qua | admirandarum vicissitudi- | num, et providentiæ divinæ, qua re- | gna conseruantur, illustria occurrunt exempla: | Intersertis etiam, suis locis et tem- | poribus, iis, quæ in Imperio Romano & Ecclesia acciderunt, vna cum | salutaribus monitis & præceptis: | omnibus historiarum, et imprimis politices stu- | diosis non minorem vtilitatem, quam voluptatem allatura, | Iam pridem Gallico idiomate descripta à | Ioanne Serrano. | Nunc vero in Latinum Sermonem translata à | Marco Cassiodoro Reinio. | Additæ sunt singulorum regum effigies, aeri incisæ, | & ad viuum expressæ. | Cum Indice rerum & verborum locupletissimo. | *> with the device: In deo lætandvm | Francofurti, | Typis Egenolphi Emmelij, Impensis Petri Kopffij. | Anno Christi M. DC. XXVII. Folio, layers of three sheets. Title black and red. Title-leaf, dedication of the translator to Anthony Gunther count of Oldenburg one leaf, preface of the author four leaves, on the back of the fourth: catalogvs regvm. The work p. 1—1004 in pages of two columns; index 19 leaves. Many portraits in medallion, engraved.*

FRANKFORT o. M. City. STRASSBURG Univ. ULM City.

The dedication is, in both editions, dated: Francofurti ad Mœnum, Calend. Maii, M. DC. XXV. The translator says: regum Gallicæ . . . res gestas, prout a Ioanne Serrano, patria lingua literis mandatae, et a me, amicorum quorundam rogatu, Latio donatae fuerunt, nunc produco. and: huic autem meae translationis . .

Jean de Serres died 1598 May 19 (see Casauboni ephemer. p. 90—91). His Inventaire général de l'hist. de France reaches to the year 1422. A generall Inuenty of the history of Fraunce By J. de Serres, translated into English, was licensed by the London Stationers in 1597 (Arber 3, 96). The Inventaire was continued by

several writers. Continued jusqu'à présent, Paris 1624 [BASLE Univ.]. In Eggeling's Catal. rar. n° 103 an edition Paris 1625.

Ioannes Serranus is a first class prohibited author, and this his work is not excepted from prohibition. Index Sandoval y Rojas 1612, Palermo reprint 1628, Prohib. p. 54. Already in the Roman Index of 1607, as Knapp writes me.

541. 1872.

A Latin letter of Marcus Cassiodorus Reinius to Samuel Hubert 1594 Jan. 29, edited by myself p. 33. 34 of my Strassburg University program of 1872 (see above n° 150).

Supplement.*

336^a. 1862.

The title-page is exactly like that of 336^b, except the year.
I have only got the title-leaf.

390. 1874—75.

El | evangelio | de | nuestro señor Jesu-Cristo | segun | San Matéo. | Version de Cipriano de Valera: | Revisada y Corregida. | × | Matamoros; | México. | 1874. | Text, with summaries, p. 3—184. Small octavo; height, column-title and paging included, about 11 centim. On the coloured cover in a frame: El | evangelio | de | nuestro señor Jesucristo | segun | san Mateo. | × | Publicado por la sociedad | Americana de la biblia. | Matamoros | 1875. | B—r.

416. 1878.

After a blank leaf: Los actos | de los | Apóstoles. | × | Version de Cipriano de Valera: | revisada y corregida. | × | Publicado por la sociedad biblica Americana. | H. Matamoros. | Imprenta de la Sociedad de Amigos. | 1878. | Text, with summaries, in layers of eight pages; the numeration begins, on the second page of the first layer, with 3, but it passes from 94 immediately to 96, so that the third page of the last two leaves is p. 189. Height of the column, including column-title and paging below, about 115 millim. B—r.

420. 1876.

La | Primera y Segunda Epístolas | del | Apostol San Pedro. | Version de Cipriano de Valera. | × | Publicadas por la sociedad | Ameribana de la biblia. | H. Matamoros. | 1876. | The same title repeated in a frame on the coloured cover, with the same divisions, but the error Ameribana is corrected into Americana. On the back of the title-page: La primera epistola universal | de | san Pedro. Text, with summaries, p. 1—18. Two layers, p. 1—8. 9—16; the last leaf coherent with the title. B—r.

SPECIMENS
OF VARIOUS BIBLE - TRANSLATIONS IN SPANISH.
WITH
NOTICES ABOUT THE HISTORY OF THE SPANISH BIBLE.

Judges 5.

*Esc. 8, ms. s. XV.
from Latin.*

- 6 E[n] los dias de Sangar fijo de Anath
y en los dias de Jahel folgaron las carreras,
e los que andavan por ellas andaron por
calles desviadas.
- 7 Quedaron los fuertes en Israel e folgaron
ata que se levantó Delbora,
[se levantó] madre en Israel.
- 8 Nuevas bataillas escogió dios
e trastornó las puertas de los enemigos,
el escudo e el asta si parescieron
en quaranta millarias [de Israel].
- 9 El mio coraçon amará a los capdicillos
de Israel,
los que de vuestro grado vos diestes a
periglo,
bendezit a dios.

6 E[n]. *The ms. has the sign for the
conjunction e.*

Esc. 7, ms. s. XV.

- 6 En los dias de Sangar fijo de Anad,
en los dias de Yael se redaron los ca-
minos;
[e] los que andavan por senderos andu-
dieron por caminos retuertos.
- 7 E permanesció flaqueza en Ysrael e en-
flaqueció
fasta que me levanté yo Devora,
[me levanté] madre en Ysrael.
- 8 E escogió dioses nuevos
e lidió las puertas apresurada mente
que paresciesen con escudo e lança
en quarenta mill en Ysrael.
- 9 El mi coraçon a los sabios de Ysrael,
los que sodes flacos en el pueblo,
bendesid al señor.

*The bracketed words are wanting in
the manuscripts 7 and 8.*

2 Sam. 1.

*Esc. 8, ms. s. XV.
from Latin.*

- 19 Los nobles de Israel sobre los tus montes
murieron!
Como cayeron los fuertes!
- 20 No lo digades en Geth
ni lo seppan en los castellos de Ascalon
porque no s' alegren las fijas de los
Phillisteos
ni se gozen las fijas de los non circum-
cidados!
- 21 Monte de Gelboe,
ni rucio nin lluvia venga sobre vos
ni aya y campos de primicias!
Car y fue desechado el deffendimiento
de los fuertes
e el deffendimiento de Saul assi como si
non fuesse sagrado con ollio!

Esc. 7, ms. s. XV.

- 19 La esmerança de Ysrael e[n] sus alturas
fueron muertos!
Como cayeron estos barraganes!
- 20 Non lo contedes en Gad
nin lo albriciedes en las plaças de
Aqlon,
porque non se agosen las dueñas de los
Filistros
nin se alegren las fijas de los renegados!
- 21 Los montes de Guilboa,
non rocíe nin llueva sobre vos
nin en los tus campos nunca nascas primicia!
Por quanto alli fue quebrantado el escudo
de la barragania,
el escudo de Saul que fue ungido con
el ollio!

19 e[n]. *The ms. has the sign for the
conjunction e.*

Job 39.

Alvarez 1527
from Latin.

Por auentura daras fortaleza al cauallo
o cercaras a su cuello el relincho.
Por auentura le despertaras assi como lan-
gostas?
La gloria de sus narizes espanto.
Con la vña caua la tierra gozase osadamente:
sale al encuentro alos armados.
Menosprecia el pavor
y no se da vencido al cuchillo.
Sobre el sonara el aljaba,
semblara la lança y el escudo.
Heruiendo y bramando sorue la tierra:
ni estima en nada que resuene el sonido
de la trüpetä.
Quando oye la bozina dize vah.
Desde lexos huele la batalla,
la exortacion delos capitanes y el aullido
del exercito.

Variations in the same edition:

- 22 rodearas.
- 24 Caua la tierra con la vña.
- 25 espanto.
- se vence.
- 27 y no.
- 28 De lexos.

Grypho 1550.

Has tu dado la fuerça al cauallo?
o, vestido su ceruiz relinchadora?
Podras le tu espantar como á vna langosta?
pues que el pavor se le asienta muy bien
en sus narizes?
Caua con sus pies, y se alegra con grand
fortaleça y loçania,
y se va desapoderado contra las armas.
Riese señorialmente de las cosas peligrosas
y espantubles, sin auer d' ellas temor,
y no se retrae por vna espada.
Quando rechifia contra el vna aljaua,
y relumbran los hierros de las picas y lanças,
el esta hiruiendo y bramando, lleno de corage,
y haze volar en alto los poluos con su
inflammado brio,
ni se le da esta, por el sonido de las trom-
petas.
Al son de las trompetas da saltos y se regocija,
y puede oler y sentir desde lexos el combate,
y el ruydo y las voces de los capitanes.

Reina 1569.

- 19 Diste tu al cauallo la fortaleza?
vestiste tu su ceruiz de relincho?
- 20 Por ventura espantarlohas, como à algun
lagusto:
^b en cuya nariz ay fuerça para espantar?
- 21 Escarua la tierra, alegrase en st fuerça,
sale al encuentro de las armas:
- 22 Haze burla del espanto, y no tome,
ni buelue el rostro delante del cuchillo.
- 23 Contra el suena el aljaua,
el hierro de la lança, y de la pica:
- 24 Y el con impetu y furor escarua la tierra,
^c y no estima el sonido de la bozina.
- 25 Entre las bozinas dize, Hea:
y desde lexos huele la batalla,
el estruendo de los principes y el clamor.

Notes ^a Heb. fortaleza de su nariz miedo.

^b Heb. y no cree que boz de bozina.

Valera 19 Diste tu. 20 Espantarlohas tu c. à a. la-
gosto.

Lucena 1862 *f.*, *difference from Val.*: 20 ¿Le intimi-
darás tú c. à alguna langosta? El resoplido de su
nariz es formidable: 22 de la espada. 23 la alj.
24 sin importarle el sonido. 25 *Antes como que*
dice entre los clarines: Ea!... el grito de los capi-
tanes, y la vocería.

ABS 1865, *diff. from Val.*: 20 Espantarle has tú c.
à alguna langosta. 22 de la espada. 23 la alj.

Luis de Leon († 1591).

- 19 Por dicha darás al caballo valentia?
por dicha ceñirás su pescuezo de relincho?
- 20 Por dicha levantarle has como langosta?
hermosura de su nariz espanto.
- 21 La tierra cava con el pie, arremete con
brio,
saldrá á los armados al encuentro.
- 22 Desprecia el temor, y no se espanta,
ni se retrahe de la espada.
- 23 Sobre él sonará el carcax,
hierro de lanza y escudo.
- 24 Hervoroso y furibundo sorbe la tierra,
y no estima que voz de bocina.
- 25 Quando oye la trompa, dice: Ha! Ha!
y de lueñe huele la batalla,
el ruido de los capitanes, y el estruendo
de los soldados.

From the edition of 1804.

1855: 20 nariz y espanto. 25 ¡Ah! Ah!
Without y before el estr.

- Bien aventurado es el varon [For Alonso X from the Lat. Vulg.
que non andudo en el consejo de los malos syn ley
nin estudo en la carrera de los pecadores
nin en la sylla de nusimiento se assentó.
2 Mas fue la voluntad dél en la ley del señor
e en la ley dél mesura dia e noche.
3 E será como el arbol qués plantado cerca do corren las aguas,
que dará su fructo en su tiēpo
e la foja dél non caerá
e todas las cosas que fará se darán a bien.
4 Non asy los malos syn ley, non asy como este,
mas asy como el polvo a quien echa el viento ante la faz
de la tierra.
5 Por ende se non levantan los malos syn ley en el juyzio
nin los pecadores en el consejo de los justos.
6 Porque conosce el señor la carrera de los justos
e la carrera de los malos e syn ley perescerá.

- Que bien aventurado es el varon [Esc. 8, ms. s. XV.
que non anduvo en el consejo de los malos
e en la carrera de los peccadores non sovo
e non sovo en la morança de los que fablan vanidades.
2 Mas en la ley de dios es su voluntat
e en la su ley pensará dia e noche.
3 E es assi como el arbol plantado sobre los rios de las aguas
que da su fruto en su tiēpo
e no cae de su foja
e son buenos todos sus fechos.
4 No assi los malos,
mas assi como la paja menuda que el viento echa de lera.
5 Por esto non estarán los malos en el juyzio
ni los peccadores en el conçejo de los justos.
6 Ca dios ha cuydado de la carrera de los justos,
mas la de los peccadores perecrá.

Ms v. 1. ha dubdo instead of andudo.

- Bien aventurado es el varon [Arragel c. 1428.
que non andovo en el consejo de malos
nin en via de pecadores non se paró
nin en catedra de escarnescedores non se assentó.
2 Salvo en la ley del señor es la su voluntat
e que en la su ley comida de dia e de noche
3 Con lo qual será segund el arbol plantado cerca los lagos
de agua
quél su fructo da en su tiempo
e la su foja non cae
e tanto quanto face ha provecho.
4 E los malos non son asy,
salvo como el polvo que lo lieva el viento de la faz de la
tierra.
5 Por esto non se levantan los malos en el juycio
nin los pecadores en el consejo de los justos.
6 Que sabe e vee el señor la via de los justos
e la via de los pecadores se perderá.

1 assentó Eguren p. 5. P. 27 asiento. 3 Eguren cuanto face apruecho.

- Bienaventurado aquel varon [Constantino from Vig. 1546.
que non anduvo en el consejo de los malvados
ni estuvo en el camino de los pecadores
ni se assentó en la silla de la pestilencia
2 Antes es su voluntad empleada en la ley del Señor
y en la ley de el pensará de dia y de noche.
3 Y será este tal como el arbol plantado a las corrientes de las
aguas
que dará su fruto a su tiempo;
cuya hoja no se caerá
y todo quanto hiziere será prosperado.
4 No de esta manera los malos,
sino como el polvo que levanta el viento de la haz de la tierra.
5 Por tanto no se levantan en el juyzio los malos
ni los pecadores en la congregacion de los justos.
6 Porque conoce el señor el camino de los justos
y el camino de los malos perecerá.

3 caerá according to the corrections, instead of marchitará in the book. — He says in the sermon upon v. 4, that polvo is what he thinks the labradores call tamo.

First

[Valdés c. 1586.

- Bienaventurado el varon
que no sigue el parecer de impios
ny se firma en camino de peccadores
ny se asienta en asentamiento de mofadores.
2 Pero tiene su aficion en la ley del SEÑOR
y en su ley se exercita dia y noche.
3 Y es como arbol plantado junto a repartimientos de aguas
que produce su fructo a su tiempo
y sus hojas no se marchitan
y todo lo que haze lo haze con prosperidad.
4 No son assi los impios,
sino como la pajuela que levanta el viento.
5 Por tanto no se levantarán impios en juyzio
ny peccadores en congregacion de justos.
6 Porque conoce el SEÑOR el camino de los justos,
y el camino de los impios perecerá.

O qvan bien aventurado es aquel varon, [Grypho 1550.
que no sigue el consejo de los impios,
ni se para en el camino de los peruersos,
ni se asienta en la silla de los burladores.

- 2 Sino antes pone toda su aficion en el estudio de la
ley diuina,
contemplando en ella noche y dia.
3 Este tal sera semejante al arbol que esta plantado cerca
de los arroyos de las aguas,
el qual llena su fruto en su tiempo y sazon,
cuyas hojas no se cayn,
y en todo lo que pusiere mano le sucedera prosperamente.
4 Por el contrario, los impios
son semejantes a la paja, que la llena el viento.
5 A esta causa ni los impios en el juyzio,
ni los peruersos en la compafia de buenos podran pre-
ualecer jamas.
6 Porque el Señor gobierna el camino de los buenos,
y la via de los malos perecerá.

Bienaventurado es aquel varon [Perez 1557.
que non anduvo en el consejo delos malvados:
ni se paro en el camino delos pecadores:
ni se assento en la silla delos burladores.

- 2 Mas [tiene] su afficion en la Ley del Señor,
y medita en ella de dia y de noche.
3 Y sera este tal como el arbol plantado junto alas cor-
rientes delas aguas
que da su fructo a su tiempo:
cuya hoja no se marchita,
'y' todo quanto hiziere sera prosperado.
4 No [son] assi los malos,
sino como el tamo que arroja el viento.
5 Por tanto no podran resistir en el juyzio loz malos,
ni los 'pecadores' en la congregacion delos justos.
6 Porque conoce el Señor el camino delos justos:
mas el camino delos malos perecerá.

The brackets are put by Perez.

Notes. 3 o porque.

6 o, peruersos,

psalm.

Bien aventurado el varon [Ferrara 1553.

que no anduvo en consejo de malos
y en carrera de los pecadores no estuuo:
y en asiento de escarnidores no se asento x

Mas solo en ley de .A. su voluntad:
y en su ley fablara de dia y de noche x
Y sera como arbol plantado sobre pielagos de aguas
que su fruto daa en su hora
y su hoja no cae:
y todo lo que faze fara prosperar x

No assi los malos:
si no como tamo que lo empuza viento x
Por tanto no se aleuantaran malos en juicio:
ni pecadores en cõpaña de justos x
Por que sabe .A. carrera de justos:
y carrera de malos se perdera x

Preface Al lector: vna .A. con dos puntos el qual es
senal del Santo nombre del Señor Tetragramaton.
This A means Adonai. I have used it also instead
of T in the Specimens from Vienna 1815—16 and
Constantinople 1873.

1630: 3 dá (1611 daa).

Codex de Salomo 1617: 1 escarnesedores. 2 mieldará.
3 plantado. i su foja no se caye. aproveze. 4 como
el tamo que lo envuxa.

Byen aventurado el varon [Vienna 1816.

que non anduvo en cosejo de malos
i en carera de pecadores non se paró
i en asyento de escarnesedores non se asentó.

Que salvo en lei de A. su veluntad

i en su lei melda de dia i de noçe.

I será como arvól plantado serca pelagos de agua

que su fruto da en su ora
i su oja non se cayerá
i todo lo que aze aprovechará.

Non ansi los malos
que salvo como tamo que enpuza el vyento.

Por tanto non se elevanten malos en el guisyo
i pecadores en compañía de gustos.

Que se vyen A. carera de gustos
i carera de malos deperderá.

Byenaventurado el varon [Constantinople 1873.

que no anduvo en consejo de malos,
ni en camino de pecadores se paró,
ni en asyento de burladores se asentó:

Sino que en la lei de A. está su veluntad,
i en su lei pensa de dia i de noçe.

I será como un arvól plantado junto a las coryentes de aguas,

que da su fruto en su tyempo,
i su oja no caerá;
i todo lo que aze prosperará.

No ansi los malos,
sino como el tamo que empuza el vyento.

Por tanto no se levantarán los malos en el guisyo,
ni los pecadores en la compañía de los gustos.

Porque A. conose el camino de los gustos;
ma el camino de los malos se deperderá.

Bien -aventurado el varon, [Reina 1569.

que no anduvo en consejo de malos,
ni estuuo en camino de peccadores,
ni se assentó en silla de burladores.

2 Mas antes en la Ley de Iehoua es su voluntad:
y en su Ley pensará de dia y de noche.

3 Y será como el arbol plantado junto a arroyos de aguas,
que dá su fruto en su tiempo:
y su hoja no cae,
y todo lo que haze, prosperará.

4 No ansi los malos:
sino como el tamo, que lo fecha el viento.

5 Portanto no se leuantarán los malos en el juyzio:
ni los peccadores en la congregacion de los justos.

6 Porque Iehoua conoce el camino de los justos:
y el camino de los malos se perderá.

Note f Arrebata. Hob. alança.

Valera 1602, *difference from Reina*: 2 meditará. 3 *note*:
O, no se marchita.

Texeda 1623, *difference from Reina*: 1 es el varon.

4 No sera ansi de los m.: antes seran como el
tamo, que lo echa lexos el v. 5 no subsistiran.

Alvarado 1715, *diff. from Val.* 1602: 2 es *not italicized*.
3 no *note*. 4 assi.

Salmos, *London* 1859, *diff. from Val.* 1602: No *notes*.
4 asi.

Lucena 1862f. (also in the *Liturgia* 1869), *diff. from*
Val. 1602: No *notes*. 1 en silla de escarnesedores
se ha sentado. 2 *without* Mas. está su delicia.

medita. 4 así. que arrebata. 5 mas la senda
d. l. m. perecerá.

ABS 1865f., *diff. from Val.* 1602: No *note*. 3 no se
marchita. 4 lanza.

Salmos 1869 *Madrid* for TBS, *diff. from Lucena*:
1 estado *misprint* for sentado.

Bienaventurado el hombre [Pratt 1877.

que no anda en el consejo de los malos,
Ni se detiene en el camino de los pecadores,
Ni se sienta on el banco de los mofadores;

2 Sino que su deleito es en la ley del Señor,
Y en su ley medita de dia y de noche.

3 Y será como árbol plantado junto á los arroyos de aguas,

Que da su fruto en su tiempo,
Cuya hoja tambien no se marchita;
Y cuanto él hiciere prosperará.

4 No así los malos;
Sino como el tamo que arrebata el viento.

5 Por tanto no podrán los malos estar en pié en el juicio,
Ni los pecadores en la congregacion de los justos.

6 Porque el Señor conoce el camino de los justos;
Pero el camino de los malos se perderá.

Esc. 6, ms. s. XV, from the Latin.

He que entenderá el mio siervo, 13
enalçado e levantado será e será much alto.

Assi como por él se espavorescieron muchos, 14
assí será denostado el catamiento dél entre
los varones
e la forma dél entre los fijos de los ombres.

Este derramará muchas yentes, 15
sobre él ternán los reyes su boca,
ca verán lo aquellos a quien no es con-
tado dél,
e los que no lo oyeron vieronlo.

Esc. 5, ms. fin. s. XIV.

He do entenderá mi siervo, 13
subrá e alçará e será muy alto.

Por lo qual se maravillarán de ty muchos 14
como era desfecha de varon su vista
e la su figura de los fijos del ome.
Asi apremiará gentes muchas, 15
contra él abrirán reyes las sus bocas,
ca lo que non fue denunciado a ellos verán,
e lo que non oyeron entenderán.

Esc. 4, ms. s. XV: 13 Ahe do decenderá.
subirá.
15 vieron.
entendieron.

Esc. 3, ms. c. 1440.

Ahe aprovechará mi siervo, 13
enxalçarsea e enaltecersea mucho.

Como se maravillaron por ty muchos, 14
asy era dañado mas que su vista
e la su facion mas que los fijos de los omes.

Asy fará hablar gentios muchos, 15
sobre él abrirán los reyes su boca,
que lo que non fue contado a ellos vieron,
e lo que non oyeron entendieron.

Scio 1821.

Mirad que mi siervo tendrá inteligencia,
ensalzado y elevado será, y sublimado en grande
manera.

Como muchos se pasmáron sobre tí,
así será sin gloria su aspecto entre varones,
y su figura entre los hijos de los hombres.
Este rociará muchas gentes,
sobre él cerrarán los Reyes su boca:
porque le viéron aquellos, á quienes no se
contó de él,
y los que no le oyéron, le contempláron.

Amat 1853.

Sabed que mi siervo estará lleno de inteligencia;
será ensalzado y engrandecido, y muy sublime.

Al modo que tú fuiste el asombro de muchos;
así tambien su aspecto parecerá sin gloria de-
lante de los hombres,
y su forma *despreciable* entre los hijos de los
hombres.

Él rociará á muchas naciones;
sobre él cerrarán los reyes su boca:
porque aquellos á quienes nada se habia anun-
ciado de él, le verán,
y los que no habian oido *de él*, le contemplarán.

52. 53.

Ferrara 1553.

He prosperara mi sieruo: 13
 sera enaltecido y sera enxalçado y sera
 sublimado mucho *
 Como se marauillaron sobre ti muchos 14
 assi corrupta mas que varon su vista:
 y su forma mas que hijos de hombre *
 Assi fara hablar gentes muchas 15
 sobre el cerraran reyes su boca:
 que lo que no fue contado a ellos vieron
 y lo que no oyeron entendieron *

Covdisya de Salomo 1617:

14 se desolaron o se marauillaron.
 dañado.
 i su forma.
 15 faze havlar.
 syeran.

Vienna 1815.

Eq prosperará mi syervo 13
 se alzaré i se enxalzaré i se enalteseré mungó.
 Come se marauillaron sobre ti mungos 14
 ansi fue dañada de varon su vista
 i su forma de ijos de ombre.
 Ansi ará avlar gentes mungas 15
 por él serarán reis sus bocas
 que lo que non fue contado a ellos vyeron
 i lo que non oyeron pararon myentes.

Constantinople 1873.

Eq, mi syervo será prosperado; 13
 será enaltesido, i será enxalzado, i será
 sublimado mugo.
 Como se marauillaron sobre ti mugos; 14
 tal fue la desfigurasyon de su vita mas que
 la de varon,
 i de su forma mas que la de los ijos de
 ombre:
 ansi estellará mugas gentes; 15
 por él serarán reyes sus bocas;
 porque lo que no les fue contado verán;
 i lo que no oyeron entenderán.

Reina 1569.

Heaqui, que mi sieruo será prosperado,
 será engrandecido, y será ensalçado, y será
 muy sublimado
 Como ^b te abominaron muchos,
 en tanta manera fue desfigurado de los hombres
 su parecer:
 y su hermosura, de los hijos de los hombres,
 Ansi ^csalpicará muchas gentes.
 Los reyes cerrarán sobre el sus bocas:
 porque verán loque nunca les fue contado:
 y entenderán, loque nunca oyeron.

Notes ^b Heb. abominaron sobre ti. Ot. se
 marauillaron &c.

^c Expiará. Ot. hará hablar (de si).
*Valera 1602: 15 in the note: Expiaran (mis-
 print).*

*Lucena 1862 f., difference from Val.: 13 sera
 before ensalz. is suppressed.*

14 hermosura mas que la de los.

15 Empero él rociará muchas. les *not
 italicized.* jamas habian soido.

Valdés c. 1536.

15 (*Rom. 15, 21) from the Greek:*
 Verán aquellos a los quales no fue anun-
 ciado dél, y los que no oyeron entenderán.

Usós 1863.

Hé aquí, será prosperado el Siervo mio:
 sera alzado, i ensalzado, i sublimado mucho.
 Como que se marabillaron, sobre tí, muchos:
 (tan desfigurado, de *el de* hombre, fué su
 aspecto;
 i su forma, de *la de* los hijos de los hombres).
 Así derramará gozo a muchas Naciones:
 por causa de Él comprimirán Reyes sus bocas:
 que, aquello nunca contado a ellos, verán:
 i, lo que nunca oyeron entenderán.

Esc. 6, ms. s. XV, from the Latin.

Quien crovo al nuestro oydo,
e el braço de Dios a quien es mostrado?

E subrá ant él assi como piertega
e assi como raiz de tierra sedienta.
No a fermosura ni beltat. E viemosle
e no avie catamiento e desseamosle,
despreciado e postremero de los otros varones, 3
de fuerças de dolores, e sabiente de enfermedat
e su cara assi como asconduda,
e despreciado onde non catamos por él.

2 beltat. E uiemos le e.

Esc. 5, ms. fin. s. XIV.

Quien pudo creer nuestras oydas,
e el braço del señor sobre quien fue descubierto?
E creció como la criada delante él
e como la rays de la tierra seca.
Non avia figura nin fermosura e vimoslo

e non tenia vista e deseamoslo.
Menoscabado e desechado de varones,
varon de dolores, quebrantado de doleneia,
e desde que fueron apartadas las caras
fue menoscabado e non lo presciamos.

Esc. 4, ms. s. XV:

2 (without E) Floresció. criatura delante dél.
averá *instead of* avia.

3 de los menoscabados *instead of* fue me-
noscabado. presciamos.

Esc. 3, ms. c. 1440.

Quien creó de nuestra oyda,
e el braço del señor sobre quien se descubrió?
E suvirá sobre ramo ante él

e como rays de tierra seca.
Non ha facion él nin fermosura e viamoslo

syn vista nin lo cobdiciavamos.

Despreciado e vedado de los omes,
omé de dolores e sabido de dolencia,
e como cubriamos faces de él,

despreciado e non lo presciamos.

Epistolas y evangelios 1506.

53 quien ha creydo a nuestro oydo:
y el braço del señor: a quien ha sido reuelado?

2 E subira como pimpollo delante del:
r como rayz de tierra seca.
no tiene figura ni fermosura .r vimos le
r no tenia rostro. y desseamos le
ser desechado y el postrero [*sic*] de todos.
varon de dolor: y que sabe la dolencia
r su rostro como escondido
y desechado. por lo qual no le touimos en
reputacion alguna.

1543: 1 creydo o creera. se ha reuelado. 2 dela
tierra. vimos lo. desseamos lo ver desech.
y mas postrero. 3 y varon de dolores sa-
bidor de nuestra enfermedad. rostro fue quasi
escondido y despreciado. lo tuimos.

1558, *diff. from* 1544 (and 1543): 3 *without*
y *before* varon.

Scio 1821.

53 ¿ Quien ha creído lo que nos ha oído?
¿ y el brazo del Señor á quien ha sido revelado?

2 Y subirá como ramito delante de él,
y como raiz de tierra sedienta:
no hay buen parecer en él, ni hermosura; y
le vimos,
y no era de mirar, y le echamos ménos.
Despreciado, y el postrero de los hombres,
varon de dolores, y que sabe de trabajos;
y como escondido su rostro
y despreciado, por lo que no hicimos aprecio
de él.

Amat 1853.

53 ¿ Quién ha creído á nuestro anuncio?
¿ Y á quien ha sido revelado el brazo del Señor?

2 Porque él crecerá á los ojos de él, como una
humilde planta,
y como una raiz en tierra árida:
no es de aspecto bello, ni esplendoroso: Noso-
tros le hemos visto,
y nada hay que atraiga nuestros ojos, ni llame
nuestra atencion hácia él.
3 *Vimosle* despreciado, y el desecho de los hombres,
varon de dolores, y que sabe lo que es padecer;
y su rostro como cubierto

y afrentado; por lo que no hicimos ningun
caso de él.

Ferrara 1553.

Quien creyo a nuestra oyda? 53
y braço de A. sobre quien fue descubierto? *

Y subira como ramo delante el 2
y como rayz de tierra seca
no forma a el y no fermosura: y vimoslo
y no vista y cobdiciar loemos? *
Menospreciado y vedado de varones 3
varon de dolores y vsado a enfermedad:
y como encubrien fazes del
menospreciado y no lo estimamos. *

Covdisya de Salomo 1617:

1 fue descuyerto.
2 i cresyó como el ramo.
i vimoslo.
i covdisyamoslo.
3 menospresyado i vedado de ombredades.
de dolores i quebra[n]t[a]do.
i como encuvrir.
i non lo estimamos.

Vienna 1815.

Quén creerá a nuestra olyida 53
i braso de A. sobre quen fue descuyerto.
I cresyó como el ramo delante de él 2
i como la rais de tyera secaña
non forma a él i non ermozura para que lo
vyeramos
i non vista para que lo covdisyaramos.
Menospresyado i vedado de varones 3
varon de dolores i quevrantado de enfermedad
i como encuvryén fases de él
menospresyado i non lo estimavamos.

Constantinople 1873.

¿ Qyen creyó a nuestra oida? 53
i el braso de A. ¿ sobre qyen fue descuyerto? 2
I cresyó como pampano delante de él,
i como raiz de tyera seca;
no uso a él forma ni ermozura, para que lo
miraramos;
ni pareser, para que lo covdisyaramos.
Menospresyado i desegado de varones; 3
varon de dolores, i uzado a enfermedad;
i como que los ombres encuvryeron de él
las fases;
menospresyado, i no lo estimimos.

Reina 1569.

Qvien creerá a nuestro *dicho?
Y el braço de Iehoua sobre quien sehá mani-
festado?
Contodo esso subirá, como renueuo, delante deel;
y como rayz de tierra seca.
No parecer enel ni hermosura. Verlohemos,
y sin parecer, tanto que lo desseemos.
Despreciado, y desechado entre los hombres:
varon de dolores: experimentado en flaqueza:
y como que escondimos del el rostro;
menospreciado, y no lo estimamos.

* Heb. oydo. † Heb. y subirá. † Heb. es-
condimiento de rostro deel.

Valera 1602: 1 creyó *instead of* creerá. 2 Y
subirá *in the text, nevertheless Reina's*
note is reproduced on the margin.

Extractos 1861 (only ch. 53), diff. from 1602:
2 le veremos. le.
3 de él.

Lucena 1862 f., difference from Val.:

1 ha creído a n. anuncio?
¿ Y sobre quien se ha m. el br. de J.
2 subirá cual ren. No hay parecer. mas
sin atractivo para que le deseemos.
3 exp. en quebranto. de él el rostro: fue
men.

ABS 1865 f., difference from Val.:

2 No hay p. le veremos. le.
3 de él. le.

Valdés c. 1536—40.

1 (*Rom 10, 16 from the Greek*):
Quien ha creído a lo que nos ha oído?
3 (*Mt. 27, 27 f.*):
Despreciado sta y esquivado de hombres
como hombre de dolores y experimentado en
enfermedad,
y como de quien asconden las caras
fue despreciado y no lo estimamos.

Usós 1563.

¿ Quién prestó fé, a lo que habíamos oído?
I el brazo de Ioüá, ¿ sobre quién se ha manifestado?
Pues subió, como renteo delante de El,
i como raíz, de tierra seca:
no viso en él, i no esplendor. | I le veremos, 
pero sin aparienzia, i para hazernosle deseable.
Despreziado, i desechado de hombres:
Varón de dolores, i conozedór de la aflicción,
i como escondiendo su rostro de nosotros:
menospreziado, i no lo estimamos.

Esc. 6, ms. s. XV, from the Latin.

Verdadera mientras él sufrió las nuestras 4
enfermedades

e él levó los nuestros dolores,
e nos toviemos le como por gafo
e ferido de dios e quebrantado.
Él fue llagado por nuestras maldades, 5

ferido fue por los nuestros pecados,
el majamiento de nuestra paz fue sobrel
e por el su livor somos sanos.

Epistolas y evangelios 1506.

verdaderamente el sufrio nuestros trabajo

y el lleuo a cuestas nuestros dolores.
r nosotros le estimamos como leproso
y ferido por dios r abaxado.
y el ha sido ferido por nuestras iniqui-
dades:

r adelgazado por nuestros pecados
La disciplina de nuestra paz sobre el:
r con su sangre auemos sanado.

1543: 4 lo estimamos como a leproso
dios r humillado.

5 llagado p. n. maldades y que-
brantado.

con las señales de sus llagas auemos

Esc. 5, ms. fn. s. XIV.

Por ende los nuestros dolores el los levó, 4

e las nuestras cuitas sufriólas,
e nos otros lo pensamos llagado,
ferido de dios e quebrantado.
E él era escusador de nuestros yerros, 5
majado de nuestros pecados,
el castigo de nuestra pas era sobre él
e con su llagamiento sanó a nos.

Esc. 4, ms. s. XV: 4 llevó.

e asomamos le nos.
e ferido.

5 e *instead of* majado.

Esc. 3, ms. c. 1440.

Pero nuestras dolencias él las llevó 4

e nuestros dolores soportó,
e nos lo contavamos llagado
e ferido [de] dios e quebrantado.
E él fue adoloriado por nuestros yerros, 5

majado por nuestros pecados,
el castigo de nuestra pas sobre él,
e con su ferida melesinó a nos.

4 *I have added de.*

Scio 1821.

En verdad tomó sobre sí nuestras enferme-
dades,

y él cargó con nuestros dolores;
y nosotros le reputamos como leproso,
y herido de Dios, y humillado.
Mas él fué llagado por nuestras iniquidades
quebrantado fué por nuestros pecados:
el castigo para nuestra paz fué sobre él,
y con sus cardenales fuimos sanados.

Amat 1853.

Es verdad que él mismo tomó sobre s
nuestras dolencias,

y cargó con nuestras penalidades:
pero nosotros le creimos herido,
castigado de Dios, y afligido.

Siendo así que por causa de nuestras iniqui-
dades fué él llagado,

y despedazado por nuestras maldades:
el castigo para nuestra paz descargó sobre él.
y con sus cardenales fuimos nosotros curados.

Ferrara 1553.

De cierto nuestras enfermedades el las 4
lleuo
y nuestros dolores los soporto:
y nos lo estimamos llagado
ferido del Dio y afigido *
Y el adoloriado por nuestros rebellos 5

majado por nuestros delitos:
castigo de nuestro paz sobre el
y por su tolōdro fue melezinado a nos *

Cordisya de Salomo 1617:

4 De syerto o ansi nuestra dolença.
las soportó. llagado
ferido. i afreido o i quevrantado.
5 adoloriado o matado.
majado.
i con su tolondro.

Vienna 1815.

De syerto nuestra enfermedad él sonportó 4

i nuestras dolores él las sonportó
i nos lo estimavamos llagado
ferido de el Dyo i quevrantado.
I él adoloriado de nuestros revellos 5
majado de nuestros delitos
castigueryo de nuestra pas sobre él
i por su tolondro fue melezinado a nos.

Constantinople 1873.

De syerto nuestras enfermedades él llevó, 4

i nuestros dolores él los soportó;
i nozotros lo estimamos por llagado,
erido del Dyo, i afreido.
Ma él adoloriado fue por nuestros revellos, 5

majado por nuestros delitos;
el castigo de nuestra paz fue sobre él,
i por su tolondro fuimos melezinados.

Reina 1569.

Ciertamente nuestras enfermedades el las
lleuó,
y el saffrió nuestros dolores:
y nosotros tuuimoslo a el por açotado,
herido, y abatido de Dios.
Mas el herido fue por nuestras rebelliones,

molido por nuestros peccados.
El castigo de nuestra paz sobre el:
y por su llaga vuo cura para nosotros.

Valera 1602: 4 sufrió.

Extractos 1861: 4 le tuvimos.

Lucena 1862 f., difference from Val.:

4 llevó él n. enf.,
y sufrió n. dolores.
le tuvimos por az.,
por her. de Dios y ab.

5 fuimos nosotros curados.

ABS 1865 f., difference from Val.:

4 le tuvimos.

Valdés c. 1540.

4 (*Mt. 8, 17, from the Greek*):
el tomó nuestras enfermedades
y llevó a cuestas nuestras dolencias.

Usós 1863.

Ziertamente, nuestras enfermedades Él llevó,

i nuestros dolores Él los cargó:
i nosotros lo estimamos golpeado,
herido, por Dios, i abatido.
Mas Él fue traspasado, por nuestras trans-
gresiones,
molido por nuestros pecados.
El castigo para nuestra paz, sobre Él:
i por su llagamiento, hubo cura para nosotros.

5 *printed* trapasado, but *Usós* has added
an s in my copy.

Esc. 6, ms. s. XV, from the Latin.

Todos nos assi como ovejas erramos, 6
cada uno desvió por su carrera,
e dios puso sobre sí el pecado de todos
nos.

Offrecido fue, cas lo él quiso, 7
e no abrió su boca.
Assi como oveja será levado a la muert,
e assi callará como el cordero ante so
trasquilador
e no abrió su boca.

Epistolas y evangelios 1506.

Todos auemos sido esparzidos como ovejas,
e cada vno tomo su camino,
y el señor puso enel la iniquidad de todos
nosotros.

Fue ofrecido, porque el lo quiso,
e no abrio su boca.
Como oveja sera leuado ala muerte:
y enmudecera como cordero delante del
tresquilador:
e no abrira su boca.

1543: 6 auemos andado derramados.

7 lleuado. enmudecera se.

1615, *diff. from* 1543: 7 el cordero. trasq.

Esc. 5, ms. fn. s. XIV.

Todos nos otros como el ganado herramos, 6
cada uno a su parte catamos,
e el señor encontró en él el pecado de
todos nos otros.

Fue apretado e non respondia 7
nin abria la su boca.
como el carnero al degolladero fue traído
e como la oveja delante sus trasquiladores
que está muda
e non abre la su boca.

Scio 1821.

Todos nosotros como ovejas nos extraviarnos,
cada uno se desvió por su camino;
y cargó el Señor sobre el la iniquidad de
todos nosotros.

El se ofreció porque él mismo lo quiso,
y no abrió su boca:
como oveja será llevado al matadero,
y como cordero delante del que lo trasqui-
la enmudecerá,
y no abrirá su boca.

Esc. 4, ms. s. XV: 6 erramos.

en el pecado *instead of* en el el p.

Esc. 3, ms. c. 1440.

Todos nos como las ovejas yerramos, 6
cada uno a su camino catamos,
e el señor pegó en él el pecado de nos.

Llagado e él quebrantado 7
e non abria su boca,
como cordero al degolladero era traydo
e como oveja ante sus trasquiladores se
enmudeceu
e non abre su boca.

Amat 1853.

Como ovejas descarriadas hemos sido todos
nosotros:
cada cual se desvió y *tiró* por su camino;
y el Señor cargo sobre él la iniquidad de
todos nosotros.

Oprimido fué y afligido,
y sin embargo no abrió su boca:
conducido será como oveja al matadero;
y guardará silencio sin abrir siquiera su bo-
ca, como el corderito delante del que le esquila.

Ferrara 1553.

Todos nos como ovejas erramos 6
 cada vno a su carrera catamos
 y .A. fizo ocurrir* enel a pecado de to-
 dos nos *
 Apretado y el afligido 7
 y no abrira su boca
 como cordero al degollio es lleuado
 y como oveja delante sus trasquilantes
 enmudescio:
 y no abrira su boca *

Preface Al lector: en los lugares donde
 se viere esta estrella * es señal que
 ay duda enla declaracion del vocablo.

Cordisya de Salomo 1617:

6 fizo enco[n]trar.
 7 Apretado. quevrantado.
 será lleuado
 i como oveja.
 sus trasquilantes. enmudesida.

Vienna 1815.

Todos nos como las ovejas lyerimos 6
 cada uno a su carera catimos
 i A. izo encontrar con él a delito de to-
 dos nos.
 Fue apretado i él quevrantado 7
 i non avryó su boca
 como carnero a el degollio*) que es lleuado
 i como oveja que delante sus trasquilan-
 tes es amudesida
 i non avryó su boca.

*) דיגוללירי.

Constantinople 1873.

Todos nozotros como ovejas yerimos; 6
 tornimos cada uno a su camino;
 i A. izo encontrar en él el delito de to-
 dos nozotros.
 Fue apretado i afreido, 7
 i no avryó su boca;
 como carnero es lleuado al degollio,
 i como oveja delante de sus trasquiladores
 es enmudesida,
 ansi no avryó su boca.

Reina 1569.

Todos nosotros nos perdimos, como ovejas;
 cada qual se apartó por su camino:
 mas Iehoua ¹traspuso enel el peccado de
 todos nosotros.
 Angustiado el, y affligido
 no abrió su boca.
 Como oveja, fue lleuado al matadero;
 y como cordero, delante de sus tresquila-
 dores enmudeció;
 y no abrió su boca.

¹ Ot. hizo encontrar enel.

Valera 1602: 7 oveja and cordero *have*
changed places.

Extractos 1861, difference from Val.:

7 trasq.

Lucena 1862 f., difference from Val.:

6 nos descarriamos.

cargó en él.

7 trasq.

ABS 1865 f., difference from Val.:

7 trasq.

Valdés c. 1540.

6 (*Mt. 15, 21*):

Todos nosotros como ovejas anduvimos
 perdidos.

7 (*Mt. 27, 11 f.*):

Como res a la carniceria será lleuado,
 y como oveja que en presencia del que la
 desquilla enmudece,
 y no abrirá su boca.

Usóz 1863.

Todos nosotros nos descarriamos como ganado,
 cada cuál se apartó por su camino:
 mas Iouá hizo encontrarse en Él, el pecado
 de todos nosotros.
 Angustiado Él, i afligido,
 mas no abrió su boca.
 Como cordero, al matadero fué conduzido:
 i como oveja, delante de los tresquiladores
 de ella está muda:
 así no abrió su boca.

Esc. 6, ms. s. XV, from the Latin.

De angosa e de juizio fue levado, 8
 el so linage qui lo contará?
 Porque él es tajado de tierra de los vi-
 vientes,
 por el pecado de mio pueblo lo feri.
 E dará los malos por su seplura 9
 e los ricos por su muert,
 porque no fizo pecado ni fue engaño
 fallado en su boca.
 E dios quisol quebrantar 10
 con enfermedat,
 si pusiere su alma por pecado

Esc. 5, ms. fn. s. XIV.

De fuerça e de derecho fue tomado, 8
 e al su generacio quien lo recontará?
 ca fue cortado de tierra de los bivos,
 del pecado del mi pueblo llago a ellos.
 Dio con los malos la su fuessa 9
 e con los ricos la su muerte,
 maguer que non fizo agravio nin traicion
 en la su boca.
 E al señor plogo de ferirlo 10
 de dolencia,
 asi fue puesta en culpa la su alma

*V. 9 mistake in writing: fuerça. I have
 corrected from Esc. 4.*

*Esc. 4, ms. s. XV: 8 elasu generacion
 quien la*

*ca es.
 9 E dio. fuesa.
 10 without E.
 anima.*

Esc. 3, ms. c. 1440.

De detenimiento e de juyzio fue tomado, 8
 e a su linaje quien hablará?
 ca se tajó de tierra de la vida,
 por el yerro de mi pueblo llaga a ellos.
 E puso con los malos su huesa 9
 e con el rico en su muerte,
 non por agravio que fizo e non por tortura
 en su boca.
 E el señor ovo voluntad de majarlos, 10
 fiso adolescer,
 sy pusieres culpa a su ànima

Epistolas y evangelios 1506.

el ha sido quitado dela angustia y del juyzio.
 Quien contara su generacion?
 ca el ha sido cortado dela tierra delos que
 bien.
 E por el pecado de mi pueblo lo feri.
 e dara los malos por sepultura:
 e los ricos por su muerte.
 por que no fizo maldad ni ouo engaño en
 su boca
 Y el señor lo quiso ferir.
 de dolencia.
 Si pusiere por el pecado su vida:
 1543: 8 Fue quit.
 9 dara a los. por su sepl.
 y a los ricos.
 vuo.
 10 herir
 de enfermedad,
 para la vida de todos.

Scio 1821.

Desde la angustia, y desde el juicio fué
 levantado en alto:
 ¿ su generacion quién la contará?
 porque fué cortado de la tierra de los
 vivientes:
 por la maldad de mi pueblo lo he herido.
 Y á los impios dará por su sepultura,
 y al rico por su muerte:
 porque no hizo maldad, ni hubo malicia en
 su boca.
 Y el Señor quiso quebrantarle
 con trabajos:
 si ofreciere su alma por el pecado,

Amat 1853.

Sacado fué de opresion y de juicio:
 la generacion suya ¿ quién podrá explicarla?
 Arrancado ha sido de la tierra de los vivientes:
 por las maldades de mi pueblo le he yo herido.
 Y ordenó su sepulcro con los malvados,
 y con el rico en su muerte;
 porque él no cometió pecado, ni hubo dolo
 en sus palabras.
 Y quiso el Señor consumirle
 con trabajos:
 cuando ofreciere su vida por el pecado,

Ferrara 1553.

De detenimiento y de juicio fue tomado 8
y su generancio quien hablara:
que fue tajado de tierra de vidas

por rebello de mi pueblo llaga a ellos * x
Y dio con malos sepultura 9
y con rico entre sus muertos:
sobre que no falsedad fizo y no engaño
en su boca *

Y .A. enuolunto a majarlo 10
fizo enfermar:
si pusiere por enmienda su alma
1553. 1611. 1630: generancio. 1646. 1661:
generacion.

Covdisya de Salomo 1617:

8 De señoria.
havlará.
fue tajado.
9 en su muerte.
10 majarlo
adoleser.

Vienna 1815.

De detenimyento i de gústisya fue tomado 8
i a su gerenansyo quén avlaria
que fue tajado de tyera de vidas

de revello de mi puevlo llaga a ellos.
I dyo con malos su fuesa 9
i con rico con sus muertos
sovre que non adolme izo i non arte en su
boca.

I A. enveluntó por majarlo 10
de enfermedad
si pornás colpa de su alma

Constantinople 1873.

De detenimyento i de guisyo fue tomado; 8
i su gerenansyo ¿ qyen lo avlará?
porque fue majado de la tyera de los bivis;
por el revello de mi puevlo llaga a él.
I se dyo con malos su fuesa, 9
i con rico fue en su muerte;
porque no izo adolme, ni uvo engaño en
su boca.

Ma A. enveluntó a majarlo, 10
lo izo adoloryar.
Quando puzyeres su alma por *sacrifisyo*
por culpa,

Reina 1569.

De la carcel y del juyzio fue quitado.
Y su generacion quien la contará?
Porque fue cortado de la tierra de los
biuientes.

Por la rebellion de mi Pueblo plaga a él.
Y puso con los impios su sepultura,
y su muerte con los ricos:
aunque nunca el hizo maldad, ni vuo engaño
en su boca.

Contodo esso Iehoua lo quiso moler,
sujetandolo a enfermedad.
Quando ouiere puesto su vida por expiacion,

Extractos 1861: 10 le quiso.
sujetándole.

Lucena 1862 f., difference from Val.:

8 cortado fué.
pueblo fué herido.
9 Y dispúsose.
mas con los ricos fué en su m.;
porque nunca hizo él m.
10 quiso quebrantarlo,
sujetándole á padecimiento.
en exp. por el pecado.

Barcelona 1875:

9 engaña. *This misprint is the only*
difference from Lucena (1862). 1865.
1876. in this portion.

Bible London, Clowes, 1867. 1869, the
only difference from Lucena Oxf.
1870:

10 por el pecado *italicized.*

Valdés c. 1540.

9 (*Mt. 27, 55 f.*):

Y dio a impios su sepultura
y a rico en sus muertos
sobre no haber hecho iniquidad y no
haber habido engaño en su boca.

Usóz 1863.

Del enzierrro, i del juicio, fué quitado.
I su jeneración, ¿ quien la contará?
Porque fué cortado de la tierra de los vivientes:
por la transgresión de mi Pueblo, plaga a él.
I puso, con los malvados, su sepultura:
i con los altaneros en su muerte:
aunque nunca violencia hizo, i nunca hubo
engaño en su boca.

Mas Iouá se agradó en mazerarle,
en hazerle debilitar:
si pusiere *por* expiación su alma,

Esc. 6, ms. s. XV, from the Latin.

verá grand liñage
 e la voluntat de dios será enderaçada
 en su mano.
 Porque trabajó la su alma, verá e fartarsa, 11
 aquel justo mio siervo justificará a muchos
 con so saber
 e él sobrelevará los pecados dellos.
 Por ende espartiré yo a él muchos 12
 e él partirá los despojos de los fuertes,
 porque dio su alma a muert
 e es contado con los pecadores,
 e él levó el pecado de muchos
 e por los pecadores rogó que non pereciessen.

Esc. 5, ms. fin. s. XIV.

del linage alargarán dias
 e la voluntad del señor en su mano
 aprovechará.
 De trabajo su alma verá fartarsea, 11
 con su saber justificará justo mi, siervo
 a muchos
 e los sus pecados él los cargará.
 Por tanto repartiré a él en muchos 12
 e a los resios repartirá despojo,
 en lugar que fue acarreada a la muerte
 su alma
 e con los pecadores fue contado,
 e el pecado de muchos perdonará
 e a los pecadores encontrará.

Esc. 4, ms. s. XV: 11 El tr. de la su anima.

mucho.
 12 fuertes *instead of* resios.
 por tanto *instead of* en lugar
 que. la su anima.

Esc. 3, ms. c. 1440.

verá symiente e alargará dias
 e la voluntad del señor en su mano
 aprovechará
 Del laserio de la su anima verá e far- 11
 tarsea,
 con su seso justiguará justo mi siervo
 a los muchos
 e sus pecados él soportará.
 Por ende partya él con los muchos 12
 e con fuertes partirá despojo,
 porque vasió a la muerte su anima
 e con los erradores se contó,
 e el peccado de muchos llevó,
 e por los erradores rogará.

v. 12 *instead of* con los erradores *my copy has* oculos
 herradores.

Epistolas y erangelios 1506.

el vera antigua simiente.
 ⁊ la voluntad del señor se endereçara en
 su mano.
 por lo que trabajo su anima vera y sera abastada.
 En su saber justifico el justo muchos sier-
 uos mios.
 Y el lleuara sus iniquidades.
 porende yo le despartire muchos.
 ⁊ partira el despojo delos fuertes:
 porque dio su vida ala muerte:
 ⁊ fue recontado con los scelerados.
 Y el lleuo el pecado de muchos
 ⁊ rogo por los mal hechores:

1543: 11 alma en la passion. abastado de gloria, con
 su saber justificará el a muchos s. m., y el llenara
 siendo justo en sus ombros las culpas de todos.
 12 repartire la riqueza de muchos, y el partira.
 contado en los scelerados y malhechores, y el por
 los traspasadores.

1544, *diff. from* 1543: 12 sceleratos.

1615, *diff. from* 1543: 10 su antigua. 11 anima.
 justificará el justo a m. s. m., y el lleuar [*sic*]
 sobre sus. 12 Por esso.

Scio 1821.

verá una descendencia muy duradera,
 y la voluntad del Señor será prosperada por
 su mano.
 Por quanto trabajó su alma, verá, y se hartará:
 aquel mismo justo mi siervo justificará á
 muchos con su ciencia,
 y él llevará sobre si los pecados de ellos.
 Por tanto le daré por su porcion á muchos;
 y repartirá los despojos de los fuertes,
 porque entregó su alma á la muerte,
 y con los malvados fué contado:
 y él cargó con los pecados de muchos,
 y por los transgresores rogó

Amat 1853.

verá una descendencia duradera,
 y la voluntad del Señor será por medio de
 él prosperada.
 Verá el fruto de los afanes de su alma, y
 quedará saciado.
 Este mismo justo, mi siervo, justificará á
 muchos con su conocimiento,
 y cargará sobre si los pecados de ellos.
 Por tanto le daré como porcion suya una
 gran muchedumbre,
 y repartirá los despojos de los fuertes:
 pues que ha entregado su vida á la muerte
 y ha sido confundido con los facinerosos,
 y ha tomado sobre si los pecados de muchos,
 y ha rogado por los transgresores.

Ferrara 1553.

veera simiente alongará dias:
y voluntad de .A. en su mano prospera-
rara *
Por lazeria de su alma veera fartarsea: 11
con su sabiduria justificará justo mi sieruo
a muchos:
y su delito el soportará *
Por tanto partire a el con muchos 12
y con fuertes partira despojo:
por que entrego a muerte su alma
y con rebelladores fue contado:
y el pecado de muchos soporto
y por rebelladores rogara *

Cordisya de Salomo 1617:

11 soportará.
12 i con fuertes.
vazyó.
fue contado.
faze orayon.

Vienna 1815.

verá semen, alargará dias
i voluntad de A. en su mano prosperará.

De lazerya de su alma verá se artará 11
con su saver gustificará gusto mi syervo
a los mungos
i sus delitos él sonportará.
Por tanto espartiré a él con los mungos 12
i a fuertes espartirá espojo
porque vazyó para muerte su alma

i con revelladores fue contado
i el pecado de mungos sonportó
i por revelladores rogará.

Constantinople 1873.

verá su semen, alargará dias,
i la voluntad de A. prosperará en su
mano.
De la lazerya de su alma verá, i se 11
artará;
con su conosimyento gustificará mi syervo
gusto a mugos;
i él soportará los delitos de ellos.
Por tanto le espartiré parte con los 12
grandes,
i con los fuertes espartirá espojo;
porque vazyó su alma a la muerte,
i fue contado con los revelladores;
i él llevó el pecado de mugos,
i por los revelladores rogará.

Reina 1569.

verá linage, ^pbiuirá por largos dias:
y la voluntad de Iehoua será prosperada
en su mano.
Del trabajo de su alma verá, y se hartará:
Y con su conocimiento justificará mi Sieruo
justo a muchos:
y el llevará las iniquidades dellos.
Portanto yo le daré parte con los ^agrandes,
y a los fuertes repartirá despojos:
por quanto derramó su vida a la muerte,
y fue contado con los rebelladores,
auiendo el lleuado el peccado de muchos,
y orado por los rebelladores.

^p Heb. alongará los dias. ^a Heb. muchos.
^r Ot. y con los &c.

Extractos 1861: 12 trasgresores *twice*
instead of reb.

Lucena 1862 f., difference from Val.:

10 en su m. prosp.

11 será saciado: con. de ellos.

12 yo *not italicized*. con los fuertes.
hasta la muerte. con los perversos.
por los transgresores.

Lucena's Bible Oxf. 1870 has v. 11 an
italicized y before será, not a Roman
y; this is the only difference between
1870 and (1862) 1865. 1876.

ABS 1865 f., difference from Val.:

11 de ellos.

12 transgresores *twice*.

Valdés c. 1540.

10 (*Mt. 3, 13 f.*): Y la voluntad del SEÑOR
en su mano será prosperada. (*Mt. 27,*
25 f.: la voluntad de Dios fue prospe-
rada en su mano del. *Mt. 17, 1 f.*:
en el ha sido prosperada la voluntad
de Dios.)

Usóz 1863.

verá linaje, prolongará días;
e complazencia de Iouia, en su mano pros-
perará.

Del afán de su alma verá, se hartará:

con su conozimiento justificará, justo sieruo
mio, a muchos:
i las iniquidades de ellos Él llevará.
Por tanto, le señalaré parte, en muchos:

i a los fuertes distribuirá *como* despojo:
por cuanto derramó a la muerte su alma:
i con los transgresores fué contado:
i Él, pecado de muchos llevó:
i por transgresores interzedió.

Mat

Epistolas y evangelios 1506.

Bienaventurados los pobres de voluntad.
 ca dellos es el reyno delos cielos.
 Bienaventurados los mansos:
 ca ellos possceran la tierra.
 Bienaventurados los que lloran:
 ca seran consolados.
 Bienaventurados los que han hãbre: y han
 sed dela justicia:
 ca ellos seran abastados.
 Bienaventurados los misericordiosos:
 ca ellos alcançaran misericordia.

1543 f.: 6 padescen hambre y sed.
Vita Christi Cartuxano 1537: 3—10 son
 after Bienau. 3 f. porque *instead of*
 ca, *except* v. 8. 3 de Espiritu. 5 ellos
 seran. 6 h. y sed. hartos. 7 que han
 misericordia. conseguiran mis.

Constantino.

Bienaventurados los pobres enel spiritu,
 porque de ellos es el reyno delos cielos.
 Bienaventurados los mansos,
 porque ellos heredaran la tierra.
 Bienaventurados los que lloran,
 porque ellos seran consolados.

Bienaventurados los que tienen hambre y
 sed de justicia,
 porque ellos recebiran hartura.
 Bienaventurados los misericordiosos,
 porque ellos alcançaran misericordia.

Scio 1821.

Bienaventurados los pobres de espiritu;
 porque de ellos es el reyno de los cielos.
 Bienaventurados los mansos;
 porque ellos poseeran la tierra.
 Bienaventurados los que lloran;
 porque ellos serán consolados.
 Bienaventurados los que han hambre, y sed
 de justicia;
 porque ellos serán hartos.
 Bienaventurados los misericordiosos;
 porque ellos alcanzarán misericordia.

Amat 1823, *difference from Scio 1821:*

4 mansos y humildes.

6 tienen. de la justicia, ó de ser justos
 y santos. saciados.

Lit. Angl. 1839, *difference from Amat*
 1823: 4 *without* y humildes.

6 *without* ó de ser j. y s.

Mateo of Matamoros, 1882, has these
 alterations of *Lit. Angl.*, and moreover:
 3 en esp. 4 and 5 have changed places.
 6 de just.

Valdés c. 1540.

- 3 Bienaventurados los pobres en el espiritu,
 porque de ellos es el reino de los cielos.
- 4 Bienaventurados los que lloran,
 porque ellos serán consolados.
- 5 Bienaventurados los mansos,
 porque ellos heredarán la tierra.
- 6 Bienaventurados los hambrientos y sedien-
 tos por justicia,
 porque ellos serán hartados.
- 7 Bienaventurados los misericordiosos,
 porque ellos alcançarán misericordia.

Consideracion 5: 3 de espiritu.

Ensinas 1543.

- 3 Bien auenturados son los pobres de spiritu,
 por que de aquellos es el reino de los cielos.
- 4 Bien auenturados son los que está tristes,
 por que aquellos seran consolados.
- 5 Bien auenturados son los mansos,
 por que aquellos resçeuiran la heredad
 de la tierra.
- 6 Bien auenturados son los que tienen hambre
 y sed de iustitia,
 por que aquellos seran hartos.
- 7 Bien auenturados son los misericordiosos,
 por que aquellos alcançaran misericordia.

Perez 1556.

- 3 Bienaventuradossonlos pobresenelEspiritu:
 porque dellos es el Reyno delos cielos.
- 4 Bienaventurados son los que lloran:
 porque ellos seran consolados.
- 5 Bienaventurados son los mansos:
 porque ellos heredaran la tierra.
- 6 Bienaventurados son los que tienen hambre
 y sed de justicia:
 porque ellos recebiran hartura.
- 7 Bienaventurados son los misericordiosos:
 porque ellos alcançaran misericordia.

thew 5.

Reina 1569.

Bienaventurados los Pobres del Espiritu:
 porque de ellos es el Reyno de los cielos.
 Bienaventurados los Tristes:
 porque ellos recibirán consolacion.
 Bienaventurados los Mansos:
 porque ellos recibirán la Tierra por heredad.
 Bienaventurados los que tienen hambre y sed
 de justicia:
 porque ellos serán hartos.
 Bienaventurados los Misericordiosos:
 porque ellos alcanzarán misericordia.

Note ^b los onlutados.

Valera 1596. 1602. 1625; *Enzina* 1708:

3 en espiritu.

4 the note only in 1602.

Alvarado 1715, difference from *Valera's*
text.

3 dellos.

4 herencia.

N. T. Malaga 1865, *London* 1866. 1867,
Bible London 1867. 1869, *Matthew*
Und 1872, difference from *Val.*:

5 herencia.

Rule's Matthew 1841, difference from *N. T.*
 1813. 1817 (here = *Val.*):

3 de esp.

4 los que están tristes.
 serán consolados.

5 poseerán la t.

Lucena 1862 f., also in *Liturgia* 1869,
 difference from *Val.*:

4 los que lloran.

Pratt's Mateo 1877, difference from *Val.*:

3 de esp.

4 que lloran.

serán consolados.

5 ellos heredarán la t.

6 saciados.

7 la m.

Nuevo Pacto 1858.

3 Felices los pobres en espíritu,
 porque de ellos es el reino de los cielos.
 4 Felices los que tienen pesar,
 porque ellos serán consolados.
 5 Felices los mansos,
 porque ellos heredarán la tierra.
 6 Felices los que tienen hambre i sed de
 lo justo,
 porque ellos serán hartos.
 7 Felices los misericordiosos,
 porque se tendrá misericordia de ellos.

Corfu 1829.

3 Byen aventurados los majados de espritu,
 por que de ellos es el reinado de los syelos.
 4 Byen aventurados los lemonyozos
 por que ellos se conortarán.
 5 Byen aventurados los umildes
 por que ellos erebarán la tyera.
 6 Byen aventurados los ambyentos i los
 sequeozos de la gustedad
 por que ellos se artarán de la gustedad.
 7 Byen aventurados los que apiadan,
 por que ellos serán apiadados.

Constantinople 1877.

3 Byenaventurados los povres de espiritu;
 porque de ellos es el reino de los syelos.
 4 Byenaventurados los lemonyozos;
 porque ellos serán conortados.
 5 Byenaventurados los mansos;
 porque ellos eredarán la tyera.
 6 Byenaventurados los que tyenen hambre
 i sed de gustedad;
 porque ellos serán artados.
 7 Byenaventurados los piadozos;
 porque ellos serán apiadados.

Epistolas y evangelios 1506.

Bienaventurados los limpios de coraçon:
 ca ellos verán a dios.
 Bienaventurados los pacíficos:
 ca fijos de dios seran llamados.
 Bienaventurados los que sufren persecucion
 por la justicia:
 ca dellos es el reyno delos cielos.
 Bienaventurados seroys quando
 los hombres vos maldixeren ⁊ vos persiguieren:
 ⁊ dixerén todo mal contra vos otros
 mintiendo por mi,
 gozad ⁊ alegrad vos:
 ca vuestro galardón es grande en los cielos.

1543 f.: 8 and 10 porque instead of ca. 10 son los que. 11 os. os. 12 alegraos.

Vita Christi Cartuzano 1537: 10 padescen. suyo es. 11 os mald. y os persiguieren. mal contra vosotros, afterwards mintiendo contra vosotros por amor de mi. 12 gozaos y alegraos, porque la merced vuestra copiosa es.

Constantino.

Bienaventurados los limpios de coraçon,
 porque ellos verán a Dios.
 Bienaventurados los pacíficos,
 que ellos seran llamados hijos de Dios.
 Bienaventurados los que padescen perse-
 cucion por la justicia,
 porque de ellos es el reyno de los cielos.
 Bienaventurados soys quando
 os injuriaren los hōbres, y os persiguieren,
 y dixerén muchos males contra vosotros,
 y esto dixerén por mi causa, y mintiendo,
 alegraos y gozaos,
 porque vuestro premio abundante es en los
 cielos.

Scio 1821.

Bienaventurados los de limpio corazon;
 porque ellos verán a Dios.
 Bienaventurados los pacíficos;
 porque hijos de Dios serán llamados.
 Bienaventurados los que padecen persecucion
 por la justicia;
 porque de ellos es el reyno de los cielos.
 Bienaventurados soys, quando
 os maldixeren, y os persiguieren,
 y dixerén todo mal contra vosotros
 mintiendo, por mi causa:
 Gozaos y alegraos,
 porque vuestro galardón muy grande es en
 los cielos.

Amat 1823, difference from Scio 1821: 8 que tienen puro su corazón. 9 ellos serán llamados hijos de Dios. 10 justicia ó por ser justos. 11 Dichosos seréis cuando los hombres por mi causa os. dijeren con mentira toda suerte de mal contra v. 12 Alegraos entonces y regocijaos, p. es muy grande la recompensa que os aguarda en.

Lit. Angl. 1839, difference from Amat 1823: 8 los de limpio corazón. 10 without ó por ser j. 12 without entonces. muy grande vuestra recompensa en.

Mateo, Matamoros 1882, has these alterations of Lit. Angl., and moreover: 9 pacificadores. 11 Bienaventurados.

Valdés c. 1540.

- 8 Bienaventurados los limpios en el coraçon,
 porque ellos verán a Dios.
- 9 Bienaventurados los que apaziguan,
 porque ellos serán llevados hijos de Dios.
- 10 Bienaventurados los perseguidos por causa
 de la justicia,
 porque de ellos es el reino de los cielos.
- 11 Bienaventurados sois quando
 os injuriarán y perseguirán
 y dirán toda mala palabra contra vosotros,
 mintiendo, por mi causa;
- 12 gozáos y alegráos,
 porque vuestro galardón es grande en los
 cielos.

Enzinas 1543.

- 8 Bien auenturados son los limpios de
 curazon,
 por que aquellos verán a Dios.
- 9 Bien auenturados son los pacíficos,
 por que estos hijos de Dios seran llamados.
- 10 Bien auenturados son los que padeçen
 persecucion por la iustitia,
 porque de aquellos es el reino de los cielos.
- 11 Bien auenturados sois quando
 os vbieren despreciado, y os vbieren
 perseguido,
 y dixerén toda mala palabra contra vosotros,
 mintiendo por mi causa.
- 12 Alegraos y gozaos,
 por que vuestro premio es grande en los
 cielos.

Perez 1556.

- 8 Bienaventurados son los de limpio coraçon:
 porque ellos verán a Dios.
- 9 Bienaventurados los pacíficos:
 porque seran llamados hijos de Dios.
- 10 Bienaventurados son los que padecen per-
 secucion por la iusticia:
 porque dellos es el Reyno delos cielos.
- 11 Bienaventurados soys quando
 os injuriaren y persiguieren los homhres,
 y dixerén toda mala palabra contra vosotros,
 mintiendo, por mi causa.
- 12 Alegraos y gozaos,
 porque vuestro premio es grande en los
 cielos.

Reina 1569.

Bienaventurados los de limpio coraçon:
 porque ellos verán á Dios.
 Bienaventurados los Pacificos:
 porque ellos serán llamados hijos de Dios.
 Bienaventurados los que padecen persecucion
 por causa de la justicia:
 porque deellos es el Reyno de los cielos.
 Bienaventurados soys, quando
 *dixeren mal de vosotros, y os persiguieren,
 y dixeren de vosotros todo mal
 por mi causa, mintiendo.
 Gozaos, y alegraos;
 porque vuestro salario es grande en los
 cielos.

Note * os maldixêren q. d. os infamâren.
 Ot. os injuriâren.

*Hutter 1599 v. 11 without note and os
 not italicized.*

Note * in *Valera 1602 only*. (1625 v. 11:
 persiguiere.)

Alcarado 1715, difference from Valera's text:
 8 los limpios de coraçon. 10 dellos.
 11 os *not italicized*.

N. T. 1813. 1817, difference from Val.:
 8 los limpios de corazon.

*Mateo 1857, N. T. Malagu 1865, Lnd
 1866. 1867, Bible Lnd 1867. 1869,
 Matthew 1872, difference from Val.:*
 12 es *italicized*.

Rule's Mateo 1841, difference from N. T.
 1813. 1817:

10 los perseguidos por la j. 11 quando
 os maldicen y persiguen, y dicen todo
 mal contra vosotros, mintiendo por mi
 causa. 12 Alegraos y regocijaos. grande
 será v. galardón.

*Lucena 1862 f., also in Liturgia 1869,
 difference from Val.:*

11 quando os vituperaren. 12 vuestra
 merced es. *In the Liturgia the es is
 not italicized.*

*ABS 1865 f., also in the separate Mateo
 380 and 390, difference from Val.:*
 9 pacificadores. 11 os maldijeren. 12 Re-
 gocijaos. galardón es.

Pratt's Mateo 1877, difference from Val.:
 8 los puros de c. 9 pacificadores. 11 os
 vituperaren. *The os before pers. is not
 italicized.* toda suerte de mal. *Note:*
 ó, toda palabra mala. 12 Regocijaos y
 cantad de gozo. grande es v. galardón.

Nuevo Pacto 1858.

- 8 Felices los de limpio corazon,
 porque ellos verán á Dios.
- 9 Felices los que procuran la paz,
 porque ellos serán llamados hijos de Dios.
- 10 Felices los que padecen persecucion por
 causa de lo justo,
 porque de ellos es el reino de los cielos.
- 11 Felices sois, quando
 os improperaren i os persiguieren,
 i dijeren toda mala palabra contra vosotros,
 mintiendo, por mi causa:
- 12 gozáos i alegráos,
 porque vuestra recompensa es grande en
 los cielos.

Corfu 1829.

- 8 Byen aventurados los limpyos de corason,
 porque ellos verán a el Dyo.
- 9 Byen aventurados azyentes pas,
 por que ellos se llamarán ijos del Dyo.
- 10 Byen aventurados los que son persegui-
 dos por gustedad,
 que a ellos es el reino de los syelos.
- 11 Byen aventurados sox quando
 arepudyarán avos i vos perseguirán,
 i dirán toda coza mala cuenta vos
 en mentiras para madre de mi.
- 12 Alegradvos i agozadvos
 por que güestras pagues mungas son en
 el syelo.

Constantinople 1877.

- 8 Byenaventurados los limpyos de corason;
 porque ellos verán al Dyo.
- 9 Byenaventurados los apaziguadores;
 porque ellos serán llamados ijos del Dyo.
- 10 Byenaventurados los perseguidos por cavza
 de la güstedad;
 porque de ellos es el reino de los syelos.
- 11 Byenaventurados sox quando
 vos repudyaren i persigyeren,
 i dixerón toda coza mala contra vozotros
 en mentira, por mi cavza.
- 12 Gozadvos i alegradvos;
 porque grande es vuestro gualardon en
 los syelos.

Esc. 2, ms. fn. s. XIV.

Si yo fablare en las lenguas delos om̃s
e delos angeles,
non aviendo caridat,
so atal como cobre sonante
o campana retinniente.
E si oviere prophecía
e sopiere todas las cosas e toda sciencia

e si oviere toda fe assi que
todos los montes traspasse,
e non oviere caridat, nada so.
E si todas mis riquezas partiere
en dar a comer a pobres
e si yo diere mi cuerpo a pena assi que arda,
e non oviere caridat, non me tiene pro.

Esc. 6, ms. s. XV, difference from Esc. 2:

- 1 ombres.
no.
cuemo cobre sonant
o cuemo campana retinnient.
- 2 oviero. *Esc. 2* pp̃h'ia, *Esc. 6* pp̃hecía.
sopier.
ovier.
without todos.
no ovier.
- 3 riquezas partiero.
dier mio.
no oviero. no me tien pro ninguno.

Epistolas y evangelios 1506.

A vn que fable con las lenguas delos hōbres
y delos angeles:
si caridad no tengo:
soy como cobre que suena:
o cāpana que retñe:
E si tuiere la profecia:
y conociere todos los misterios ⁊ toda la
sciencia.
⁊ tuiere toda la fe: tanto que
faga mudar los montes:
⁊ caridad no tuiere: ninguna cosa so.
⁊ si repartiere en el mantenimiento delos pobres
toda mi fazienda:
⁊ si diere mi cuerpo asi que arda:
y caridad no tuiere: ninguna cosa me aprouecha.
1543: 1 yo hable. 2 tuiere yo el don dela
profecia. si caridad. soy. 3 cuerpo al mar-
tyrio hasta que arda.
1544: 2 ministerios *instead of* misterios. *The
only difference from 1543.*
1558 *has the same misprint, and in the same verse*
tuiera yo el. *The only difference from 1544.*
1615, *diff. from 1543:* 2 tanta.

Scio 1790.

1 Co-

- Si yo, hablare con lenguas de hombres
y de Ángeles,
y no tuviere caridad,
soy como metal que resuena,
o campana que retñe.
2 Y si tuviere prophecía,
y supiere todos los misterios y quanto se
puede saber:
y si tuviese toda la fe, de manera que
traspasase los montes,
y no tuviere caridad, nada soy.
3 Y si distribuyere todos mis bienes
en dar de comer a pobres,
y si entregare mi cuerpo para ser quemado,
y no tuviere caridad, nada me aprovecha.

Note: MS. Cuemo cobre sonant, o cuemo
campana retinnient (*see Esc. 6*).

*Bible London 1821 — and, throughout this
chapter (orthographical differences always
excepted), London 1823—24. 1828. 1855,
Barcelona 1837, Madrid 1855, N. T. Madrid
1855, London 1874, — difference from 1790:*
1 *without* con. suena.

*Liturgia, London 1821 — and, throughout
this chapter (orthography set apart), ib.
twice 1823, N. T. Paris 1822, Londres
1854, Bogotá 1857 —, the only diff. in this
ch. from Bible London 1821:*
1 hablara. tuviera.

Ximenez 1804.

- 2 trasladára yo los montes de una parte á otra.

Amat 1823.

- Cuando yo hablara todas las lenguas de los
hombres
y el language de los ángeles mismos,
si no tuviere caridad,
vengo á ser eomo un metal que suena,
ó campana que retñe.
2 Y cuando tuviera el don de profecía,
y penetrase todos los misterios, y poseyese
todas las ciencias:
cuando tuviera toda la fe *posible*, de manera que
trasladase de una á otra parte los montes,
no teniendo caridad, soy un nada.
3 Cuando yo distribuyese todos mis bienes
para sustento de los pobres,
y cuando entregara mi cuerpo á las llamas;
si la caridad me falta, todo lo dicho no me
sirve de nada.

1839 (N. T. and Liturgia): 1 *without* mismos.
2 *without* posible.

1853, *diff. from 1839:* 2 toda la ciencia.

rinthians 13.*Valdés c. 1537.*

Si hablare con lenguas de hombres
y de angeles,
y no tuviere caridad,
seré como el metal que suena
o cimbalo que retiñe.
Y si tuviere profecía
y supiere todos los misterios y todo el cono-
cimiento,
y si tuviere toda la fe en tanto grado que
traspasase los montes de una parte a otra,
y no tuviere caridad, no soy nada.
Y si distribuyere todos mis bienes
en sustentar *pobres*,
y si entregare mi cuerpo para ser quemado,
y no tuviere caridad, no me aprovecha nada.

Enzinas 1543.

Si yo hablare lenguas de hombres,
y de angeles,
y no tubiere charidad
soi hecho (como) el metal que resuena,
ó, (como) la campana, que retiñe.
2 Y si yo tubiere el don de propheçia.
Y conoscoiere todos los misterios, y toda la
sciencia:
Y si tubiere toda fee, de tal manera que
pueda trasportar los montes,
y si no tubiere charidad, nad [*sic*] soi.
3 Y si yo distribuere todas mis facultades
a enmantenimientos de pobres,
y si diere mi cuerpo para ser quemado,
y no tubiere charidad, ningund provecho rescuiuo.

Perez 1556.

Si yo hablare con lenguas de hōbres,
y de Angeles,
y no tuviere charidad,
soy hecho como el metal que suena,
o cimbalo que retiñe.
Y si yo tuviere don de prophecia,
y conociere todos los secretos, y toda sciencia:
y si tuviere toda la fe, detalmanera que
pueda passar de vna parte a otra los montes,
y no tuviere charidad, no soy nada.
Y si distribuyere todos mis bienes
en limosnas,
y si entregare mi cuerpo para ser quemado,
y no tuviere charidad, no me aprouecha nada.

Reina 1569.

Si yo hablasse lenguas ^b humanas
y angelicas:
y no tenga charidad,
soy metal que rossuena,
o campana que retiñe.
2 Y si tuuiesse prophecia,
y entendiesse todos los mysterios, y toda
sciencia:
y si tuuiesse toda la fe, de tal manera que
traspassasse los montes,
y no tenga Charidad, nada soy.
3 Y si repartiesse toda mi hazienda
para dar de comer à pobres:
y si entregasse mi cuerpo para ser quemado,
y no tenga Charidad, de nada [me] sirue.

Notes: ^b G. de hōbres y de angeles H. ^c G soy hecho.
3 me bracketed by Reina.
Hutter N. T. 1600 gives Reina's text of the chapter, only
nothing italicized, and without marginals.
Valera 1596. 1708. 1812: 3 no me aprovecha nada (with
Vld Prx), no italicized.
Tzedda 1623, difference from 1596: 1 yo not ital. tengo.
3 me not ital.
Alvarado 1715, difference from Tzedda: 1 rotaño. 3 comar.
N. T. 1817, difference from 1596: 1. 2. 3 tengo.
Valera 1602. 1625, difference from Reina: 3 me ital. without
brackets.
Lucena 1862f. (in Liturgia 1869 nothing in the chapter
italicized, and v. 1 misprinted hablasé), difference from
1602: 1 yo not ital. tengo. vengo á ser como metal.
cimbalo (with Lt Vld Prx). 2 tengo. 3 á pobres italicized.
tengo.
ABS 1865f., difference from 1602: 1 yo not ital. en lenguas
de hombres y de ángeles (Reina's note). tuviere. soy
hecho (R's note) como metal. platillo. 2 el don de pro-
fecia. de manera que pudiese traspasar las montañas,
y no tuviera. 3 á pobres ital. tuviere. me not ital.
N. T. Malaga 1865, difference from 1602: profecía.
Bible London 1867. 1869, difference from 1602: á los pobres.
N. T. Lond 1868, difference from 1602: 1. 2. 3. tengo.

Valdés in the explanation: Si hablare lenguas de, without
con, and: si yo viniero a toner dones de lenguas ...
si con esto no tengo curidad, soy semejante al metal ...
In the *Diál. de Mere. y Car.* ch. 20 end: ¿No has leído
lo que scrivió san Pablo a los corintios? que, aunque
tuviesses todas las otras virtudes muy enteras, si le
faltava caridad, todo no le valia nada. and: todas tus
buenas obras no te aprovechan, porque vinieron des-
nudas y vazias de caridad.

Esc. 2, ms. fin. s. XIV.

La caritat paciente es e buena es,
caritat non es embidiosa,
non anda mala mientre, non sobervia,

non se delante pone,
non demanda las cosas que suyas son,
non se ensaña, non piensa mal,
non se gosa de maldad,
gosasse dela verdat.
Todas cosas suffre,
todas cosas *de Dios* cree,
todas cosas espera,
todas cosas sostiene.

Esc. 6, ms. s. XV, difference from Esc. 2:

- 4 patient. bona.
no es envidiosa.
no anda. no.
- 5 no demanda.
no piensa.
- 6 goza.
goza se.

Epistolas y evangelios 1506.

la caridad paciente es: benigna es:

la caridad non ha envidia:
no faze mal: no se hincha:

no es codiciosa de honor:
no busca las cosas que son suyas:
no se ensaña: no piensa mal:
no se alegra dela maldad:
mas goza se en vno con la verdad:
todas las cosas suffre:
todo la cree:
todas las cosas espera:
todas las cosas conporta:

1543 f.: 4 no ha envidia. hincha ni
altinece.

Scio 1790.

4 La Caridad es paciente, es benigna:
la Caridad no es envidiosa,
no obra precipitadamente, no se ensoberbece,

- 5 No es ambiciosa,*)
no busca sus provechos,
no se mueve a ira, no piensa mal,
- 6 No se goza de la iniquidad,
mas gózase de la verdad:
- 7 Todo lo sobrelleva,*)
todo lo cree,
todo lo espera,
todo lo soporta.

Notes: 5 *) 'x ἀσχημονεῖ, no es in-
juriosa, sino modesta y vergonzosa.
7 *) ἡγέει puede traducirse todo lo cubre.
Bible London 1821, diff. from 1790:
6 mas se goza.

Ximenez 1804.

- 4 no procede inconsideradamente en sus
acciones, ni tiene vanidad en lo bueno
que hace.
- 7 todo lo tolera,
todo lo cree,
de nadie desespera,
y sufre todos los agravios que le hacen.

Amat 1823.

4 La caridad es sufrida, es dulce y bien-
hechora:
la caridad no tiene envidia,
no obra precipitada ni temerariamente,
no se ensoberbece,

- 5 no es ambiciosa,
no busca sus intereses,
no se irrita, no piensa mal,
- 6 no se huelga de la injusticia,
complácese sí en la verdad:
- 7 á todo se acomoda:
cree todo *el bien del prójimo*:
todo lo espera;
y lo soporta todo.

1839: 4 *without* es dulce.
precipitadamente *without* ni tem.
7 *without* al bien del prój.
1853, diff. from 1839: 5 desdefiosa *instead*
of amb. 7 adds lo before cree.

Valdés c. 1537.

La caridad es paciente, es benina,
la caridad no es invidiosa,
no es insolente, no se ensorbervece,

no se avergüenza,
no busca sus cosas propias,
no se aira, no piensa en mal,
no se goza de la injusticia,
pero gozase con la verdad,
toda cosa sufre,
toda cosa cree,
toda cosa espera,
toda cosa sostiene.

Enzinas 1543.

- 4 La charidad es paciente, y es venigna:
La charidad no es invidiosa:
La charidad nada haze peruersamente:
no se ensorberbeze:
5 no es fastidiosa:
no busca las cosas que son suyas:
no se mueue a yra: no piensa mal:
6 no se alegra por la injusticia,
sino alegrase con la verdad:
7 sufre todas las cosas:
crei [*sic*] todas las cosas:
espera todas las cosas:
sostiene todas las cosas:

Perez 1556.

La charidad es paciente, es benigna:

la charidad no es invidiosa:
la charidad no es temeraria: no se ensorberuece:
"no es ambiciosa:
no busca sus provechos:
no se mueue a yra: "no piensa mal:
no se goza dela injusticia,
mas gozasse con la verdad:
çufre lo todo:
creelo todo:
esperalo todo:
sostienelo todo.

On the margin: "o, no se enhastia. "no
echa nada a mala parte.

Reina 1569.

- 4 La Charidad es "suffrida, es benigna:
la Charidad 'no tiene embidia,
la Charidad no haze "sin razon, no es
hinchada,
5 No es injuriosa,
no busca "sus provechos,
no se irrita, no piensa 'mal,
6 No se huelga de la injusticia,
mas huelga se de la verdad:
7 Todo lo sufre,
†todo lo cree,
todo lo espera,
todo lo supporta.

*O, paciente. 'O, no es zelosa sin sciencia
de Dios. *Ot. insolente y precipitada-
mente. "G. loque es suyo. 'S. de su
prox. †S. lo bueno en su prox.

Valera 1596. 1708. 1812. 1602. 1625:
7 lo cree.

Alvarado 1715, diff. from Texeda (= 1596):
4 invidia.

N. T. 1817, diff. from 1596: 4 se jacta
instead of haze sin razon. 7 soporta.

Lucena 1862 f., diff. from 1602: 4 se
ensancha *instead of* es hinchada. 5 solo
lo suyo *instead of* sus provechos (*see*
Nuevo Pacto). el mal. 6 mas se huelga.
7 soporta. *BFBS Madrid 1870 f.,*
TBS 1871 f., Lawrence Bible 1882
suppress solo v. 5.

ABS 1865 f., diff. from 1602: 4 es jac-
tanciosa *instead of* haze sin razon.
5 se comporta indecorosamente *instead*
of es injuriosa. lo que es suyo (*R's*
note) *instead of* sus prov. 6 *both times*
en instead of de. 7 soporta.

N. T. Malaga 1865. N. T. Lnd 1866.
1867, *Bible Lnd 1867. 1869, diff. from*
1602: 7 soporta.

N. T. Lnd 1868, diff. from 1602: mas
se huelga.

Valdés explains v. 4 no se ensorbervece
by el amor proprio es presuntuoso y
ambicioso; v. 5 no buscar sus cosas
propias *by* no andando tras sus in-
teresses ... el amor proprio es interes-
sado; no airarse *by* por mucho que ...
la irriten; sostiene *by* soportar. *For*
piensa en mal *he has also* piensa mal,
for con la verdad *also* de la v.

Esc. 2, ms. fn. s. XIV.

La caritat paciente es e buena es,
caritat non es embidiosa,
non anda mala mientre, non sobervia,

non se delante pone,
non demanda las cosas que suyas son,
non se ensaña, non piensa mal,
non se goza de maldad,
gosasse dela verdat.
Todas cosas suffre,
todas cosas *de Dios* cree,
todas cosas espera,
todas cosas sostiene.

Esc. 6, ms. s. XV, difference from Esc. 2:

- 4 pacient. bona.
no es envidiosa.
no anda. no.
- 5 no demanda.
no piensa.
- 6 goza.
goza se.

Scio 1790.

4 La Caridad es paciente, es benigna:
la Caridad no es envidiosa,
no obra precipitadamente, no se ensoberbece,

- 5 No es ambiciosa,*)
no busca sus provechos,
no se mueve a ira, no piensa mal,
- 6 No se goza de la iniquidad,
mas gózase de la verdad:
- 7 Todo lo sobrelleva,*)
todo lo cree,
todo lo espera,
todo lo soporta.

Notes: 5 *) *᾽x δαχνημει*, no es injuriosa, sino modesta y vergonzosa.
7 *) *᾽εῖς* puede traducirse todo lo cubre.
Bible London 1821, diff. from 1790:
6 mas se goza.

Ximenez 1804.

- 4 no procede inconsideradamente en sus acciones, ni tiene vanidad en lo bueno que hace.
- 7 todo lo tolera,
todo lo cree,
de nadie desespera,
y sufre todos los agravios que le hacen.

Epistolas y evangelios 1506.

la caridad paciente es: benigna es:

la caridad non ha envidia:
no faze mal: no se hincha:

no es codiciosa de honor:
no busca las cosas que son suyas:
no se ensaña: no piensa mal:
no se alegra dela maldad:
mas goza se en vno con la verdad:
todas las cosas suffre:
todo la cree:
todas las cosas espera:
todas las cosas conporta:

1543 f.: 4 no ha envidia. hincha ni altinece.

Amat 1823.

- 4 La caridad es sufrida, es dulce y bienhechora:
la caridad no tiene envidia,
no obra precipitada ni temerariamente,
no se ensoberbece,
- 5 no es ambiciosa,
no busca sus intereses,
no se irrita, no piensa mal,
- 6 no se huelga de la injusticia,
complácese sí en la verdad:
- 7 á todo se acomoda:
cree todo *el bien del prójimo*:
todo lo espera;
y lo soporta todo.

1839: 4 *without* es dulce.
precipitadamente *without* ni tem.
7 *without* al bien del prój.
1853, *diff. from 1839*: 5 desdeñosa *instead*
of amb. 7 *adds* lo before cree.

Valdés c. 1537.

La caridad es paciente, es benina,
la caridad no es invidiosa,
no es insolente, no se ensobervece,

no se avergüenza,
no busca sus cosas propias,
no se aira, no piensa en mal,
no se goza de la injusticia,
pero gozase con la verdad,
toda cosa sufre,
toda cosa cree,
toda cosa espera,
toda cosa sostiene.

Enzinas 1543.

- 4 La charidad es paciente, y es venigna:
La charidad no es invidiosa:
La charidad nada haze peruersamente:
no se ensoberbeze:
5 no es fastidiosa:
no busca las cosas que son suyas:
no se mueue a yra: no piensa mal:
6 no se alegra por la injusticia,
sino alegrase con la verdad:
7 sufre todas las cosas:
crei [*sic*] todas las cosas:
espera todas las cosas:
sostiene todas las cosas:

Perez 1556.

La charidad es paciente, es benigna:

la charidad no es inuidiosa:
la charidad no es temeraria: no se ensoberuece:

"no es ambiciosa:
no busca sus prouechos:
no se mueue a yra: "no piensa mal:
no se goza dela injusticia,
mas gozasse con la verdad:
çufre lo todo:
creelo todo:
esperalo todo:
sostienelo todo.

On the margin: "o, no se enhastia. "no
echa nada a mala parte.

Reina 1569.

- 4 La Charidad es *suffrida, es benigna:
la Charidad 'no tiene embidia,
la Charidad no haze *sin razon, no es
hinchada,
5 No es injuriosa,
no busca ^asus prouechos,
no se irrita, no piensa 'mal,
6 No se huelga de la injusticia,
mas huelga se de la verdad:
7 Todo lo sufre,
†todo le cree,
todo lo espera,
todo lo supporta.

*O, paciente. 'O, no es zelosa sin sciencia
de Dios. *Ot. insolente y precipitadam-
mente. ^aG. loque es suyo. 'S. de su
prox. †S. lo bueno en su prox.

Valera 1596. 1708. 1812. 1602. 1625:
7 lo cree.

Alvarado 1715, *diff. from Texeda* (= 1596):
4 invidia.

N. T. 1817, *diff. from* 1596: 4 se jacta
instead of haze sin razon. 7 soporta.

Lucena 1862 f., *diff. from* 1602: 4 se
ensancha *instead of* es hinchada. 5 solo
lo suyo *instead of* sus provechos (*see*
Nuevo Pacto). el mal. 6 mas se huelga.
7 soporta. *BFBS Madrid* 1870 f.,
TBS 1871 f., *Lawrence Bible* 1882
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ABS 1865 f., *diff. from* 1602: 4 es jac-
tanciosa *instead of* haze sin razon.
5 se comporta indecorosamente *instead*
of es injuriosa. lo que es suyo (*R's*
note) *instead of* sus prov. 6 both times
en *instead of* de. 7 soporta.

N. T. Malaga 1865. *N. T. Lnd* 1866.
1867, *Bible Lnd* 1867. 1869, *diff. from*
1602: 7 soporta.

N. T. Lnd 1868, *diff. from* 1602: mas
se huelga.

Valdés explains v. 4 no se ensobervece
by el amor proprio es presuntuoso y
ambicioso; v. 5 no buscar sus cosas
propias *by* no andando tras sus in-
teresses ... el amor proprio es interes-
sado; no airarse *by* por mucho que ...
la irriten; sostiene *by* soportar. *For*
piensa en mal *he has also* piensa mal,
for con la verdad *also* de la v.

Esc. 2, ms. fn. s. XIV.

Caridat nunca se pierde (esto es que
nunca fenesçrá),
siquier las profetas serán vasis,
siquier las lenguas quedarán,
siquier el saber estroydo será.
Ca por parte sabemos

e por parte prophetamos.
Mas quando viniere lo que es acabada cosa,
vasiarseha lo que es por parte.
Quando yo era niño,
fablava como niño
e cuydava como niño;
quando so fecho varon,
vasié las cosas que eran de niño.

Esc. 6, ms. s. XV, difference from Esc. 2:

- 8 numqua. numqua. fenesçrá.
pph'ias. vazias.
destroydo.
10 vaziansa. part.
11 cuemo nino
e cuedava como niño.
mas quando fo fecho.
vazié.

Scio 1790.

8 La Caridad nunca fenece:

aunque se acaben las profecias,
y cesen las lenguas,
y sea destruida la ciencia.

9 Porque en parte conocemos,

y en parte prophetizamos.

10 Mas quando viniere lo que es perfecto,
abolirse ha lo que es en parte.

11 Quando yo era niño,
hablaba como niño, sentia como niño,
pensaba como niño.
Mas quando fui ya hombre hecho,
dí de mano á las cosas de niño.

Bible London 1821, diff. from 1790:

8 se hayan de acabar las pr., y cesar.
ser d.

10 abolido será.

N. T. London 1825, three varieties,
con arreglo á la edicion de Madrid de
1797, and *Bible with Latin, London*
1827, the only diff. in this ch. from
the *Liturgia*: 8 sea.

Ximenez 1804.

11 hablaba . . discurría . . pensaba.

Epistolas y evangelios 1506.

la caridad no cae jamas
agora se vazien las profecias:

o las lenguas cesen:
o el saber se destruya.
Ca en parte conocemos:

y en parte profetizamos:
mas quando verna lo que es perfeto:
se vazia la lo imperfecto.
quando era niño
hablaui como niño: sabia como niño:
pensaua como niño:
empero despues que so fecho hñbre
deseche las cosas de niño.

1543: 8 jamas, ⁊ si desfallecieren las. ces-
saren, ⁊ la sciencia se destruyere, la
caridad nunca perecera: 9 agora en. 10 per-
feto, que es el estado dela gloria triun-
fante, desfallecera lo imperfecto. 11 quando
yo. mas despues. soy hecho h., dexe.
1615, *diff. from 1543*: 8 destruya.

Amat 1823.

8 La caridad nunca fenece;
en lugar de que las profecias se termi-
narán,
y cesarán las lenguas,
y se acabará la ciencia.

9 Porque ahora nuestro conocimiento es
imperfecto,
é imperfecta la profecía.

10 Mas llegado que sea lo perfecto,
desaparecerá lo imperfecto.

11 Así cuando yo era niño
hablaba como niño, juzgaba como niño,
discurría como niño.
Pero cuando fui ya hombre hecho,
di de mano á las cosas de niño.

1839: Así *italicized*.

Valdés c. 1537.

La caridad no cae jamas.

Agora sean destruidas las profecias
o que cessen las lenguas
o que sea destruido el conocimiento.
Porque en parte conocemos

y en parte profetizamos,
mas quando viniere lo que es perfeto,
estonces to que es en parte será destruido.
Quando era niño,
hablava como niño, entendia como niño,
pensava como niño,
mas despues que soy hecho hombre
destrui las cosas de niño.

Ensinas 1543.

- 8 La charidad jamas cesa:
aun que falten las prophecias,
y cesen las lenguas,
y aun que la sciencia sea destruyda.
9 Por que en parte conosçemos,
y en parte prophetamos.
10 Pero quando lo que es perfecto viniere,
entonces lo que es en parte, perescera.
11 Quando yo era niño,
hablaba como niño, sentia como niño,
pensaba como niño.
Pero ya que soi hecho hombre,
aparte de mi las cosas de niños.

Perez 1556.

La charidad no cessa jamas
aunque falten las Prophecias,

y cessen la [*sic*] lenguas,
y la sciencia sea destruyda.
Porque en parte conocemos,

y en parte prophetizamos.
Mas quando fuere venida la perfeccion,
estonces lo que es en *) parte sera quitado.
Quando yo era niño,
hablaua como niño, sentia como niño,
pensaua como niño:
mas quando ya fue hecho varon,
quite demi las cosas de niños.

*) en *had been omitted, but it is noted*
in the faltas de la impression.

Reina 1569.

8 La Charidad nunca se pierde:

aunque las prophecias se ayan de acabar,
y las lenguas de cessar,
y la sciencia de ser quitada.

- 9 Porque 'en parte *tan solamente* tenemos
conocimiento,
y en parte prophetamos.
10 Mas desque venga lo que es lo perfecto,
entonces "lo que es en parte será quitado.
11 Quando *yo* era niño,
hablaua como niño, pensaua como niño,
"sabia como niño:
mas quando ya soy hombre hecho,
quité loque era de niño.

¹ No cumplidamente. " Lo imperfecto. " Ot.
sentia.

Valera 1596. 1708. 1812: 8 aya added after
sciencia. 9 conocemos (with Vld Ens Prs).
The tan solamente is suppressed. 10 no
article before perfecto (with Vld Ens).
11 sentia (R's note) instead of sabia.

Valera 1602. 1625, diff. from Reina: 9. 10
the alterations of 1596.

Texeda 1623, diff. from 1596: 11 yo not
ital.

Alvarado 1715, diff. from Texeda: 10 per-
feto. lo que en parte, without es.

N. T. 1813. 1817, diff. from 1596: 9 pro-
phetizamos, 1817 prof. (with Vld Prs).
10 desde que.

Lucena 1862 f., diff. from 1602: 8 La c.
nunca deja de ser: mas las pr. se han de
acabar, y cesarán las l., y la ciencia ha
de ser quitada. 9 profetizamos. 10 cuando
(with Vld Ens Prs Nuevo Pacto). per-
fecto without article. 11 yo not ital. juzgaba
instead of sabia. fui (with Prs Scio) in-
stead of soy. dejé.

ABS 1865 f., diff. from 1602:

8 acaba instead of pierde. han de acabar,
y cesar las l., y desaparecer la ciencia.
9 profetizamos. 10 despues que. abolido.
11 yo not ital. ya fui. puse á un lado
las cosas de niño.

N. T. Malaga 1865, Lnd 1866. 67, Bible
Lnd 1867. 69, diff. from 1602: 9 profeti-
zamos. 10 despues que. 11 yo not ital.

N. T. Lnd 1868. 69, diff. from 1602:
9 profetizamos. 10 cuando. 11 yo not ital.

Valdés explains: 8 faltarán las prof., falta-
rán las lg., y faltará el conoc., and el don
de entender las profecias y de profetizar.
11 Por lo que dize pensava, puede dezir
discurria.

Esc. 2, ms. fn. s. XIV.

Agora vemos como por espejo
 en semejança,
 mas estonce de cara a cara.
 Agora connosco por parte,
 mas estonces connosçré
 assi como connoscido.
 Mas agora son
 estas tres cosas: fe, sperança, caridat,

e destas cosas caridat es la mayor.

Esc. 6, ms. s. XV, difference from Esc. 2.

- 12 cuemo
 connozco por part
 estonce
 cuemo so c.
 13 esperança e c.

Scio 1790.

- 12 Ahora vemos como por espejo
 en obscuridad:
 mas entónçes cara á cara.
 Ahora conozco en parte:
 mas entónçes conoceré,
 como soy conocido.
 13 Y ahora permanecen
 estas tres cosas, Fe, Esperanza y Caridad:

mas de estas, la mayor es la Caridad.

Bible London 1821, diff. from 1790:

13 la F., la E. y la C.

Epistolas y evangelios 1506.

Vemos agora por el espejo

en figura:
 y entonce faz a faz.
 agora en parte conozco:

mas entonce conoceré

assi como so conocido.
 agora quedan
 estas tres: fe: esperança: y caridad.

mas la mayor dellas es la caridad.

1543: 12 agora veemos. *Twice* entonces.
 soy.

13 son *instead of* quedan.

1615, *diff. from* 1543: 12 vemos.

Amat 1823.

- 12 Al presente no vemos á Dios sino como
 en un espejo,
 y bajo imágenes obscuras:
 pero entonces le veremos cara á cara.
 Yo no le conozco ahora sino imperfecta-
 mente;

mas entonces le conoceré *con una vision
 clara,*

á la manera que soy yo conocido.

- 13 Ahora permanecen
 estas tres virtudes, la fe, la esperanza
 y la caridad;
 pero de las tres la caridad es la mas
 escelente de todas.

1839: 12 *without* á Dios. *no y before* bajo.
no le before veremos, *nor before* conoceré.
Without con una vision cl.

1853, *diff. from* 1839: 13 *without* de todas.

Valdés c. 1537.

Porque agora vemos por espejo
 en obscuridad,
 y estonces cara a cara;
 agora conozco en parte,
 y estonces conoceré
 segun que soy conocido.
Mas agora quedan

la fe, asperança y caridad, estas tres,

y la mayor destas *es* la caridad.

12 asperança *would be the form used here by V. Perez prints esp. in his ed. of 1 Cor. by Valdés.*

Ensinas 1543.

- 12 Por que nosotros contemplamos agora por
 vn espejo
 en obscuridad:
 pero entonces veremos cara a cara.
 Agora yo conosco en parte,
 pero entonces conoscoçere,
 asi como yo tambien soi conoscoçido.
- 13 Y agora quedan
 estas tres cosas, Fee, Esperança, Charidad:
 pero la maior destas *es* la Charidad.

Perez 1556.

Porque nosotros miramos agora por
 espejo.
 en obscuridad,
 mas estonces, veremos cara a cara.
 Agora conozco en parte,
 pero entonces conoscere,
 assi como tambien soy conocido.
 Y agora quedan
 estas tres cosas, fe, esperança, y charidad:
 pero la mayor destas *es* la charidad.

Reina 1569.

- 12 Aora vemos como ^opor espejo
 en escuridad:
 mas entonces, *veremos* cara à cara.
 aora conozco en parte:
 mas entonces conoceré
 como ^psoy conocido.
- 14 Mas aora permanece
 la fe, la esperança, y la Charidad, estas
 tres cosas:
 empero la mayor de ellas, la Charidad.

Valera 1596. 1708. 1812. 1602. 1625:

12 como *before* por *is suppressed.*

13 *an ital. es is added after ellas.*

Texeda 1623, diff. from 1596: nothing ital.

13 permanecen estas tres cosas la fe, la

Esperança, y la Caridad:

Empero la mayor de ellas *es* la Car.

Alvarado 1715, diff. from Texeda:

12 veemos.

obscuridad.

13 dellas.

Lucena 1862f., diff. from 1602:

12 oscuridad.

13 Y (*with Ens Prz*) *instead of Mas.*

permanecen (*with Lt Vld Ens Prz*).

ABS 1865 f., diff. from 1602:

12 Porque ahora.

oscuramente.

veremos *is suppressed.*

13 Y *instead of Mas.*

cosas *is suppressed.*

N. T. Malaga 1865, Lnd 1866. 67, Bible

Lnd 1867. 69, diff. from 1602:

12 oscuridad.

N. T. Lnd 1868, diff. from 1602:

12 oscuridad.

13 permanecen.

ABS N. T. Spanish and English 1854.

Aunque yo hablára con lenguas de hombres

y de ángeles,
sino tuviese caridad,
soy como metal que suena,
ó campana que resuena.

Y aunque yo tuviese el don de profecía,
y entendiese todos los misterios, y toda
ciencia,

y tuviese toda la fé, de manera que
pudiese remover las montañas,
y no tuviere caridad, nada soy.

Y si distribuyese todos mis bienes
para dar de comer á *los pobres*,
y si entregase mi cuerpo para ser quemado;

y no tuviese caridad, de nada me aprovecha.

La caridad es sufrida, es benigna;

la caridad no es envidiosa,
no procede inconsideradamente, no se en-
soberbece.

No obra indecorosamente,
no busca su provecho,
no se mueve á ira, no piensa mal.

No se regocija en la iniquidad,
mas se goza en la verdad.

Todo lo sobrelleva,
todo lo cree,
todo lo espera,
todo lo soporta.

La caridad nunca fenece:
aunque las profecías se hayan de acabar,

las lenguas cesar,
y haya de desaparecer la ciencia.

Porque en parte conocemos,
y en parte profetizamos.

Mas cuando haya venido lo que es perfecto,
lo que es en parte, será abolido.

Cuando yo era niño,
hablaba como niño, sentía como niño,

y pensaba como niño:
mas cuando fui ya hombre hecho,
dí de mano las cosas de niño.

Nuevo Pacto 1858.

Si yo hablare las lenguas [extrañas] de
los hombres,
i [las] de los mensajeros [celestiales],
i no tuviere amor,*
seré como bronce que suena,
ó un címbalo que hace ruido;

2 i si tuviere el [don de] profecía,
i supiere todos los misterios, i toda la
ciencia,

i si tuviere toda la fé, tanto que
pudiere remover montes,
i no tuviere amor, no [seré] nada.

3 I si [yo] distribuyere todo lo que tengo,
para sustentar [á otros],
i si entregare mi cuerpo para ser quemado,

i no tuviere amor, de nada aprovecharé.

4 El amor tiene paciencia [con otros], i
es benigno:
el amor no tiene envidia:
el amor no obra precipitadamente: no
se envanece:

5 no se comporta indecorosamente:
no busca [solo] su propio [interes]:
no se irrita: no pone [á otros] en cuenta
[su] mal:

6 no se goza de la iniquidad,*
mas se goza con la verdad:

7 sobrelleva todo [lo que puede],
cree todo [lo que es creíble],
espera todo [lo que puede esperar],
soporta con paciencia todo [lo que es
soportable].

8 El amor no ha de decaer nunca:
pero [en cuanto á los dones espirituales],
sea [el de] la profecía, se le
pondrá fin;
sea [el de] las lenguas [extrañas], cesará;
sea [el de] la ciencia, se le pondrá fin.

9 Porque [solo] en parte tenemos la ciencia,
i [solo] en parte tenemos la profecía;

10 pero cuando llegue lo perfecto,
entonces á lo que [es] en parte se
pondrá fin.

11 Cuando [yo] era pequeñuelo,
hablaba como pequeñuelo, pensaba como
pequeñuelo,
discurría como pequeñuelo;
pero desde que he llegado á ser hombre,
he puesto fin á las cosas del pequeñuelo.

Notes: 1 esto es caridad. 6 ó engaño.
10 among the Variantes, authorities are
quoted for omission of entonces.

Corfu 1829.

Si lyo avlare alğüengas de ombres

i de ángeles
i no tuyvera amor
so como azero que sona,
o como retñedoras de aulasyon.
I si tuyvere profetizia
i supyere todos los secretos, i toda sensya,

i si tuyvera toda la emuna a
pueder trasllevar las montañas
i no tengo amor, no so nada.

I si esparzyere todos mis byenes
en dar de comer a proves,
i si entregare mi puerpo para seer quemado

i no tuyvere amor nada me aprovega [*sic*].
El amor es pasinsyozo, lleno de bondad,

el amor no aze selar,
el amor no aze las cozas de presa, i no se
ingé.

No ovra cozas dezonrantes,
no buxca a él provegos,
no se move a ravya, i no pensa mal.

No se alegra en la tortura,
ma en la vtrada se alegra.

Todo escuza,
todo cree,
todo espera
i todo somporta.

El amor no se depyedre nunca,
ma las profetizias se acavarán,

i las alğüengas se detenerán,
i el saver se destruirá.

Porque en parte conosemos,
i en parte apofetizamos.

Ma cuando vyere [*sic*] loque es cumplido
estonces se abaldará loque es en parte.

Cuando lyo era niño
avlava como niño, sentia como niño,

pensava como niño,
ma cuando fui ombre
egé las cozas de mugáges.

Constantinople 1877.

Aunque yo avlara en las lenguas de los
ombres

i de los ángeles,
i no tenga amor,
soy ego como alambre que sona,
o campana que retñe.

2 I aunque tuyvera la *dadiva* de profesia,
i entendyera todos los mysteryos, i toda
la sensya;

i aunque tuyvera toda la fey, de modo que
pudyera trasportar las montañas,
i no tenga amor, no soy nada.

3 I aunque espartyera toda mi azyenda
para dar a comer a los pobres;
i aunque entregara mi cuerpo para ser
quemado,
i no tenga amor, no me aprovega nada.

4 El amor es lungo de folores, es llena
de bondades;
el amor no enbidya;
el amor no se alava, no se sobervya,

5 no se comporta descaradamente,
no buxca lo suyo,
no se aravya, no pensa mal,

6 no se alegra de la tortura,
ma se alegra de la verdad:

7 todo lo sufre,
todo lo cree,
todo lo espera,
todo lo soporta.

8 El amor nunca se cae;
ma los profetizamyentos se baldarán,

i las lenguas se acavarán,
i la sinsya se baldará.

9 Porque en parte conosemos,
i en parte profetizamos.

10 Ma cuando vinyere lo cumplido,
entonces lo que es en parte será baldado.

11 Cuando yo era niño,
avlava como niño, entendia como niño,

pensava como niño;
ma quando me ize varon,
quité las cozas de niño.

ABS N. T. Spanish and English 1854.

Porque ahora vemos por espejo
 en enigma:
 mas entonces cara á cara:
 ahora conozco en parte,
 mas entonces conoceré
 como soy conocido.
 Y ahora permanecen
 estas tres cosas, la fé, la esperanza, y
 la caridad;
 mas de estas la mayor es la caridad.

Nuevo Pacto 1858.

Porque ahora vemos oscuramente*
 por medio de un espejo;
 pero entonces [veremos] cara á cara:
 ahora tengo la ciencia [solo] en parte,
 pero entonces tendré conocimiento pleno,
 segun el que ha sido tenido tambien de mí.
 Ahora pues han de permanecer
 estas tres cosas: fé, esperanza, [i] amor:
 pero la mayor de estas [es] amor.

Note: 12 en ó por un enigma.

*All the bracketed words are bracketed
 in the Nuevo Pacto.*

Corfu 1829.

- 12 Porque agora vemos como por espejo
 en escuridad,
 ma estonses cara a cara,
 agora conosco en parte,
 ma estonses conoseré
 como so conosido.
- 13 I agora quedan
 estas tres cozas, la emuna, la esperansa,
 i el amor,
 ma de estas la mas grande es el amor.

Constantinople 1877.

- 12 Porque agora vemos por espejo
 escuramente,
 ma entonses cara a cara.
 Agora conosco en parte;
 ma entonses conoseré.
 como tambyen soy conosido.
- 13 I agora se queda
 la fey, la esperansa, el amor, estas tres;
 empero la mas grande de estas es el amor.

The specimens copied for me from the Escorial M.S.S. 2—8, are not printed here literally as they were written. With the modern use, introduced already by Juan de Valdés, I have disintricated the confusion between i and j, and between u and v (not writing vn sieruo, mjo iusto). I have omitted the cedilla before e and i, and have written ç before consonants, when the pronunciation required it (connosçrè). Also have I written out what was abbreviated, wherever there was no doubt, for instance que instead of q̄, n instead of the stroke over a vowel. I have left such a stroke where it stands for an original m, the pronunciation varying in this case between m and n. I often have written ñ for nn. R, when initial sound, was sometimes written rr (or with the same meaning: R), and Israel occurred in the same verse with Israel; I have written a simple r in these cases. The conjunction y appears in this form only once, Esc. 8, Judges 5, 6; generally, in M.S. 8 not less than in 2—5 and 7, as something like r; sometimes, in the beginning of a sentence (before vowels as well as before consonants), it is written Et (2—4. 7) and E (the only instances of the latter are: 3 E el, 5 E crescio. E el. E al, 8 E ea); in Esc. 6, however, e is the usual form, but there occurs also r. I have everywhere written e, except the above mentioned single y. I have added the apostrophe in s'alegren, and the sign of crasis in quès quèl sobrèl, also in lèra = la era. The accents and the punctuation are mine, of course.

In the same way I have treated the first psalm printed from an Escorial M.S. by Rdr. de Castro and by Eguren, and the same psalm translated by Arragel, published by Eguren.

The other texts taken from printed books are reprinted without alterations; only such abbreviations are written out at length, as could not give any occasion to doubt.

In the annotations concerning the differences, all orthographical variations are generally neglected, and so are even such differences as y, e or r, and the change of f into h (fijo, hijo &c).

The texts of Valdés are regulated according to his orthography, in about the same way, as in my edition of his Mercurio, nor did I follow the punctuation of Perez's edition of the commentary on 1 Corinthians.

The extracts from the Covdisya de Salomo 1617, the Jewish Vienna Bible of 1813—16, the N. T. of Corfu 1829, the Constantinopolitan Bible 1872—77 are transcribed here from rabbinical characters into Roman ones. As those texts have only the letters, without additional signs for the vowels, some indefiniteness remains about the pronunciation of certain vowels. In my transcription: ð (in the N. T. of Corfu) is a softer d. The g has everywhere the same sound as before a. ġ represents the Gimel accompanied by a diacritical sign, which Hebrew letter thus distinguished is used by the Jews as well for the Castilian ch as for some Castilian j (for the latter now not between vowels in the interior of words); notwithstanding this identity of designation, the Spanish Jews in Turkey, Rumania, Serbia, Vienna (as far as my experience reaches) pronounce ch wherever the

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Castilians pronounce it and in the same way as the Castilians, and on the other hand they pronounce the sound of English *j* in just, where the Spaniards write *j* or (before *e* and *i*) the equivalent *g*. The *j* of my transcription sounds like this letter in French (in the *Covdisya de Salomo* it was perhaps still pronounced like English *j* in major). *x* like English *sh*. *z* soft as in French. Instead of *ll ñ* they write *ly ny*. I have left the *ly* only where the Spaniards have a simple *y* (*lyo olyeron*); this *ly* is a wrong mode of writing practised by such Jews who do not even pronounce the *l* in the genuine Spanish *ly*, written *ll* (*lyerimos* *Isaiah* 53. 6 *Vienna*, is = *yerimos* *Constantinople*, both pronounced *yerimos*; = *yerramos* *Esc.* 3: it is the perfect tense *erramos*). The rabbinical *y* (י) replaces the *i* of the Spanish orthography between a preceding consonant and a following vowel, which belongs to the same syllable: *byen* = *bien*; *guisyo* = *juicio*. The accents in my transcriptions are added by me.

Usóz in his *Isaiah* and *Pratt* in his *Psalms* have arranged the text in parallelisms, as it is usually called, and *Lawrence* has adopted this method for all the poetical books of the Old Testament. In the foregoing synopsis the portions from the Old Testament are printed in that way. In *Judges* 5, 6 I have three lines whilst *Lawrence* has four, in 2 *Sam.* 1, 21 in one place my division of the lines is different from his. In *Job* we agree. In *Psalms* 1 I arranged all specimens according to *Pratt's* division of lines, dividing, however, his first line into two. In *Isaiah* 52. 53 I give *Usóz's* division, except 53, 2 where I take some words into the preceding line, and v. 9 where I unite two lines of his into one; the other translations, which, all were written like prose, have been arranged by me accordingly.

In the *Escorial M.S.S.*, so far as the above specimens from the Old Test. are concerned, there are no alinéas in the chapters; the verses are not numbered, but generally marked by a §, which, however, sometimes is wanting or misplaced. *Esc.* 6 has no such paragraphs.

The *Epistolas y Evangelios* 1506 f. do not mark verses nor sections. In *Grypho's* *Job* no numeration nor distinction of verses, but alinéas for sections; my specimen is a whole section; in *Grypho's* *Psalms* each verse begins a new line, but the verses are not numbered. In the *Ferrara* version 1553. 1611. 1630, in the *Psalms* a fresh line for each verse; in *Isaiah* the division between two verses is marked in 1553 by a star, in 1611 and 1630 by a full stop, no alinéas nor numbers for the verses. *Perez* in the *Psalms* numbers the verses and begins each in a fresh line. *Reina* does the same throughout the Bible; he indicates sections and gives summaries and notes, and *Valera* follows him. I have extracted in the Specimens those notes which affect the translation. In the two editions of *Luis de Leon's* *Job* used by me, each verse begins a line, but no such division is made in the interior of a verse.

Not less disagreeable, than to be obliged to read poetry printed as if it were prose, is it to read prose moulded into verses, as the prose works of the Bible are generally printed. Among the Spanish Bibles the *N. T.* of *Enzinas*, that of *Perez*, that of *Corfu* 1829, the *Nuevo Pacto* of 1858 f., the Gospels of *St. John* and *St. Luke*, *Toulouse* 1863. 1865, *Pratt's* *Matthew* 1877 and the *Judeo-Spanish N. T.* *Constantinople* 1877 print the text in the same way in which prose is printed usually, leaving a line unfinished only before a new section which generally consists of several or many verses or of the whole chapter. In *Matthew* 5 *Pratt* begins a new line with each *Bienaventurados*, except the last one v. 11, and this not without

reason, for there is indeed a poetical parallelism in the beginning verses of the Sermon on the Mount, and the last Bienaventurados introduces a sentence explaining the last but one (*I should, however, notwithstanding parallelize the ninth blessing with the other eight*). My arrangement of those blessings and of 1 Cor. 13 in the foregoing synopsis has only the practical aim to facilitate the comparison.

Valdés has Mat. 5, 1—12 as one undivided section; in 1 Cor. 13 he makes eight sections, each followed by its explanation: no numbers (or letters) for verses or sections. Perez, who, like Enzinas, has neither alinéas for verses nor numeration of them, marks sections by marginal letters, in 1 Cor. 13 four such. Reina, who begins each verse with a fresh line and numbers the verses, often indicates sections by numbers in his summaries, and by paragraph signs in the text, not, however, in 1 Cor. 13: all this is repeated in Valera's Bible of 1602, and in the N. T. of 1625. In the N. T. of 1596, with numbered verses in alinéas and with indications of sections in the summaries, not in the text, 1 Cor. 13 is divided in two parts, the second beginning with v. 4. The N. T. Corfu 1829 has no divisions in the chapters, besides the verses, which, however, run on as in ordinary prose works (the edition has a full stop where my transcription has a comma, and a double stop: where I have placed a full stop). The Nuevo Pacto 1858 and the N. T. Constantinople 1877 have sections beginning with fresh lines in the interior of the chapters. Such sections in the originals I have in my Specimens marked by big capital letters.

In Esc. 2 and 6 the translation of 1 Cor. 13 is interrupted by explanations, which I have omitted, except a few short additions. In Esc. 2 there are many § signs, placed without system.

For a new revision of the Spanish Bible all Spanish translations and revisions hitherto made ought to be as carefully consulted as possible. In examining 1 Cor. 13 I found no improvement whatever to propose which could not be taken from one of the various editions in Spanish existing, except that instead of todos los misterios y toda la ciencia one better would strictly follow the more forcible and elegant position of the words in the original: los misterios todos y toda la ciencia. —

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general de bibliografía esp. por Dionisio Hidalgo, vol I—V, Mdrd 1862—1872. *Lowndes*: Bibliographical manual, vol. I. and V. 1864? *Tickn.*: Catalogue of the Spanish Library and of the Portug. books bequeathed by George Ticknor to the Boston Public Library together with the collection of Sp. and Port. lit. in the general library by James Lyman Whitney, Boston, 1879.

Of Bagster's publication The Bible of Every Land I use the enlarged edition with preface of 1860; the first was published in 1851, I should think.

STUTTG. means (as *STUTTGART* Royal throughout my work), the Royal Public library at Stuttgart, *VIENNA* the Court library here.

I did not intend to register the translations in poetry, nor the paraphrases. Some few such are, however, mentioned here, for certain reasons. —

The specimens of Escorial M.S.S. in my preceding synopsis are taken from copies made for me in that library by Dr. Baist, from seven mss. now numbered 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8.; the numbers in dC are the same, except that he does not expressly mention the number of the ms. which he describes (I, 434 f.) between nos. 4 and 6, and that in his time (II, 676) the present n° 2 was no numerado.

The present n° 2, a ms. of about the end of the XIV. cent. (Baist), is, according to dC I, 426 f., the fifth volume of the General Historia de la Biblia y de los historias de los gentiles, which contains the earliest translation of the whole Bible into Spanish of which we know, made from the Latin of the Vulgate for king Alfonso X (who reigned 1252—1284). Psalm 1 of this translation, vol. 3, has been printed above from Eguren's Memoria descriptiva de los códices notables conservados en los archivos eclesiásticos de España, Mdrd 1859, p. 27; from dC, who I, 422 f. has the same, with orthographical differences, I have taken the forms nusimiento, fas, juyzio, as Baist too has s for z; I should think, however, that the M.S.S. mean z. From the fifth volume I have given 1 Corinthians 13.

To judge from 1 Cor. 13, n° 6 (Proverbs — Apocalypse) copies the text of n° 2, with unessential alterations. Isaiah is translated from the Latin likewise. According to Baist, the M.S. is of sæc. XV, according to dC I, 437 f. of the beginning of the XIV. cent.

From the Hebrew: Isaiah in n° 5 (Isaiah — Paralip.), dC 434—437: ms. of the beginning of the XV. cent., Baist: end of XIV. cent.; in n° 4 (Genesis — Maccab., dC 433 f.), Baist: ms. XV. cent., — one of these two mss. seems to be a revision of the other; and in n° 3 (Genesis — Maccab.), a different translation from that in the just mentioned two mss., dC 428—433: obra de algun Judio converso, Escorial catalogue: written at the end of XIV. cent., Baist: gegen 1440.

In n° 8 (Lev. 6 — Psalm 71), de C 438. col. 2: ms. end of XIV. cent., Baist: XV. cent., the Psalms have the inscription: Esta es la translacion del psalterio que fizo maestro hermanel aleman segund cuemo esta en el obraygo. I printed the first Psalm at the end of my edition of Constantino's sermons (see here n° 207).

Judges and Samuel in n° 8 are translated from the Latin. They are translated from the Hebrew in n° 7 (Genesis 8 — Reyes), written according to Baist in the XV. cent., to dC 438 in the beginning of that century.

Another Esc. ms., numbered: 17, written in the beginning of s. XIV, segun parece, contains Genesis 8 — Reyes. dC I, 438 f. dC II, 675 f. registers several other M.S. folio volumes of the Spanish Bible in the Escorial; one, containing the first part of it, he ascribes to the XIII. cent., all the others to the XV.

In 1577 the Inquisitor General reported to the King about the propriety of keeping in the Escorial library a Spanish version of the Bible; the original reports

with the King's marginals are in the British Museum (Gayangos, Cat. of the Spanish mss., vol. 2, p. 194. 195).

dC I, 439: *the Gospels and the Epistles of St. Paul translated into Spanish by Dr. Martin de Lucena el Macabeo* por mandado de Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza (who lived 1398—1458). Esc. M.S.

Eguren (whose Escorial Bibles 2. 3. 4. 5 seem to be Baist's Esc. 3. 4. 5. 7) notices p. 8f. the Codice biblico 2 de la Real Academia de la Historia, siglo XV, containing the Prophets and the Maccabees, in Latin and in Castilian, this latter by a Rabbi Salamon.

Luis de Usóz i Rio wrote a pamphlet with the following title: Siglo XV. — Año de 1430. Notizia de Biblia de aquel tiempo en Códice ms. en vitela, que hoy existe como propiedad vinculada; en la casa del Duque de Alba. Text, beginning on the second leaf, p. 1—30, where it is dated: Madrid 26. 3.º m. del año de 1847. [B—r.] Printed in San Sebastian by Ignazio Ramon Baroja, as is stated in a ms. notice by Wiffen. The tract of Usóz has been translated, with some omissions, into English by John T. Betts, in the Friends' Quarterly Examiner N° XI. Seventh Month. 1869; this article has also been issued separately [B—r]. Usóz states that this translation of the Old Testament from the Hebrew into Spanish was made by Rabbi Moses Arragel who finished his work in 1430. In a postscript, Usóz relates, that, after writing his Notizia, he learned that en una obra del Sr. Canónigo Villanueva, sobre los Libros Santos; se habla de la obra de Arrajél. He certainly means Joaq. Lorenzo Villanueva's Tratado de la leccion de la sagrada escritura en lenguas vulgares, Valencia 1791, of which I only know what Villanueva relates in his Vida literaria, Londres 1825, I, 104—5. When Usóz wrote that tract, the ms. was in Liria, in the palace of the Duke of Alba; Eguren, who treats of the same and gives specimens from it, p. 26f. cf. p. 5 (without mentioning Usóz nor Villanueva), calls it the only Spanish M.S. Bible in Madrid.

Baist mentioned to me in 1878 a Spanish Bible, M.S. of the XV. century, in the library of the Duque de Osuna (Est. bl. 1. P. — iij — 1), which he, however, had not seen.

In the beginning of the XV. century, a converted Jew, Juan el Viejo, wrote a Declaracion del salmo LXXII, of which Amador de los Rios, Estudios sobre los Judios de España, Madrid 1848, p. 433 gives a specimen which contains some Bible-verses in Spanish. — The translation of the 43. Psalm from the Latin, by Alonso de Cartagena, who died a sexagenarian in 1456, being bishop of Burgos, has been published by dC I, 248.

Maccabees by Pedro Nuñez de Osma, M.S. Ant., Vet. II, 350.

The Evangelios, from the Greek and the Latin of the Alcalá Polyglot. Las palabras que necessariamente añadimos van señaladas con una raya debaxo. Esc. M.S. dC I, 439f.

Fray José de Sigüenza: Canticum Magnificat, Canticum Simeonis, portions of the gospels of Matthew, Luke and John; psalm 90 Qui habitat. Esc. M.S. dC I, 442f.

Ecclesiastes by an anonymous writer who followed the method of Ar. Montanus and of Sigüenza. Esc. M.S. ib. p. 443f.

Declaracion de los Threnos with Traduccion de ellos. Esc. M.S. dC I, 441. XVI. cent.?

Baist saw in the Escorial a M.S. Spanish translation of the Epistles of St. Paul by Geronimo Campos, Curate in Madrid, at the end of the XVI. century.

Evangelia Hispanice. Bibl. Reginæ Succæ cod. 1435. nunc in Vaticana. *Le Long* 362.

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Evangelia Hispanice. Bibl. Reginæ Succizæ cod. 1435. nunc in Vaticana. *Le Long* 362.

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Job from the Latin is contained in Los morales de sant Gregorio, two volumes, Sevilla, Cromberger, 1527 [VIENNA]. Prologo of the translator to Alonso Manrique, archbishop of Seville, undated. Colophon of the second vol.: Esta traduction delos morales fue hecha por el licenciado Alūso aluarez d' Toledo enel año d'. M. d. xiiij [= 1514]. Fueron impressos . . . 1527. No hint of a previous edition. Ant. registers two editions, Sevilla, Cromberger, 1513, ad Alph. Manrique Antistitem Hispal., and Seville, apud Ioannem Barreda de Salamanca 1534.

The psalter in Spanish, with Royal Portuguese printing license of September 1529, probably printed at Lisbon. [Raym. Diosd. Caballero l. c. p. 85 f.]. Most likely from Latin.

Between 1533 and 1541 Juan de Valdés translated from the original languages the Psalms, then the Epistles of St. Paul (not including that to the Hebrews) and of St. Peter, then the Gospels, of which he completed St. Matthew and he certainly began St. Mark. Only the following parts of Valdés' translations of Holy Scriptures are hitherto known to us. The Psalms and St. Matthew, edited by myself in 1880. The epistles to the Romans and the first to the Corinthians had been printed already in 1556 and 57, reprinted 1856 (see here n° 84 f.).

Fernando Jarava translated from Latin: Job with the psalms del Oficio de difuntos. Amberes 1540 [dC I, 499]. Las Liciones de Job, con los nueve Psalmos, que con ellas se cantan en las horas de los finados trasladadas en Castellano. Antuerpie 1550 [Ant.]. Los siete salmos penitenciales, el cantico de los canticos, los lamentaciones de Jeremias. ib. 1543 [dC ib.]. The same ib. 1546 [PSalvá 946]. Los siete psalmos penitenciales. Los quinze psalmos d'el canticumgrado. Las lamentaciones de Hieremias. Lo qual todo la señora Leonor Reyna de Francia mando assi traduzir y componer al maestro Hernando Jarava su capellan. Anvers 1556 [PSalvá ib. Ant. I, 713 under Joannes de Jarava, Medicus, after other writings issued 1546—57: Necnon & ex Bibliia, cum eo tempore liceret. Los Psalmos Penitenciales, el Cantico Graduum, y las Lamentaciones traducidas en lengua vulgar]. — The Psalmos Penitenciales, y el Canticum grado, y las Lamentaciones, romançadas por el Maestro Jarava, are prohibited in the Antwerp Index of 1570; in the index of 1583, see de Castro Hist. de los Protest. Esp. 444.

The N. T. by Enzinas from the Greek 1543 (here n° 116).

Constantino Ponce de la Fuente in his works printed 1544 f. (registered above n° 178 f.) gives the Ten commandments, the first Psalm, the Sermon on the mount, translated from the Latin.

In 1550, En Leon, en casa de Sebastian Grypho, in four small volumes, translated from the Hebrew: Job. El psalterio. Los proverbios de Salomon. Both these: conforme à la verdad Hebraica. Syrach traduz. de Griego. No translator's prefaces. [All four in VIENNA. The Proverbs in STUTTG. Wiffen knew of other copies.] As for this psalter, Le Long says 364: interprete forsan Joanne Roffensi cui Index lihror. prohib. Castellanam Psalmorum versionem tribuit, and dC I, 462 (who has not seen the book), that the translator was Juan Roffense; the Antwerp Index of 1570 prohibits: Psalmos de Roffense, en Romance; the same in the Index 1583, see de Castro, Hist. de los Protest. Esp. 444.

The Psalterio of Raynerio Snoy Goudano. Valladolid 1548 [Knapp, in the article on the Ticknor library, p. 396]. Anvers 1555 [BERN. GOTH. VIENNA. WERNIGERODE. Wiffen's copy in Wadham coll., OXF.] gives only paraphrases from the Latin. Prohibited in the Antwerp Index 1570: Psalterio de Raynerio, en Romance; Index 1583, see de Castro, Hist. de los Protest. Esp. 444.

Wiffen thought Raynerio a reformer of the class of Dr. Constantino; the contents of his dedication to the bishop of Sigüenza seem to prove that he was less evangelical. (Cornelio Snoy natural de Gouda: *Psalms* 1553, in dC I, 462 seems to be only corrupted from Raynerio Snoy 1555). — Compare also Hd V, 472 f.

Many portions and passages of the Bible in Spanish are in the works of Luis de Granada who lived 1504—1588.

In the year 5307 = 1547 a tetraglot Pentateuch was printed in Constantinople, containing a Spanish version in Hebrew types with the usual additional signs for the vowels. [I used the copy of the Jewish Institute in BRESLAU. The notice of an edition of 1552 comes from another computation of the Jewish numeral letters for the date, which the best authorities declare to mean 1547. Wlf IV, 181. An ed. of 1497 does not exist, Wlf III, Appendix].

In 1553 the Old Testament in Spanish was published in Ferrara in Latin types. In part of the copies the colophon has the year 1553, in another part it has the corresponding Jewish date 5313. [Compare on both: dC I, 400 f. Of each of the two classes there is a copy in STUTTG. and in VIENNA — here the copy with 5313 wants the title-leaf and the last leaf before Genesis; a copy of the edition with the Jewish date is in the Casanatense in ROME. I forgot to which class the copy in WERNIGERODE Ducal belongs]. The text of our specimen Psalm 1 and Isaiah 52—53 is in both varieties literally the same. W. I. Knapp wrote me that he had seen four variations of the Ferrara Bible 1553: „It seems to have been modified four times while passing through the same one edition.“ In the preface Al lector: haziendo seguir pero en todo lo posible la traslacion del Pagnino y su Thesaurus de la lengua Sancta . . . no faltaron todas las traslaciones antiguas y modernas.

Le Long 365 f. reprinted the chapter Genesis 20 from the Pentateuch of Constantinople and from the Bible of Ferrara, in order to show that the Pentateuch in both is the same, paucissimis mutatis vocibus. Wolf, in the Appendix of vol. III, added the first six verses of Genesis in Hebrew letters and in Latin ones from the Pentateuch of 1547; the Ferrara edition, says he, illam ut plurimum sequitur. Stnsch. n. 122 on the Pentateuch of 1547: Vers. hisp. diversa ab ed. Ferrar.; he repeats this under n. 1322. As far as may be judged from a comparison of the song of Moses in Exodus 15, the Pentateuch in the Ferrara Bible, and still that in the Jewish Bible of Vienna 1813, are only revisions of the version published in 1547.

New editions and revisions of the Ferrara Bible by Jews. 5371 = 1611 Amstrd. [STUTTG. VIENNA. dC I, 472]. — S. l. e. a., sed Amstelodami ut videtur et circa a. Christi MDCXX. Ant., Vet. II, 160. It is probably the edition which on the title has neither place nor date, but in the colophon 5390 = 1630; [8] + 293 leaves. [STUTTG. VIENNA. Wlf IV, 17. PSalvi 3850.] — Amsterdam 5606, by error instead of 5406 = 1646, as Wlf thinks, II, 452. IV, 177. Ant., Vet., II, 360. In the colophon 5390 [STUTTG. Tickn. 33: (18), 605 pp.] — MMMMCDXVI Amstrd. Ant., Vet.¹ II, 260, Vet.² II, 360. Bartolucci, Biblioth. rabbin., IV. 1693, p. 213 registers likewise an ed. Amstrd. 5416 = 1656. Wlf IV, 177 does not think it a different one from that of 5406. — 5421 = 1661 Amstrd. [STUTTG. dC I, 481 f. Stnsch. n. 321. PSalvi 3851.] — 5423 = 1663 Amstrd. [Hd 208 f., misprint 1665]. — 5486 = 1726 Amstrd. [dC I, 516 f. Hd 208. PSalvi 3852]. — 5522 = 1762 Amstrd. [dC I, 517 f. PSalvi 3852]. — Old Testament with Judeo-Spanish in rabbinical characters, Wien 1813—1816, IV rls. [B—r]. — According to The Bible of Every Land 269, „An edition in Roman

characters was likewise published about the same time, at Amsterdam, corresponding in almost every particular with the Vienna edition, of which it is considered a mere transcription."

Psalmi Hispanice, in 12. Ferrar. 5313 = 1553. *Wlf* II, 452. — *The Psalms, Hebrew types, vocalized*, Saloniki 1583. Const. 1730. *Stnsch.* n. 263. 893. 1324. — Psalterio de David. Trasladado verbo de verbo. Estampado en Amsterdam por el Haham Abraham Sury 5388 [= 1628. *STUTTG.*]. — Translad. verbo de verbo. Amstrd. 5410 = 1650. [*dC* I, 477 f. *The first two verses, reprinted by dC, of Psalm 1 show the following differences from the Ferrara Bible of 1553: without los before pecadores. escarnecedores. meditará dia y n.*]

Isaiah and Jeremiah ex ed. Ferrar., mutata dialecto. Salon. 1568. lit. rabb. punctatis. *Stnsch.* n. 209. 1323. *Wlf* IV, 137 f. transcribes *Isaiah* 1, 1—5 from this edition and from the *Old Test.* of 1646, and comes to the conclusion that the Saloniki text generally follows that of Ferrara, but that it has some voces obsoletiores where the Ferrara Bible has other, more Spanish, expressions.

I do not know the source of the notice in *The Bible of Every Land* 268 f., that *Abraham Usque* „two years“ after printing the Ferrara Bible of 1553, printed „an edition of the Pentateuch, Megilloth (Canticles, Ruth, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations, and Esther), and Hapthoroth, or sections of the Prophets.“ — *Pentateuch* 5387 = 1627 Amstrd. [*Hd* 233. *Wlf* IV, 181]. — 1630. 1646 [*Fürst*, Biblioth. Judaica. II. 1851, p. 354]. — 5415 = 1655 Amstrd. [*Tickn.* 34. *Wlf* IV, 181. *dC* I, 478. *Hd* 233]. — *Pentateuch with Jewish Prayerbook*, 5465 = 1705, Amstrd. apud Isaac. de Cordova. *Wlf* IV, 182. *dC* I, 493 says *Pent. trad.* por R. Is. de Cordova. — 5478 = 1718 Amstrd. in one of the catalogues of *Rosenthal's Antiquariat in München*.

An unknown Jew wrote a translation into Spanish of all words which are „a little difficult“ to the general Jewish reader of the Bible, of which he follows the order from chapter to chapter. *Gedalya Corduero* dedicated the work to R. Solomon de שׁלמה and called it שׁלמה Covdisya de Salomo. It was printed in 1588 in Venice, and in the same town in 1617. *Wlf* IV, 177 f., *dC* I, 476 f. *Stnsch.* n. 1325. 1326. The glossary for *Psalm 1* and *Isaiah 52—53*, which I have transcribed above, is taken from the second edition, of which I possess a copy (without title). *Stnsch.* l. cit.: Versionem ed. Ferrar. adhibuit.

Le Long 368 on the *Desire of Solomon*: Ex collatione hujus libri cum editione Ferrariensi patet non novam versionem concinnatam fuisse, sed ipsammet Ferrariensem paucis vocibus mutatis ad verbum expressam exhiberi, eadem excerpta fere omnia reperiuntur in margine Codicis Hebræi a Jona Kaleoni editi, 4°. Venetiis 1635. He means the Hebrew Bible with Spanish marginal translations of difficult words, Venice, Joannis Caleoni, 5395 = 1635, see his p. 68, where also a Bible of 5399 = 1639, Venice, Joannis Martinelli, with such marginals. Compare *ib.* p. 367. *Stnsch.* n. 1327: [ex *Desiderio Salomonis*] excerpta (lit. hebr.), ad marginem Bibl. hebr. A. 1633—5 N. 465; 1730 N. 889. Under n. 465: Biblia. Ven. 1633—5. c. Expos. voc. hisp. (in aliis germ.) in marg. Under n. 889: Biblia. Ven. 1730. c. Gloss. hisp. lit. lat. The Bible of 1639 mentioned by *Le Long*, is *Jacob Lombroso's Hebrew text with Spanish glossems*, *Wlf* I, 604 (*Stnsch.* n. 475).

The Song of Solomon 1664. 1683. 1701. 1712, all in Amstrd. *Stnsch.* n. 1322 A. Probably the Ferrara version revised.

Ruth. hisp. in edd. recentissimis *Precum rit. hisp.* in *Pentecost.*, ut in ed. 1840. *Stnsch.* n. 1322 A. Probably the Ferrara version revised.

In the Jewish Livro de Thefillah con Ladino, Wien 1879 [B—r], the portions from the scripture, to judge from Exod. 15, are taken from the edition Vienna 1813 f., with some variations.

The N. T. by Juan Perez 1556 (here n° 237). *His Psalms* 1557 (here n° 246).

In 1569 Reina's Bible. Its history to the present day has been traced above.

Le Long 364: Triplex dumtaxat numeratur Castellana Novi Testamenti ex Græco facta conversio: Prior Francisci de Enzinas, altera Joannis Perez, ultima Cassiodori Reynæ[.] collatis inter se tribus harum exemplaribus, reperi eandem prope modum versionem, paucis tantummodo mutatis, vel alio ordine positis vocabulis; adeoque non triplex, sed eadem aliquantum deinceps in posterioribus editionibus recognita censenda est translatio. *And dC* I, 500, *speaking of the version, edited in 1708 by Sebastian de la Enzina*: es identica con la Traduccion de Juan Perez; bien que ... hay una ú otra variante de poquisima consideracion, como se ve por este cotejo: *follow*, p. 500 and 501, *Mth.* 2, 1—3, *Acts* 1, 1. 2, *Apoc.* 1, 1. 2 *from the N. T. of 1556 and of 1708. I think, judging from 1 Cor. 13, that Perez used Valdés and Enzinas, but I am not certain whether Reina, when translating the N. T. in Basle, had any Spanish translation at his disposition. (Bartolucci, Bblth. rbb. IV, 207, has under 1559: Biblia Hispanice, in 4. I think, by mistake for 1569, although he has under 1569 the Bible in 4. maj., and under 1622 the [title-]edition Frœf. in 4.)*

The editor of King Philip's polyglot Bible, B. Arias Montanus, the best orientalist of Spain at that time, has left a Spanish translation from the Latin of the penitential psalm 50 (Miserere). Printed by dC I, p. 441 f. 666 f.; and, likewise from mss., in t. 5 of the Obras of Luis de Leon, Madrid 1806.

Luis de Leon († 1591) has translated *Job*, first ed. Mdrd 1779, the *Song of Solomon*, Salamanca 1798; *Job in the Obras*, Mdrd t. 1. 2. 1804, *Cantares in t. 5. ib.* 1806 (where also psalm 41: Como la cierva), both in *Rivadeneira's* *Bibliot. de aut. Esp.* t. 37, = *Escritores del s. XVI* t. 2. Mdrd 1855.

The seven penitential Psalms. Paris 1608. *Le Long* 363.

Israel libertada, y explicacion literal del psalmo 113. por Fr. Francisco Fenix de Canales. Barcelona 1612 [*VIENNA. Hd* 233]. *The psalm is translated from the Latin* (In exitu Israel).

Placidus de Reynosa: El maestro Christiano sobre el Capitulo segundo de la Epist. segunda ad Timoth. Valladolid 1618. [*Ant.* II, 255.]

Proverbios de Salomon. Los doze capitulos, desde el cap. diez [inclus.] al cap. veinte y dos [exclus.]: traducidos con dos comentarios y parafrasis en nuestro idioma Castellano. Por el P. M. fray Alonso Remon. 1625. Madrid. [VIENNA.]

Historia y dialogos de Iob, con explicacion literal y moral de todos sus capitulos, segvn las versiones de Vatablo, Pagnino, Parafraste, y los Setenta. Dirigelos a Dios omnipotente en los brazos de su Madre, fray Joseph Gallo. Burgos 1629. [*VIENNA.*] *In the Proemio: Aprouecheme delas quatro versiones para explicar la Vulgata. Commentary, not translation.*

In the Historia real y sagrada by Juan de Palafox y Mendoza 1643 [*Tickn.* 423]. 1655. 1661. [*both in VIENNA*] *there are many passages from the Old Test., probably most of them retouched by the Spanish historian.*

The psalms, Hebrew and Spanish by R. Jacob Juda Arich, Amsterdam 5431 = 1671 (*dC* I, 395. 483 f. *Stnsch.* n. 570. *PSalvá* 944). *In the Prologue he rejects likewise the version hecha por un Gentil (que sin duda es la de Casiodoro de Reyna, as observes dC, from whom I take this extract) and the Ferrara Bible: aquella por fundarse en el sentido del concepto solamente, sin reparar al estilo del*

idioma; y esta por estribarse en la usual version de las palabras, y en el sentido ordinario de las letras conjuntivas, y serviles; sin reparar al sentido del concepto. *His translation begins*: Las bienaventuranzas son del varon que no anduvo en consejo de malos [dC. I, 486].

Parafraſis comentado sobre el Pentateuco por Ish. Aboab 5411 = 1681 [STUTTG. dC I, 487]. *Not without literal translation.*

A new Spanish translation of the Pentateuch por R. Josef Franco Serrano. Amstrd. 5455 = 1695. [dC I, 491 f. Hd 234 f.]

Meditaciones sobre la hist. sagrada del Genesis. Por Mose de Ishac Diaz. Amstrd. 5465 = 1705 [dC I, 493 f.]. *With text, probably in Spanish.*

Le Long 364, in the section: Biblia Hispanica a Calvinianis edita: Biblia Hispanica edi cepta anno 1717 in Anglia in usum Mercatorum et militum qui in munimentis Anglorum Hispanicis degunt. *He refers for this notice to Ottius in commentariis suis ms. Probably a confusion of Le Long's (compare here p. 241).*

R. Isaac de Acosta published, in Leyden in 5482 = 1722, his translation and paraphrase of the Prophetas primeros, viz: the historical books, à imitation de Aboab, y desde adonde este paró. He blames the Ferrara version as too rigorously literal. dC I, 506 f.

Fr. Anselmo Petite: Los salmos graduales. Valladolid 1784. [Hd 235.] Los salmos penitenciales y grad. 2ª impresion. Mdrd 1787. [Hd 235.] Los evangelios. Valladolid 1785. [Hd 236.] Tercera impresion. Mdrd 1788. [Hd 236.] Setima impresion. Mdrd 1804. [Hd 223. Bullen 153. Both: 7ª.] Barcelona 1814. [Hd 223: 7ª impresion]. Valencia 1833 [Hd 223]. Madrid 1843 [Hd 223]. Madrid 1844 [Hd 223: new title to the impression of 1843. Bullen 153]. Madrid Decima edicion 1854 [Bullen 153].

Apocalypsis del apóst. S. Juan, traduc. al castell. segun la Vulg. con las anotaciones que trae en su version D. Antonio Pereira de Figueiredo, diputado en Lisboa. Por D. José de Palacio y Viana. Mdrd 1789 [Hd 118].

The Bible of both Testaments had not been printed in Spanish since 1602, and a Spanish New Testament not since 1708, when in 1790—93 the Bible appeared, translated into Spanish from Latin by Father Phelipe Scio de San Miguel, afterwards bishop of Segovia, the first Spanish Bible printed in Spain. 10 vls fol., Valencia. *First appeared the N. T. in 1790* [STUTTG. Hd 207 f.]. 2ª ed. Madrid 1794—97. 19 vls. 8°. [Hd 207]. *The N. T. Madrid 1797—99. 2 vls. is the Valencia ed. with some reprinted sheets* [Hd 207]. *Bible Madrid 1807—16. 15 vls* [Hd 206]. *According to The Bible of Every Land 263 the total number of copies comprised in these four editions (on which, however, some inaccurate statements are made there) amounted only to 6500.* Barcelona 1843—45, imp. de Pens y Cia eds Mdrd, lib. de Sanchez y Olamendi. 6 vls [Hd 205]. Mdrd 1845—46. 10 vls [Hd 204]. Revisada por Palau. Barcelona 1846. 10 vls. [Hd 203]. *I do not know whether the later Roman-catholic editions of Scio, in the description of which Hd does not mention Palau, are influenced by this revision. I mention Palau where Hd did.* Mdrd 1850—53, lib. de Perdiguero. Eleven vls [Hd 203 f.]. Mdrd 1851—53, lib. de Olamendi. 6 vls [Hd 203]. Barcelona 1852, imp. y lib. de Riera; Mdrd lib. de Olamendi 6 vls. *Of this a new edition (not a new impression?) in monthly parts* [Hd 204]. Mdrd 1852—54, imp. y lib. de Gaspar y Roig, eds. 5 vls [Hd 203]. Revisada por Palau. Barcelona 1853. 10 vls [Hd 203]. Edicion espresa para las repúblicas de Méjico. Mdrd 1853—55. 3 vls [Hd 203]. Revisada por Palau. Barcelona 1858. 10 vls [Hd 202 f.]

N. T. from the ed. of 1794, Barcelona, Oliveres 1846. 4 vls [Hd V, 372. Probably the same is meant I, 204 f. with the date 1848].

Biblia por Scio. Primera edicion megicana, sacada de la tercera y ultima de España. 20 vls. 8°. Mexico 1831—35. [ABS libr.] It would seem that The Bible of Every Land is speaking of this edition when relating p. 263: „A new version of the entire Scriptures, prepared by about eight of the priests of Mexico, was printed in that country by Ribera, an enterprising publisher, in 1831—1833. This was the first Bible ever printed in Spanish America. The expenses of publication were defrayed by subscription: the work extends to 25 vols. in Spanish 4to., and a folio vol. of maps and plates: in addition to the Spanish, it comprises the Latin text, with prefaces to all the books, analyses, expositions, and dissertations. The translation was made from the French version of Vence, and from the Vulgate; but the sacred originals were also consulted, and the passages in which they differ from the Vulgate are carefully noted.“

In France: Bible. Saint-Germain-en-Laye 1847, imp. de Beau; Paris, lib. de Lecointe. 5 vls [Hd 205]. Again: Paris, lib. de Rosa y Bouret, eds. 5 vls [Hd 205 who mentions no year].

I was told that Cardinal Wiseman had supervised an edition of Scio's *N. T.*, with a few annotations.

Editions of Scio's Bible by Protestants. The ABS reprinted Scio's *N. T.* New York 1819, from the edition Mdrd 1797. „In 1820, in consequence of the representations and example of the ABS, an edition of 5000 copies of Father Scio's *N. T.* was printed in London, followed, in 1821, by an edition of the entire Bible of this version.“ (The Bible of Every Land 264.)

The London edition of 1821 was printed by B. Bensley, who is named on both titles and at the end of the whole. At the end of the Old Test. two books of Maccabees, no other Apocrypha. [B—r.] Scio in Bagster's Polyglot Bible is mentioned by Townley in 1821 in his Biblical Illustrations. Lowndes I, 171: „Biblia sacra polyglotta, Gallice, Italice, Hispanice et Germanice. Lnd. 4to. Of this ed. no perfect copy exists; the whole were destroyed by fire in March 1822, at Mr. Bagster's, excepting 23 copies of the *N. T.*“ Another edition has the year 1823 on the titles, but at the end of the *N. T.*: 1824; on the reverse of the title of the *N. T.*: Impreso por Augusto Applegath; no place. It has Maccabees 1 and 2. [B—r.] But afterwards four new leaves were printed (p. 865—872, concluding the Old Test. with Malachi; also the general title was reprinted with addition of Londres to the year 1823, also the table, suppressing the Maccabees. [B—r.] 1824 on both titles and at the end, no place nor printer; no paging in the O. Test. after p. 432, no Maccab., last p. of Malachi 3 D 6 recto [VIENNA]. No Apocrypha in the following English editions of Scio's version. 1827, with the Latin, s.l., certainly by Bagster, with whose *N. T.* of 1825 the Spanish columns of this Bible are identical. [B—r.] Londres: impr. por Guillermo Clowes 1828 on the titles of the O. and of the *N. T.*, the same place and printer at the end of the *N. T.* without year; the text is evidently taken from the same plates with the ed. of 1823/4 and 1824; the last leaves of the O. T. of 1824 and of 1828 agree with that ed. of 1823/4 which has Apocrypha, except the last page of Malachi. [VIENNA. B—r; with Francisco de Paula Ruel's autograph.] Scio's Spanish in Bagster's London Polyglot Bible 1828, folio; according to Lowndes l. cit.; I think, I saw Scio in Lee's Polyglot, Bagster 1831, and reprinted about 1868. Londres: Spottiswoode 1856. [B—r.]

The Bible printed in Spain: Barcelona. Imprenta de A. Bergnes. 1837 [B—r. Hd II, 490 registers only the N. T. of this edition.] Madrid: Alegria 1855 [B—r.] In *The Bible of Every Land* is related p. 265: „In 1857, an edition of the entire Bible, and one of the New Testament, printed by the British and Foreign Bible Society in the course of the preceding year, at Madrid, were completed and ready for circulation, when the authorities absolutely interdicted their dissemination amongst the people, and even the confiscation of the whole was threatened.“ No notice about the further development of the business.

N. T. 1820 Shacklewell, imp. de T. Rutt y Hijo [Hd 206. *Menendez Pelayo* III, 660]. 1825 London, Bagster, from the edition of 1797, three editions [B—r], one with the Italian, another with the German, a third with the Hebrew. 1826 Londres, Hansard [STRASSB. Univ.]. 1828 Lnd., 8vo and 18mo [Lowndes V, 2651]. 1854 Londres [B—r]. 1857, Lnd. 8vo, 12mo, 24mo, 32mo [Lowndes V, 2651]. 1874 Londres, Spottiswoode [B—r].

N. T. Paris, Smith 1822. [B—r.]

Amat says in the Prologue of his N. T. 1823 p. V f.: en Barcelona solamente se acaban de imprimir diez mil ejemplares del N. T., por cuenta de una Sociedad Biblica estrangera. Certainly Scio's N. T. Perhaps that edition which, according to VSalvá 1826, p. 203, appeared in 1820 in Barcelona. N. T., Scio's version (only the Spanish text), printed (5000 copies) in Madrid in the establishment of Mr. Borrego, proprietor and editor of an influential newspaper called *El Español*, by the care of Mr. Borrow, aided by Luis de Usó y Río. 1837. Octavo. (Borrow: *The Bible in Spain* 1843, new ed. London 1872, preface and ch. 19. As for the year 1837 see ch. 47, and compare ch. 18 and 36.) — Morante, *Catalogus* I. Mtr. 1854. n° 633: *El nuevo testamento*. Madrid 1837. Hd 205: N. T. Mdrd 1837, imp. á cargo de J. de la Barrera. 8° may. 534 pgs. (btca Morante). Compare Hd II, 490. Is this Borrow's N. T.? — 1855 Madrid, Alegria. Another impression besides that contained in the Bible of that year. [B—r.]

N. T. Bogotá: Echeverría hermanos. 1857. [B—r.] This edition was probably meant by Rvd Pratt when he wrote me, that the N. T. had been printed in Bogotá for the Agent of the BFBS.

Lucas y Hechos. Londres 1823. [Bullen 160. *Menendez Pelayo* III, 660.] Probably Scio.

Ev. Lucas in Aymará and Spanish, this one from Scio. Without notes. Londres imp. p. J. Moyes, Took's Court, Chancery Lane 1829 [VIENNA].

Los cuatro santos evangelios para colocar dentro de bolsitas. VSalvá 1831, p. 10. Probably Scio.

The pericopes and the Psalms from Scio in the Spanish translation of the English Common Prayer Book. Londres, Bagster. Together with the Greek 1821; this year on the Spanish title, on the Greek title 1820 [B—r]. Together with the Latin 1823 [B—r]. Together with the German 1823 [B—r].

El Sermon de J. C. en el Monte, explicado en preguntas y respuestas. Londres 1828 [*Menendez Pelayo* III, 660]. Probably Scio.

Scio in Parabola de seminare ex ev. Matthæi in LXXII Europæas linguas ac dialectos versa. Impensis Ludovici Luciani Bonaparte. Londini 1857. [B—r.]

Cánt. de Cánticos explic. por Fr. Plácido Vicente. Mdrd 1800—1801. [Hd 321.]

Traduccion literal del salterio y del Cántico de N. Señora, de Simeon, de Zacarias y el de los treniños. Van puestos en sus propios lugares cuantos versos traduce Fr. Luis de Granada. Por Fr. Diego Fernandez. (Segovia) 1801. [Hd 226.]

Epístolas de san Pablo, traducidas de la Bulgata, con notas. Por Francisco Ximenez, Presbítero. Añadidas las de Santiago, S. Pedro, S. Juan, y S. Judas. Mdrd 1804 [B--r]. Mdrd 1816 [Hd III, 71].

Apocal. esplic. por Gregorio Lopez. Mdrd 1804. [Hd 118.]

Esposicion del santo ev. que comprende los seis primeros capit. de S. Mateo. Valencia 1807. [Hd V, 316.]

Muestra de una nueva traduccion de los salmos en verso y prosa por Tomas Gonzalez Carvajal, de la real acad. Españ. Mdrd 1816. 84 pgs. [Hd 223]. *All the psalms* Madrid 1816 [Hd 223]. *By the same*: Los salmos en verso y prosa. 5 vls. Valencia 1819 f. *Continuation*: Los libros poeticos de la santa biblia. Vol. 6, Valencia 1827: Varios cánticos of both Testam., and the Lamentaciones. Vol. 7—12, Mdrd 1829—32: *the Song of Solomon, Isaiah, Job*. [Hd 223.] *In his* Opusculos inéditos. T. XIII y ultimo de sus obras. Madrid 1847, *portions of the first book of Moses*: Coloquios de Dios con los hombres. *Amat calls this translation of the psalms in prose and verses excellent (Prologue to the N. T.)*. VSalvá, 1826, *registering Carvajal's Psalms, expresses his high admiration for Carvajal as a poet*, p. 190. *The editions which Vincent Salvá made of Carvajal's Psalms*, sin testo ni anotaciones, Londres 1829. 32°, and Paris 1848. 32° and 18°, PSalvá 944, *comprise probably the verses and the prose, excluding only the translated original and the translator's annotations*.

The second modern translation of the whole Bible from the Vulgate into Spanish is that of Felix Torres Amat, bishop of Barcelona. Mdrd 1823—25. 9 vls. *First appeared the N. T.* [Hd 206 and IV, 23. V, 390. BOSTON, Tickn. p. 33: 8 vls. *I have got the N. T.*] *He says in the Prologo of the N. T.*: fui recogiendo cuantos versos de la Escritura nos dejaron traducidos los tres venerables Luises, Granada, Leon, y Puente, los dos Alonsos, Rodriguez y Orozco, santa Teresa, san Juan de la Cruz, el venerable Avila, Rivadeneira, Marquez, Malon de Chaide, Cáceres, Soto, Estella y algunos otros. Esta coleccion de textos traducidos me ha servido muchísimo. *The psalms of this impression were published with separate title* Mdrd 1824 [Hd 206]. *Second ed. of this Bible* Mdrd 1832—5. 6 vls [Hd 205 f.].

Third edition of Amat's Bible: Edicion reimpressa de la segunda de Madrid. Paris, J. Smith, 1836. 17 vols. 18°. PSalvá 3853: Esta edicion la publicó mi padre . . . procuró corregir las erratas (algunas de bastante importancia) que en ella (in the 2^d ed.) se advierten.

Amat's N. T. Edicion revista. Lnd. 1825 [Lowndes V, 2651].

On the reverse of the title of the Liturgia Anglicana, edition of the SPCK, Londres: impreso por Ric. Clay 1839: Las porciones de la Escritura Santa estan tomadas de la edicion del Ilustrisimo Señor Don Felix Torres Amat, ultimamente corregida y revisada por la Sociedad para Promover el Conocimiento Cristiano. *The revisor of Amat's N. T. for the SPCK was Lucena*. *The first edition of his revision appeared in 1837, the second London 1839 [as Lucena wrote me. I have got the ed. 1839]. Lucena revised the Liturgia of 1839 likewise [as he wrote me too]*.

In 1847, Usóz i Rio says at the end of the preface to his edition of Texeda's Carrascon p. LXXI: Acerca de las Traslaciones de la Escritura hechas en español, conocemos solo cinco: y no nos satisfacen tan del todo, que podamos recomendar una sola. *And, after speaking of the original and of translations in English and Italian, he continues p. LXXII*: A los que solo entiendan el castellano, aconsejaríamos, que si les fuese posible, leyessen la Escritura, confrontando continuamente, las tres traducciones, que nos parecen, para el caso, preferibles, y son: la conocida bajo el

nombre de Biblia de los Judios de Ferrara: La de Cipriano D. de Valera: y la moderna y muy conocida del Sr. T. Amat. Esta última es muy comun: de las otras dos, dan suficiente noticia, Castro, y Pellicer, en sus respectivas Bibliotecas. A mas de esto, para el Testamento Nuevo, preferiríamos, la traduccion del Dr. Juan Perez, y la otra rarísima de J. Enzinas, ó Dryander: y ésta no por rara, sino por ser la mejor, pues Enzinas fué muy buen helenista, y escritor muy castizo.

The first edition of Amat's Bible revised for the same society seems to be that which has on both titles: version cotejada cuidadosamente con las antiguas traducciones, y revisada con arreglo al original griego. Londres: Gilbert y Rivington. 1853 [*Bullen* 64, twice. *B—r*]. *Octavo.* The Bible of Every Land p. 263 says that of Amat's version of the Scriptures „A corrected edition, prepared with the assistance, and printed under the care, of Señor Calderon, was published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, in 1853.“ *Lowndes* V, 2651 has: El N. T. Version cotejada revisada por J. Calderon. Lnd. 1852, 8vo. *The N. T. will have been printed before the Old, and edited first; the N. T. in the Bible is probably taken from plates used for the edition of 1852.* (*Nogaret* in his publication: Don Juan Calderon. Paris 1880. does not mention this revision of Amat. On *Clđ.* compare above n° 272). Another ed. of El N. T. de nuestro señor Jesucristo: Version cotejada . . . revisada . . . Griego. Londres: Gilbert y Rivington, is without year and without the device of the SPCK [*B—r*. I got the copy from the Society, when I asked for their publications; it contains the Colecta which the Society uses to get pasted in the cover of their Holy Scriptures]; it seems to be from the same plates as the N. T. of the Bible of 1853 (see *Mat.* 1, 23 the u in tradu; at the end of the same page, however, the comma is wanting in the edition s. a.). The same is probably meant by the article of *Hd* 203: El N. T. de N. S. J.: version cotej. cuidada. c. l. ant. trad., y revis. c. arr. al. or. griego. Lndrs (1858), imp. Gilbert y Riswington [*sic Hd*]. De la soc. Bíbl. de Lndrs. The Liturgia Anglicana London, imp. Gilbert y Ribington [*sic*] (1852) [*Hd* 222] possibly follows Calderon's revision of Amat.

La pasion [,] muerte y sepultura de N. S. Jesu-Cristo. Extractada de la traduccion de los Santos Evangelios, hecha por . . . Torres, de Amat . . . Eleven pages. At the end the verses Isa. 53, 4. 5 [taken from Scio]. S. l. e. a. Signed below: S. No. 251. [*B—r*.] Publication of some English Society. The extract is not made from the N. T. of 1839, nor from that of 1853, as may be seen *John* 19, 31. 35, where the extract has the additions of Amat's N. T. of 1823.

Los Salmos de David. (London, 1853) 8°. [*Bullen* 92.] Amat's or Valera's?

„In 1853 Edward Dunigan & brother published in 12mo in New York Amat's N. T.“ E. W. Gilman, in a letter to me. On this notice *Rev'd Pratt* observed: „This N. T. must have been with notes, E. D.'s being a Roman catholic publishing house.“

Mateo. Version del padre Amat, obispo de Astorga, cuidadosam. cotejada con las demas versiones. Edicion estereotípica. Imprenta „del ramo de olivo.“ H. Matamoros. Without year. [*B—r*.] Registered in El ramo de olivo. H. Matamoros, octubre de 1882. p. 89. among books que acaban de imprimirse. The advertisement there characterizes the notas as relativas á las costumbres orientales para facilitar la comprension de las figuras y parábolas de Cristo, and subjoins: Pronto estará listo el de San Márcos. The Decálogo, on an open folio, I do not know of whose translation, is advertised in the same place.

As for the publications of the American Bible Society of New York, I make use principally of several notices sent me, about three years ago, by their

Corresponding Secretaries, Mr. Edward W. Gilman and Mr. Alex. M'Lean, and of the extracts made for me, about the same time, by Mr. James L. Whitney of Boston Public library, from the catalogue of 1863 of the ABS's library and from O'Callaghan's list of editions of the Holy Scriptures and parts thereof printed in America previous to 1860, Albany 1861. From these communications, combined with the statements in Mr. Whitney's catal. of the Ticknor collection p. 33, I gather the following notices of editions printed at New York for the ABS. Scio's Bible was stereotyped in 8° in 1824, with Apocrypha. A new edition of those plates in 1826. Chiefly from the same plates, without Apocrypha, 1829. 1830. 1832. The N. T. from the Madrid edition of 1797. New York 1819. 12°. From the same plates 1822. Another edition 12°. 1823. Another one from the Madrid edition of 1797, stereotype 12°, 1831. Both from the plates of 1819? 1837. 32° stereotyped. In 1851 the Society stereotyped a „revised Scio, compared with Valera and the originals.“ New editions of the same: 1852. 1856.

La Biblia Sagrada, traducida en Español. Nueva-York, 1850. 12° [Bullen 64]. In all probability, Menendez means the same edition, saying (III, 661): En 1850 (Nueva-York) la Biblia, del P. Scio. Not for ABS?

*A diglot of the N. T., containing the Spanish and the English, appeared in New York in 1850 [Lowndes V, 2651]. Second edition 1852 [Tickn. 35]. The edition of 1853. „12°“ [ABS's libr.] must be the third. I have got the editions of 1854 and 1868; on the back of the title, respectively: 4th Ed. and 5th Ed. Both called on the title: Bourgeois, 12mo (they have, however, layers of eight). In both: Edición estereotípica. Ending on p. 671. as the second edition (the Boston cat. has: 16°, but in brackets: 8). Probably all from the plates of the first. The Spanish title says in ed. 4 and 5: Versión cotejada cuidadosamente con las antiguas traducciones, y revisada con arreglo al original Griego por la sociedad Americana de la biblia. (The same probably in the 2^d, although Tickn. gives only Versión revisada . . . Biblia.) Lowndes has l. cit. El N. T. with English. New York 1855. O'Callaghan registers a N. T. with the notice just quoted: Versión cotejada cuid. c. l. a. tr. y rev. c. a. al o. G. p. la s. A. de la b. Nueva York 1856. Edición estereotípica. Probably a separate edition of the Spanish text of that diglot. — The Spanish translator of the diglot N. T. 1854. 1868. shows independence and eclecticism. In 1 Cor. 13, reprinted above, he retains in v. 12 the Greek word *enigma*, translated by the other Spaniards; he takes from Reina v. 8 aunque las profecias se hayan de acabar, from Scio (= Enzinas, Perez) v. 5 se mueve a ira; he has like Ximenez 1804 v. 4 procede inconsideradamente. In all these instances he does not agree with the English Authorized version. From this he has taken v. 2 remover las montañas, A. V. remove mountains (which is more exact, because without article), and, I think, v. 5 indecorosamente, A. V. unseemly (both these translations are adopted by the Nuevo Pacto 1858). That he used Scio, seems to me evident from *di de mano* v. 11. An astonishing peculiarity of this Spanish edition are the numberless wrong accents, p. e. *hablá*, 3^d person of present tense, 1 Cor. 14, 2. 3, at the side of *habla* v. 2. 4; *edificá* v. 3, at the side of *profetiza*; in the perfect *hubé* Apoc. 22, 8, *dijó* perhaps everywhere, *vinó* &c. It is still more amazing that such plates have been used again unaltered fourteen (probably even some more) years later, for a new edition.*

I dare not conjecture as to the class or classes to which the following four articles belong. El Nuevo Test., traducido en español. Nueva York. 1854. 304 pp. Sm. 8°. Tickn. p. 35 with the note: „Published by the American Bible society.

First edition." — Ev. San Juan y Hechos. N. York 1855. 18°. N. T. N. York 1861. 18°. Los salmos. N. York 1862. 18°. [*These three in the ABS's libr.*]

The Bible of Every Land 265: "*The Report of the ABS for 1856 makes mention, among their issues of the preceding year, of a Spanish N. T., recently translated in London, by a learned Spaniard, from the original Greek. The language of this version is described as pure and elegant.*"

How difficult it is to ascertain the facts of the history of the ABS's editions of the Spanish Bible may be seen by the following extract from a letter written to me by my learned friend the Revd. Mr. Pratt, who states that he has been "on close terms of relationship with the Society and its publications since 1856." "*The ABS published in 1864 an expurgated edition of Amat's N. T. which for some cause does not bear their name. Other editions of the same were published as far back as 1855; for I took copies with me to Colombia early in 1856. My belief was that these bore the imprint of the Society; but the copy I have at hand (1864), gives no name.*" He means: "*the copy of 1864 I have at hand;*" his letter is of 1880. He says in the same: "*The ABS published an edition of Scio with the Apocrypha in 1824, which I have. And I imagine that is the last edition of Scio they published; though until they published Valera in 1865, I believe the Old Testament of all the Bibles they issued was Scio's, bound up with New Testaments which they changed continually. In 1854 the aforesaid expurgated edition of Amat was bound up with Scio's Old Testament. My copy of this was left in South America, and also of another published about the same time, Scio furnishing the Old Testament, but I never could learn who furnished the N. T. This N. T. was also published in parallel columns with the English translation, but in both editions the accents were as systematically false as if it were done on purpose to ruin it. Ignorance could never explain it: malice could do so very well. That, in my opinion, is the most readable version of the N. T. that Society ever published. In my many movings to and fro I have lost my copy both of the Bible and of the English and Spanish N. T. in which this version appears. Nor can I recall the precise date. But I took copies of it with me to South America in 1856, and preferred it to Scio and to Amat expurgated, because it corresponded so much more nearly with the English version. I often inquired, but never could learn who was the author, or how the accents were so falsely written and so uniformly so.*" This is the version of which I possess the diglot N. T. of 1854 and 1868, as I have said above. The Revd. Mr. Pratt goes on to say: "*The only edition of Scio ever published by the ABS which bears their name and his, is the one I have of 1824, so far as my acquaintance with their publications extends.*" (According to O'Callaghan, both names are still on the title of the edition 1832, which, however, was chiefly taken from the plates of 1824, see above.) "*The Old Testament, as said, of all the Bibles published 1851—1864 I know to be Scio's, though they did not bear his name, while the N. T. which accompanied it was of two wholly different versions, one an expurgated Amat, the other, as before said, I could never learn who was the author of it, or how the accents were so wretchedly misplaced. In 1874 a noted champion of the Romish church in Bogotá publicly charged the Bible Societies with publishing and circulating falsified copies of the Scriptures under the name of Scio, printing his name on the title page. He referred particularly to thousands of discrepancies between the English and American editions. I was so convinced that it was a falsehood, that I deposited dollars 100 in the bank,*

and kept it there for 8 months to be paid him if he would prove his allegation." It remained unproved.

Nueva traducción y paráfrasis de los salmos por José Virués. Mdrd 1825—37. 4 vls. [Hd 224.]

La vida de n. s. Jesucristo: escrita por los evangelistas, traducida y esplanada por Rafael José de Crespo. Valencia 1840. [STRASSB. Univ. Hd 226.] *A synoptical text, containing or intended to contain the entire text of each gospel. T. 1, p. CIX: Translated from the Vulgate; as for the use of the articles, attention has been paid to the Greek; p. X: no me limitaria á las traducciones no sanas de Cas. de Reina y Cipr. de Valera, ni á las modernas de Petite, Scio y Amat.*

Los cuatro evangelios traducidos del Griego con notas por Guillermo Harris Rule, presbítero de la iglesia protestante metolista, y superintendente de su mision en España. S. l. MDCCCXLI. [Bullen 153. B—r.] *He says that he has revised his translation, comparing it with Scio, Amat and [Sebastian de la] Encina.*

Escrituras del nuevo pacto. Mateo. Traducion del original Griego; obra publicada por la Union Biblica Americana. N. York 1853. 32°. *Baptist version of the Gospel by St. Matthew [ABS's libr.]. It is probably the first part of:*

Las escrituras del nuevo pacto. Traduccion del original Griego. MDCCCLVIII. *Verso:* Esta obra es propiedad de la union biblica Americana. Publicada en Nueva York por la sociedad, i en Londres por Trübner i compañía. Impresa en Edimburgo, por Tomas Constable, impresor de su majestad la reina. [ZURICH City. B—r.] *In the preface is said: La traduccion se empezó en 1851. Se concluyó en junio de 1857. Further on: that Juan Calderon who had La parte correspondiente á la pureza, correccion, i propiedad del texto español, died [in January 1854] cuando apenas habia empezado á revisar á Lucas, and that a Spaniard of eminencia literaria continued this task. They used Perez, Reina, Valera (1596 and 1602), Scio, Amat, and Rule's Gospels. The preface, p. III—VIII, is signed: Agosto de 1857. G. N. According to Betts, the initials mean Guillermo Norton of Egham, Surrey, Baptist. Follow: Variantes p. 1—29. One leaf: Tabla. Text p. 1—543. — The plates were sent to different places. I have got an edition: Las escrituras del nuevo pacto. Traduccion del original Griego. Barcelona: imprenta Hispana, Condo del Asalto, núm. 20. MDCCCLXXI. Verso:* Esta obra es propiedad de la union biblica Americana. Publicada en Nueva-York por la sociedad, i en Londres por Trübner i compañía. *Tabla and text identical with the Edinburg edition; also the preface from the same plates, but the section from El texto griego, p. V, to una traduccion falsa p. VIII is left out; nor are the 29 pages of Variantes reproduced. Of this Barcelona edition, made under the superintendence of Mr. Lawrence, 10,000 copies were printed.*

Evangelios correspondientes á todas las dominicas y principales fiestas del año, seguidos de reflexiones, por Manuel Garcia Retamero. Mdrd 1858 [Hd 226].

Los cuatro evangelios, romance escrito por Francisco Puig. Barcelona 1859 [Hd 222].

Mateo anotado por Claret, arzobispo de Cuba. Barcelona 1859 [Hd 218].

Isaías, traducido según el texto Hebreo de Van Der Hooght. Por Luis de Usóz i Rio. Madrid MDCCCLXIII. [B—r.] *The translation of Usóz is incorporated into the Bible Barcelona 1882 (here n° 350) instead of Reina's Isaiah.*

Menendez Pelayo, III, 829, mentions as recently written by Francisco Xaver Caminero, gloria altísima del clero español: su importantísimo estudio sobre el libro de Daniel, y el prólogo á la traduccion del libro de Job, hecha directamente de la verdad hebráica.

Ben Sira in Hebrew with Spanish translation in rabbinical characters. Wien 1818 [B—r]. All the following Judeo-Spanish editions have been made by Christians:

Firmamento nuevo trezladado del Grego. 1829. S. l. In rabbinical characters. [VIENNA]. This must be the N. T. of which The Bible of Every Land p. 269 relates that in 1823 the BFBS intrusted the Rev. Mr. Leeves, their agent in Turkey, with its preparation; that he with the assistance of some learned Jews to whom Judeo-Spanish was vernacular, drew the translation from the Greek, consulting at the same time several versions of the N. T.; and that after three revisions it was printed, in an edition of 3000 copies, at Corfu, in 1829, under the care of Mr. Lowndes.

Old Test. Hebrew with the Spanish in rabb. characters. Smyrna 1838. Translator Rev. Dr. Schaufler. [Tickn. 33: „second edition.“]

Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy, Hebrew with Spanish in rabbinical characters. Under Schaufler's supervision for ABS. Vienna 1841. [Tickn. 34].

Pentateuch by Schaufler. Two parts, the second: Levit. f. Vienna 1845. Preface of 1840. [B—r.]

Old Testament, printed in Vienna, about 1843. The same reprinted Smyrna 1847, both for ABS, according to Dr. Jenks, Tickn. 33; he supposes that the date Smyrna 1838 indicates the time when the translation was prepared and finished for the press. The Bible of Every Land p. 269 registers two editions of the Old Test. in Judeo-Spanish by Rev. Schaufler for ABS, the first with the Hebrew text, printed in 1843 at Vienna, 3000 copies, the second left the press in 1850.

Luke Judæo-Spanish. דבשורדא על פי לוקא (London, 1850?) 16°. [Bullen 160.]

Psalms. Smyrna 1853. Tickn. 34: „The body of the work is printed in the rabbinical character.“

Thora. Constantinople 1872 [B—r]. To judge from Ex. 15, the Ferrara version revised. Psalms ib. 1873 [B—r]. Both Hebrew and Judeo-Spanish side by side, the Psalms paged in each text: 284—367. The Spanish text of Pentateuch and Psalms is taken from the composition of the Old Test., then under the press, and completed ib. 1873, only Spanish. [B—r.] Published for the ABS.

There is another edition of the Psalms in Judeo-Spanish of 215 pages in the Catalogue of sacred scriptures on sale at the Bible house Constantinople 1877, p. 11, n° 175. (The psalms of 1873 are those of n° 172 with 168 pgs.)

N. T. ib. 1877. Only Spanish. [B—r.] Published for the BFBS. From this N. T. the Gospel of St. Matthew has been edited separately.

This entire Spanish Bible of Constantinople is in rabb. character. Mr. Bliss, Agent of the ABS in Constantinople, mentioned the Revd. Mr. Christie as the translator, I am uncertain whether of both testaments printed in Constantinople, or only of one of them.

The gospel of St. Matthew, translated into the dialect of Curaçao by the Revd. Mr. Conradi, was printed in 1846 for the Netherland Bible Society. A specimen from it, ch. 5, v. 1—12 in The Bible of Every Land p. 270. The parable of the sower from St. Matthew in The Bonaparte Polyglot, London 1857 (mentioned, above p. 366) is probably taken from Conradi's translation.

In order not to leave this page a blank one, I give the following extract.

Primera Parte De las Diferencias de libros que ay en el vniuerso, Declaradas por el Maestro Alexio Venegas. 1545. Aora nneualmente [sic] emendada y corregida por el mesmo Autor. Salamanca. 1572. Quarto Libro. Cap. XX. De la traslacion de la escriptura sagrada. . . . no es razon que la escriptura diuina sea tan comun en todas las lenguas: que por la mucha familiaridad sea menospreciada de la gente vulgar. De mas de las heregias que se leuantarian: si con ayuda de la lengua que cada vno entendiesse: presumiesse dar su sentencia y su intelligencia . . . Despues de la traslacion Latina vltimamente hecha, querer hazer otras traslaciones, seria derogar a la autoridad de la yglesia: que ha mil y ciento y cinquenta y siete años que tiene aprouada y recebida esta traslacion de sant Hieronymo. . . Saluo el mejor juyzio: los perlados auian de vedar en sus yglesias: que no se vendiesen ni se leyessen estas traslaciones modernas: que aunque algunos trasladadores ayan tenido buena intencion de aprouechar con su traslacion, han metido scisma de competencia en los animos de los simples . . . Que razon ay para que creamos que el original de donde traslado el nuevo traslado, es original verdadero: y el texto Latino que tiene recebido la yglesia tenga necessidad de ser corregido? Si vn texto se vudiesse de corregir por otro, el original Hebreo y Griego se auian de corregir por nuestro texto latino. Porque fue sacado de los originales mas correptos [sic] que auia en el mundo. Por donde nuestra Biblia latina ha de ser la medida de la hebrea y la griega. Porque nunca passo por manos de hereges, que la depravassen: como la hebrea y la griega . . . Por donde se cree, que de mano en mano se ha conseruado la synceridad del texto latino, y por consiguiente ha de ser el metro y mensura del hebreo y el griego, los quales por auer passado por manos de hombres maliciosos y scismaticos, se tienen por sospechosos: si no entreuiniesse la autoridad de la yglesia, que señaladamente aprouasse tal o tal texto: assi como aprouo el texto latino, del qual vsamos aora.

As for the translation of Hieronymus, he says: el Papa Damaso (como lo trae Bartholomeo Platina) la aprouo. Damasus died in 384, Hieronymus went to Rome in 382. Venegas seems to have taken this year as that of the approval by the Pope of that Latin Bible; those 1157 years would reach to 1539, the year in which Venegas sent his Diferencias to his patrons, as appears from several letters, printed with the book. At that time he belonged to the theological Faculty of Toledo, and the Dean and other authorities approved of his work. A Cardinal writes to him: alcançays bien lo que Horacio quiere: diciendo. Omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit utile dulci.

Certainly Venegas had read the prologue of the Complutensian Polyglot where is said: Between the Hebrew and the Greek of the Old Testament latinam beati Hieronymi translationem velut inter Synagogam et Orientalem Ecclesiam posuimus: tanquam duos hinc et inde latrones medium autem Iesum hoc est Romanam sive latinam Ecclesiam collocantes.

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Additions from Lowndes, Bibliographical Manual, vol. V. 1864. P. 2650. 2651.

357.

El N. T. Impreso por S. Rousseau. (Lond.) 1805, 12mo.

358.

Bungay (1815), 12mo.

361.

After mentioning the N. T. Lnd. 1817, Lowndes continues: Reprinted 1821 12mo. 1829, 12mo.

364². 1847.

El N. T. Revisada por Griego [*sic*]. Lnd. 1847. *Probably the revision of 1831*

364³. 1850.

Valera's N. T. Lnd. 1850.

E r r a t a.

P. 22, l. 11 from below write *col.* instead of *not*.

22, l. 6 from below, after *Italy*, the following words have been omitted: *but he quotes here the same page as Llorente and certainly means the same edition as Llorente.*

32, l. 9 from below write *que* instead of *quo*.

60, note 10, l. 2 dash out the word *enough*.

70, note 41, l. 8 write: *tandem*.

84, l. 4 write: *that in the pr.*

92. The words „*The same in the translations*“ before 254, must be placed between 254 and 255.

188, l. 6 write *Hawkins*.

312, l. 4 strike out the word *New*.



